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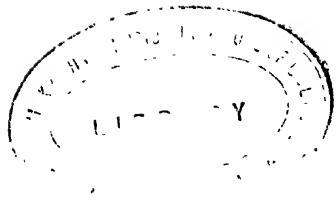
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INDIA IN ENGLAND

BEING

A COLLECTION OF SPEECHES DELIVERED AND ARTICLES

WRITTEN ON THE

Indian National Congress

BY THE SYMPATHISERS AND THE OPPONENTS

OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND IN 1888

VOL. I-1.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION.

LUCKNOW.

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INTRODUCTION.

This book contains the views of eminent English and Anglo-Indian statesmen, writers and journalists on the general progress of India, or, more particularly, on that phase of it which is reflected in the Indian National Congress. The opinions of those also who do not seem to be very sanguine about the future of the intellectual awakening of which the Congress-movement is but a part, are published in the Appendix, in order to enable our readers to look at both sides of the picture and form an independent opinion of their own on the great question of the day. The Congress is part of a larger movement, fraught with deeper, more varied, and more far-reaching consequences ; and before we can realise its true position and significance, we must have some idea of the vast wave of mental and moral changes which has, within the last quarter of a century, swept over the national mind of India. No history of the Congress can be complete, or, even adequate, which does not take into account the sudden quickening into life of the dormant energies of the country under the genial stimulus of European learning, and the new levers of progress which the English have applied to the social elevation of the people. It would, therefore, be well to glance cursorily over some of the salient features of the mighty change which has renovated the inner spiritual and intellectual life of India, and of which the Congress is only one, necessary and legitimate outcome.

Thousands of men are still alive whose lives commenced under Mohamedan rule and who can tell us what it was in its last days of decay and decrepitude. Life and property were insecure political liberty was unheard of ; the tyranny of the strong over the weak was rampant ; the arts of peace and comfort which

civilization has, in our day, brought to the doors of all, did not exist, and the sentiment of patriotism, such as we know it, "was unknown. There were three things which reconciled the people to this reign of chaos. First, all distinctions of race and religion between Hindus and Mohamedans had been effaced by the wisdom of the ruling power. There was no privileged class ; to merit, which has no color and no creed, the paths to the highest pinnacles of honor and fame were open. Secondly, there was no external drain upon the material resources of the country. What was produced by the nation was consumed by the nation. The people had no peace but they had "plenty"; and the pinch of poverty such as the Indian masses feel in our day, was unknown to our fore-fathers. Thirdly, the people believed in the Divine right of kings, and in their own insignificance. They did not think that the sovereign was responsible to anybody ; on the contrary, they believed as a religious dogma that his subjects existed for his personal comfort and pleasure. The idea that governments exist for the good of the people, which is so familiar to us that we forget that it is quite new, had not yet dawned upon their minds, and consequently they were quite satisfied with their political servitude, and did not show more than a temporary irritation under the feet of the worst despots whom "the wrath of Heaven has ever raised up and the servility of man has ever endured." Thus, it was owing to three things—the absence of any invidious distinctions between the subject and the governing race, the unhampered and unrestricted productive activity of the people which scattered plenty over a smiling land, and a popular tradition which taught men the virtue of obedience to the powers that be and look to upon their rulers as god-descended or god-inspired—that the people were quite reconciled to the precarious fortunes lot to which they were doomed and never thought of freeing themselves from the strangling grasp of despotism or of placing their political rights and liberties on a higher and safer pedestal.

The advent of British rule inaugurated a new era in the social and intellectual progress of the country, and introduced an order of things, having practically nothing in common with that which had preceded it. The English appeared among us as a strange people—strong, clever, brave, active—professing a strange religion, following a code of manners utterly incomprehensible to us, observing customs, some of which were very amusing, others very shocking to us, keeping, as far as possible, aloof from us, and saturated with a spirit of political liberty and a strong feeling of patriotism which it was hardly possible for our people in those days to enter into and appreciate. They introduced by gradual steps their methods of government among us, and gave us a new idea of the relationship which should exist between the people and their sovereign. They established public schools and colleges for our training and gave us full access to the rich store-house of European learning. A crisis occurred in the intellectual fortunes of the country, when the English people had to decide whether they should make the conquest of India an instrument of civilization or of self-aggrandisement, whether they should nurse the Indians into a civilised and self governing nation, or deprive them even of their own civilization and reduce them to the position of mere serfs toiling for their European masters. The mysterious Divinity which presides over the fates of nations, sent Lord Macaulay to this country, who applied his high powers of rhetoric, statesmanship, and political wisdom to the solution of the educational problem of India, and earned the lasting gratitude of a great but fallen people. We do not know what might have happened to India, if the "Orientalists" had succeeded and if Lord Macaulay had been defeated; but this may most safely be asserted that the attachment which at present exists between India and England would not then have existed, and the Indian Empire instead of being a bright jewel in the British crown, would then have been a scandal and a shame before the world. Seldom has one single measure changed

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so entirely and decisively the future destiny of a nation as did the one of which Lord Macaulay was the most distinguished champion ; and had that great man done nothing else to merit fame, the educational system alone which he has given us, would, we doubt not, have placed him in the ranks of the immortals.

English education was eagerly seized by the people. It revolutionised their whole habits of thought ; it stirred the entire community to its very depths. The mind of a great nation starting from the rust and dust of ages, became conscious of new powers and new capabilities ; and radiant with the light of liberty and knowledge, began to break through the barriers of petrified traditions which had arrested its growth and cut it off from the general current of progress and civilization. The changes which commenced fifty years ago, have been going on ever since with ever accelerating force and velocity. History does not record another social revolution which has been effected so quickly and yet so silently, smoothly, and peacefully. A most conservative people have in less than half a century, been converted into the most ardent aspirers after progress ; and those who guided their lives by custom, and followed no voices unless they came from the tomb, are now among the most zealous advocates of reform and the most eager aspirants after a new life. The spirit of unrest, of progress, of freedom, and of change, which is the characteristic of modern civilization, has become a prominent feature of their national character, and manifests itself in every department of human thought and activity. The influence of the new civilization made itself felt first of all upon religion nearly a century ago ; and Raja Ram Mohan Roy will always be remembered by his countrymen, as the first great Reformer of modern India. From religion the spirit of liberty and progress passed into other regions ; and now there is no institution—social, religious, moral, or political—of the Indians which does not bear its impress.

What has been a most fortunate accident in this mighty revolution, is that the current of progress has not flowed in any single direction but along every channel of human activity—thus transforming not any particular institution but the whole social fabric, laying the foundations not of a restricted, one-sided progress, but of a harmonious and symmetrical development of the whole nation. English education, or, rather, progress and liberty which are the essence of English education, are the main springs of that great intellectual upheaval which in the religious sphere has called into existence, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and other Theistic bodies ; which in the social sphere, passed the Widow Remarriage Act, changed the whole current of educated public opinion on the subject of infant marriage and Female education, and welcomed with gratitude the medical aid to Indian women, offered by a philanthropic English woman ; and which, in political sphere, has called into existence the Indian National Congress, an institution devised for the purpose of ascertaining the real wants and grievances of the country, by giving the best and most enlightened Indians, drawn from all sections of the community, and representing all shades of opinion, an opportunity for discussing among themselves, questions touching the welfare of the nation, and placing the result of their deliberations before the public and the Government.

Thus, it will appear that the National Congress is not merely an oasis of mental activity in the midst of a desert of general stagnation but that it is an institution representing only one phase of that intellectual ferment which has diffused itself throughout the whole community. That a change which could transform a nation's religious beliefs and social ideas and institutions, should leave its political opinions untouched would hardly be conceivable ; and wise men saw more than a quarter of a century ago that a people, like the Indians endowed with remarkable intellectual gifts, and with a still more remarkable power of adapting themselves to changing circumstances, if trained in the sciences and

arts of Europe, would demand, as a matter of course, the gratification of those higher aspirations with which their new training was sure to imbue their minds, and exhorted the ruling powers to provide for the future. The voice of wisdom prevailed ; the great British nation, which is so full of generous impulses, which gave us education before we ever asked for it, and which is adored as the guardian of freedom all over the would, gave us the most solemn promise that was ever given by a conquering nation to a subject race, the Great Proclamation of 1858 which is the Magna Charta of our political rights and liberties ; and so long as the British Rule in India is based upon that most sacred and solemn pledge, it is safe like a beacon on a high rock, against which the storms of national vicissitudes will beat in vain. The proclamation of 1858 inspired the people with an earnest thirst for European culture, because, on the acquisition of that culture, they thought, rested all hopes of political enfranchisement. The whole series of Viceroys since the dark days of the Mutiny have given us assurances in perfect harmony with the terms of the Proclamation, and this too has contributed, in a large measure, to the slow growth of that political demand which finds its full expression in the proceedings of the National Congress. Two forces have incessantly been working upon the minds of the educated community—first, English civilization, which comprises English education, English habits of thought, love of liberty and change, and a desire for effecting political reforms by constitutional methods ; secondly, the Great Pledge and the utterances, from time to time, of the various heads of the British Government on Indian questions, all calculated to stimulate in the people the desire for self-government and to encourage their demand for a larger share in the administration of their country than has hitherto been conceded to them. The Indians have imbibed a new political enthusiasm from the West, which makes them hate despotism and love self-government. On the other hand, the pledges which have been

given them by British statesmen show that their political aspirations are in perfect accord with the wishes of their rulers. And it is upon these two sentiments—the sentiment of patriotism, itself among the noblest fruits of English education, which is uniting the discordant elements of our Indian population into a harmonious whole and, which prompts us to raise ourselves to the level of the most civilized nations of the world ; and the sentiment of loyalty to the British crown to which we owe our regeneration—it is upon these two sentiments that the National Congress is based ; it is patriotic and it is loyal ; it is the product of our national aspirations, and it seeks its justification in the solemn pledges of the British Parliament.

For the immediate cause of this movement, we must turn to Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon. The aggressive Imperialism of Lord Lytton began for a time, to arm the people with the courage of despair. People began to lose faith in British justice and British honor. A sudden eclipse came over the faith which men had entertained in regard to the just and generous impulses of Great Britain, and a spirit of patriotism engendered under the pressure of common misfortunes forged new bonds of unity and co-operation among the vast variety of races that inhabit the country. Fortunately, when the national mind of India was thus deeply agitated, when the worst feelings of the country were strung to their highest tension, Lord Lytton's administration came to an end, and the reins of Government passed into the hands of a Viceroy who has done more than any other single statesman to restore British honor and British *prestige* to their high position, to strengthen the faith of the Indian people in those just and righteous principles which are the pivots of the English rule in India and thus to prevent the national energies of the people from running into dangerous courses, by supplying them with new safety-valves of constitutional agitation, and new channels of useful reforms. To the patriotic sentiment which had begun to develope itself during the time of

Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon added the sentiment of loyalty ; and thus laid the foundations of that Constitutional agitation, which is always a joint product of a patriotic regard for the country and a loyal attachment for the ruling power, and which has now collected all the scattered rays of light into one mighty focus—the National Congress.

The National Congress as was natural, has excited a good deal of opposition in some quarters and the opposition, it must be admitted has done it good. When it first assembled in Bombay, the number of delegates was small, and its proceedings did not create any great stir in the country. The second Congress held in Calcutta was a grand assemblage of the picked men of India ; it passed some very important resolutions ; it made a great stir in the press ; the Government felt that they were in presence of a new political factor ; and its Report attracted the attention of the Press in England. The last Congress held in Madras was a still greater success and was attended, contrary to all that was said by its opponents about Mohamedan defection, by a considerable number of Mohamedan delegates from all parts of India.

The strength of the opposition has grown with the growth of the Congress-movement ; and now that the Congress has acquired a powerful hold upon the public mind and enlisted the sympathies of a large number of right-minded Englishmen, the opposition has organised itself into a well-drilled party headed by Sir Syed Ahmed and others, and backed by the private and official influence of the Anglo-Indian community. The hostile attitude of Sir Auckland Colvin in these provinces, and Lord Dufferin's speech have done much to strengthen the opposition and to hamper the course of the Congress. They have not alienated the sympathies of the people from the cause ; but they have no doubt frightened some of them. The misrepresentations and falsehoods with which the Anti-Congress propaganda is trying to poison the public mind, are simply astounding, and although Truth will prevail in the end, yet at

present they are doing a great deal of harm to the best interests of the country. The Congress is represented as a disloyal institution, its proceedings are asserted to be full of sedition ; its principal leaders the preachers of disaffection. The Lieutenant Governor of these provinces thinks that the Congress-party are trying to hold the Government up to the contempt and indignation of the people ; and no sooner is this authoritative dictum published, than a few men come forward with a petition to His Honor urging the "proclaiming" of the Congress-meetings and the taking away of the liberty of the Press. The opposition has gone very far, and so strong is the official element in this part of the country that it can, for a time, cripple the energies of the people and seriously impede their political progress temporary at any rate. Had the Anti-Congress party been composed only of the Natives of the country, we should have been quite sure of over-coming it in course of a very short time But when we see that a considerable section of the official community has ranged itself on its side, and is ready to thwart our endeavours at every turn, there is no remedy left to us except to lay our demands before the British nation and British Parliament, and ask them to see for themselves how far our demands are just and consistent with the fundamental principles of the British Rule and how far their satisfaction would lead, as is so commonly alleged by our opponents, to the disruption of the Empire.

The educated classes cherish an enduring faith in the just impulses of Great Britain and their faith is based upon some very memorable incidents of modern history. The Anti-Corn Law League is one of these. The excessive protective duties upon corn imported from foreign countries into England, imposed in the interest of a section of the English nation, were entailing loss and hardships upon the whole nation. Murmurs of discontent were audible in every part of the land, but the ruling authorities were deaf to them. Mr. Villiers moved the House of Commons to abolish the iniquitous corn-duties, but

his motion was rejected by a tremendous majority. The motion was brought forward several times, and each time it was rejected. The obstinate indifference of the House of Commons, led the people to form an Anti-Corn Law League, having among its most powerful supporters and advocates, Richard Cobden, Joseph Hume and John Bright, who strong in their unselfish earnestness, their unflinching courage, their thrilling eloquence, and an immovable faith in the ultimate success of their cause, carried on the crusade of free-trade against the combined forces of the rank and wealth of England, stirred the masses out of their lethargy, touched their conscience, and roused their indignation against the iniquitous system which had brought their country to the verge of penury. As soon as the British nation fairly realized the iniquity of the Protective system ; it rose against it, and called upon its representatives in Parliament, to do away with it at once.

The history of England, if it teaches anything, teaches this *viz* that the official body is always satisfied with the existing system, that if we want to have any defects in the existing system remedied, we have very little chance of succeeding so long as we appeal to those whose personal or class interests are involved in keeping everything *in statu quo* ; that our only chance of success lies in appealing to Parliament, but that Parliament itself will not attend to our wants and grievances with sufficient care and attention, so long as it is not pressed to do so by the determined voice of the whole nation. It is in view of these considerations that we think that if we want to induce Parliament to interest itself in Indian matters, and to watch and scrutinise the actions of its servants in India we must order to dissipate that mist which over lays the mind of the English nation and hides from its view the real state of our country, by supplying it with more thorough and more accurate information than it, at present, possesses, establish an Agency in London which may perform this function as well as

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the equally important and useful function of correcting and exposing, from time to time, the distortions and misrepresentations of our national aspirations, which are so frequently published in official despatches as well as in some papers—the thick and thin supporters of the Government,—for the enlightenment—or, rather, as we think the bewilderment—of the British nation.

The idea of enlightening the British nation on Indian questions, by carrying on agitation in England is not new : Raja Ram Mohan Roy acted upon it nearly a century ago. In our own generation, men like Keshub Chunder Sen, Lal Mohan Ghose and Dadabhai Naoroji, have tried to instruct the British public on Indian matters with a view to further the progress of social and political reforms in India. Mr. N. G. Chandervarkar of Bombay, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose of Calcutta, and Mr. Ramaswami Mudeliar of Madras, rendered, some three years ago, very useful service to their country by going over to England and placing the national grievances of Indians before the British nation. The agitation which has thus been going on in England for so many years, has done already some good to this country, in as much as it has created an interest in the minds of some of the ruling race in Indian affairs, dissipated a good many delusions which the roseate accounts of the Indian administration by retired Anglo-Indians had fostered, and evoked the sympathies of a section of the English people on behalf of a cause which is noble and just, and which is calculated to promote the well-being alike of the Government and the people.

Now that the National Congress has acquired so much power and influence in the country, and in consequence of that power and influence, has evoked so much hostile criticism from a certain section of Indian society, which is busy in resorting to every means—fair or foul—to discredit our efforts, by fathering upon us theories which we have never held; and saddling us with assertions which we have never made ; now that the split

between the National party and the party composed of the hangers-on to the skirts of Government has become so complete, and the official body has as contemptuously and with such a cynical indifference turned its back upon the people, it has become a real political necessity that we should extend the sphere of our political agitation, and besides organising our forces here, maintain an Agency in London which may keep Indian questions before the British public, and may from time to time inform us of the state of English public opinion on India.

Such an Agency, thanks to the patriotic exertions of the Congress-party, has been established in London, under the superintendence of that tried friend of India—Mr. William Digby, c. i. e. Many gratefully remember the service which this gentleman has already rendered to India, by his labours as Secretary of the Madras Famine Fund and by the publication of his two books—"India for the Indians and for England," and "India's interest in the British Ballot Box." It is in no small measure owing to his exertions that so many eminent Liberals have espoused the cause of the Congress with so much zeal and vigour. He was one of the principal organisers of the grand meetings which Mr. Norton and Mr. Bonnerji addressed in London Leicestershire, Newcastle, Lincoln and other places in England. Assisted by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—that veteran champion of Indian Reform—and encouraged by the patriotic endeavours of Sir W. Wedderburn and other leaders of the National Party, Mr. Digby will soon make the Political Agency in Craven Street, a centre of great political influence.

Even in the short period of its existence the Agency has done some substantial good to India, by distributing the Congress Reports and other political tracts, broad-cast among the English people, and by inducing some eminent members of Parliament to take a favourable view of India's struggles for political reform. Mr. Bradlaugh is one of our staunchest supporters—and Mr. Bradlaugh never takes up any cause unless he is prepared to

stand by it through thick and thin. The history of this gentleman's life is of thrilling interest to all of us who have to carry on an up-hill fight; it teaches—if any man's life teaches—that in just cause, no odds are too fearful to be conquered, by perseverance and integrity.

We know what valuable services the late Mr. Fawcett rendered to India, by constantly drawing the attention of Parliament to Indian questions, and rejoice to think that the mantle of Elija has fallen upon worthy shoulders. Now that men like Sir Richard Garth, Sir W. Hunter Professor Stuart, Mr. Bradlaugh and others have taken up the cause of suffering India, and the *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* the *Manchester Guardian*, *The Christian World* &c. have ranged themselves on her side, we may be sure that the great mass of the English nation will by and by come to take a due interest in our affairs, and our political grievances of long-standing will in time be redressed; and as men rise on the stepping-stones of their own dead-selves to higher things, so too shall India—blessed with education, filled with high aspirations, overflowing with loyalty to the nation which has emancipated her intellect—rise upon the ruins of the successive despotisms which have dwarfed her growth above the atmosphere of gloom which still enshrouds her political fortunes, and receive her due share of those rights and privileges which follow the flag of England all over the world.

RECENT MOVEMENTS OF INDIA.

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[At the annual meeting of the National Indian Association held under the presidency of the Right Honorable Lord Hobhouse, K. C. S. I., on Saturday afternoon, 3rd March 1888, at Willis's Rooms St. James's, Sir William Wilson Hunter, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., L. L. D., delivered an address on the "Recent Movements of India." After speaking on the educational and social movements, Sir William Hunter referred to the National Congress in the following terms.]

The Indian political movements of the day form a necessary complement of the new spirit of progress which we ourselves have awakened. In every district we have accustomed educated natives to sit on Municipal and Local Boards, and to take a part in the administration of the country. The men whom we have thus trained to think and act for themselves now desire to exert a more direct influence upon the Government. They have gradually formed themselves into a permanent organisation, with a central directing agency, and with annual gatherings in one or other of the great capitals of India. At first the movement was regarded as confined to Bengal. But the earliest Congress was held, not in Bengal, but in Bombay ; the next in Calcutta ; the third has lately concluded its sittings in Madras ; and the fourth will assemble next December in Allahabad. Then it was supposed that the movement was restricted to the Hindus. But, as a matter of fact, it was found that Muhammadans attended from every part of India, excepting certain parts of Lower Bengal. Muhammadans also appeared as introducers or supporters of important motions, and eloquently claimed a joint interest with the Hindus in its proceedings. The most munificent subscriber to the last Congress was a Muhammadan ; it elected a Muhammadan President ; and its resolutions were voted for by 83 Muhammadan delegates from all provinces of India.

The Indian Congress has, therefore, outlived the early period of misrepresentation ; it has shown that it belongs to no single Province and to no single section of the population. (*Cheers.*) What are the objects of this new power which has arisen in India ? For, according to the wisdom and moderation of its aims, its influence will be powerful for evil or for good. The proceedings of the last Congress may be summarised as follows : The delegates laid great stress on the necessity for an expansion and reform of the Legislative Council by the introduction of a substantial representative element. They also asked for the complete separation of the executive and judicial functions. The establishment of Colleges in India for the training of natives as officers of the Indian army, and the concession of the right to become Volunteers under due restrictions, were strongly pressed. The working of the income-tax was declared to be unsatisfactory, and the Congress urged the raising of the taxable minimum to one thousand rupees, or £65 sterling ; any deficit thus caused, or otherwise resulting, to be made good by retrenchment, or, failing this, by the re-imposition of the duty on finer cottons. A resolution was also passed for

the elaboration of a suitable scheme of technical education and the more extensive employment of indigenous products and skill. It was also prayed that there should be a modification of the existing Arms Act, as an unmerited slur on the people's loyalty, and productive of great suffering in a country thronged with destructive animals. The debate on this motion was very animated, but orderly, and it was finally adopted unanimously. The Congress terminated with prolonged cheers for the Queen-Empress and the British nation.

A non-political meeting like the present is not the place to criticise these proposals. But I have enumerated them in order that you may judge of them for yourselves. I think, however, that I may safely say that whatever opinion we may hold as to the immediate possibility of some items in the programme, the general lines are those which sooner or later will be followed. I may also venture to add that every member of this Association wishes God-speed to the cause of well-considered political progress in India. (Cheers.)

Indian political reformers have, if they only knew it, an opportunity such as has seldom happened in the history of nations. For, putting aside the local race antagonisms unhappily inseparable from our position in India, I believe that no ruling power ever felt so deeply desirous of doing what is right by a great dependency as England feels towards India. What England now needs is to be made to understand in what direction the right course really lies. I do not believe that England will ever be made to understand this by exaggerated statements. If Indian reformers are to really win, as I trust they will win, the sympathies of England, it must be by convincing the conscience of England. They must dismiss from their minds the methods of English party politics. It may possibly pay a party to be violent if it has a vote. But India has no vote. On the other hand, she has two influences always at work on her side. The first influence is the conviction, deep down in the heart of the British nation, that the Government of India is the biggest piece of work that our race has been called to do in this world, and that we must stand or fall in the present, and must be judged in the future, by the way in which we do it. The second influence on the side of India is the conscientious desire of England to do, in this great national business, what is right.

. Therefore it was that in almost my last speech in India as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, I urged upon the Convocation of that great body the power of truth and of moderation. And therefore it is that in my first address to an Indian Association in this country I again conclude with this plea. I honestly believe that the well-wishers of Indian progress, political and social, will most surely gain their ends by temperance in their demands. But it must be, not a lip profession, not a seeming temperance only, but a true temperance in aim and in thought. We are pleading for India before a tribunal whose reason alone we have to convince. We have no hostile judge to contend with when we speak to England about India. You remember, perhaps, the patrician senator in Livy who protested against a certain reform on the ground that it would

interfere with the due taking of the auspices. "To some people," he said, "it may seem small thing whether the sacred chickens refuse to feed, or whether they come reluctantly forth from their coops or whether they give out a doleful sound. To some people," said the patrician senator, "these may seem small things. But," he concluded, "it has been by observing these small things that Rome has attained the pinnacle of her greatness." My friends, if we had such reasoners to deal with, I perhaps might not counsel moderation in argument. For on such opponents temperance of statement would be thrown away. But it is the English nation, and not the Claudio-gens, that we have to convince. It is a people and a parliament singularly open to reason, and singularly fair in matters which they understand. Therefore, I lament every form of over-statement of India's aspirations and of India's needs, whether on the platform or in the press, I deprecate any display of histrionic unreality, and I urge temperance in tone and moderation in aim upon every well-wisher of India. (*Applause.*)

If you will carefully study the recent movements in India, you will find that they are guided by a strict regard to actual conditions and to actual possibilities. The educational advance has been made on the established lines, although it has led to very new conclusions. The social movement, which we have studied in one of its aspects this afternoon as affecting the position of women, is gradually developing public opinion towards certain well-considered changes. Indian political reform, as represented by the National Congress, proposes not a single new institution, but desires only to expand and strengthen existing institutions on a broader basis. If I have ventured to ask your attention to recent Indian movements to-day, it is not alone because of what they have accomplished in the past. It is because the true leaders of those movements have shown a high sense of responsibility, and a wise temperance, which promise still greater things in the future. It is because I believe that the present claims of India are reasonable in themselves, and that they have to be urged before a nation which is sincerely anxious to listen to reason. In the interest of ourselves and of our posterity I sincerely trust that this may prove to be the case; and that, as time rolls on, England and India will be united by ever-strengthening bonds of righteous dealing, and loyalty, and love. (*Loud applause.*)

Sir CHARLES A. TURNER, K. C. I. E., in moving a vote of thanks to Sir William Hunter, said : One of the objects of this Association is to extend a knowledge of India in England and an interest in the people of that country. It is difficult to conceive any means by which that object could be better attained than by the selection made to-day of a gentleman of mature experience in India, who, having enjoyed remarkable opportunities, is able to give us the results of a critical examination of the Indian position in a literary style which would always command attention. * * *

* * * It is obvious it would be unbecoming in me to express any opinion on the resolutions of the National Congress ; but with regard to the movement of which the Congress is itself an illustration, it is but the outcome of what the British nation intended when it educated the people of India. I have but to recall to your minds that magnificent oration of Macaulay to show what were the intentions of those who passed the Statute of 1833, and

of the great statesman who devised the first great scheme of higher education for India; and unless that work is to be fruitless, we cannot expect that our fellow-subjects in Hindustan will not be as anxious as Englishmen are to secure the due representation of their opinions in the Councils of the State.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI, in seconding the motion, said : Any Native who has listened to the address, cannot help but feel deeply grateful for the liberal manner in which Sir William Hunter has spoken of Indian institutions, and the liberal spirit in which he has spoken of the means by which the good of India may be promoted in the future. I would, as an individual Indian, give as complete an assurance as I can, that all the glory of the various movements he has described, and the beneficial results flowing from them, belongs to you—the English people. It is to you we are indebted for the religious, social, and political progress of India. The work has been started with single-mindedness, and pure-heartedness, and with a sincere desire that India shall be, not the slave of England, but the friend and a partner of England. This has been from the first the policy of the English rule ; and it is still continued on the same lines. We have been, with some reason, a little impatient that change has not gone on with sufficient rapidity ; but there is no educated Indian but would admit that he is under the greatest debt of gratitude to British rule. If India is ever to become a nation advanced in civilisation, and prosperous in its material condition, it will be at the blessed hands of its British rulers. The people of India have the conviction that the British public, when they understand that what India asks is right and just, will not hesitate for a moment to grant it. This conviction enables us to come before the British public and to speak freely and frankly as to what we feel and want. Had it not been for that conviction, that England will listen to what is just and reasonable, we should never have thought of coming forward as we have done, in the National Congress, whose resolutions are the natural fruit of the various movements that have come into existence. I assure you, I have listened to Sir Willam Hunter's paper with very great interest and with gratitude. I have, therefore, great pleasure in seconding this vote of thanks to him.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI AT NORTH ISLINGTON CLUB.

[On March 29, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji delivered an address at the North Islington Liberal Club, Holloway Road, upon "the Indian National Council." The chair was taken by Mr. A. G. Duncan, who was supported by Dr. Grigby, L. L. B., Mr. H. Cooke Smith, Mr. Thomas Mass, B. A., (the Secretary), and others.]

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said that the establishment of the National Council was a phenomenal event in India. About the time when the British Indian Empire was almost completed, the British rulers laid down the lines upon which they intended to carry on the Government of the country. The question that was asked was whether the English Go-

vernment was to be like any of the despotic Asiatic Governments, or constitutional, such as the British Government was. There was, however, no hesitation on the part of England, who decided at once that it should be a Government, such as that of England itself, and the same rights and privileges as those of the English people were granted to India. A little more than half a century ago the educational seat and the political seat were established, while the third great and important event was the establishment of a free press, a concession which the natives of India could not at first properly appreciate. The Indians had gradually learned what British Government was, and they had proved themselves apt pupils. It was nonsense to talk about disloyalty because a few of the native prints were always speaking against British rule. By the extension of education there had been spread a common language throughout the whole nation. The native press not only discussed Indian but English politics, and, he ventured to think, as intellectually as the average journals here. A great cause of complaint, however, was the slight attention paid to Indian affairs in the British Parliament. There are a few friends of India in the House of Commons, but a reply was given to their questions in a mechanical manner by the Secretary of State, and if a division was claimed, the Government had a majority at its back which had the effect of closing the mouths of those members. There was another great complaint, which was that the whole destinies of 250,000,000 people, as well as their taxation, were disposed of in a few hours once a year when the Budget was brought in. Such a state of things was, to say the least, scandalous, and some better attention should be paid to the affairs of India, and representation must go with taxation. The claims of the National Council or Congress were of a most moderate character.

MR. CAINE, M. P., ON THE CONGRESS.

[Mr. Caine, M. P. On his return from India delivered a lecture giving a short account of his travels, and in the course of his speech he referred to the Congress in the following terms.]

All the time I was in India I sought as much as possible the society of the educated natives. I felt I could see enough of Anglo-Indian officials at home, but that I might never have the opportunity of visiting India again, where alone native opinion could be gathered up. In the many interviews I had with educated natives, both Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Brahma Samaji, I was deeply impressed with their mental grip and great intellectual attainments. There was no attempt to mislead, a total absence of prejudice, and a tone of moderation, with a desire to see both sides of every question under discussion. I found intense loyalty to British rule as the only Government possible to India, although almost every native had plenty of hostile criticism as to the methods and results of British administration. In a very few years the educated native will become a tremendous force in Indian society, and already he is knocking loudly at the door for some share in the responsible government of his native land. How far this demand is to be met is a social problem that is causing grave anxiety to successive Governors-General, and that will have before very long to be

seriously faced. These educated natives have already learnt the power of combination. Three years ago they formed themselves into a powerful organisation, not unlike in its character and formation our own Social Science Congress, which meets annually at some great centre for conference on matters affecting the welfare of native India. Three of these great representative congresses have been held at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, attended by 12,000 or 14,000 of the picked natives of India, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Jains, Parsees, Brahmos, and Christians meeting together with perfect harmony and great enthusiasm. The proceedings are conducted in English, and although I have carefully read their proceedings, I have not had the privilege of attending any one of these congresses, and, as far as possible, in my intercourse with a great many natives who have been members of them, have endeavoured to find out what are the hopes and wishes of this united and representative body of educated Indians. When India becomes generally educated, the education being based upon English ideas and English aspirations, it will be impossible to deny to those who by education are fitted for it, a full share in the privileges and responsibilities of the government of the country. It cannot therefore be wondered at that the few who have already reached that standard feel that at any rate they ought to possess some direct means of making the opinions and convictions of India felt by the Government. What this important element in Indian society desires is, not as has been often stated, the overthrow of British India; they know only too well that in the outbursts of anarchy which would follow such an event, they at any rates would be the first to be crushed. What they wish is that the Government should be more at touch with the people, and that the educated portion of the native races should have some voice in determining the policy of the Government, and above all should get a solid share in the administration, and of all the posts and offices which could be filled by natives as effectively and much more economically than by the English. India is virtually ruled by an English bureaucracy which is admittedly the finest civil service in the world, appointed by a severe competitive examination. This bureaucracy is directed by the Viceroy and local governors, assisted by councils which they themselves select. An Indian Civil Servant goes out to India for 25 years' service, four of which are holiday, and at the end of that time, when he is in the prime of life, retires with a minimum pension of about £1,000 a year. This is, of necessity, a very costly civil service. Large salaries have to be paid to induce the pick of young Englishmen to enter for the competitive examinations, and the pension list beginning at so early a date, is, of course, exceptionally heavy. The salaries and expenses of civil departments reach a total of 11 millions, of which less than two millions are paid to natives. Of course, in the earlier days of British rule, before English education had permeated the country, it was impossible to govern according to Western ideas, except through the medium of Englishmen. But natives now contend, and with some reason, that they ought to be much more largely admitted into the civil service, and if all the appointments which could be filled by natives without entrenching on the actual British administration and government of the country, were so filled it would effect a saving of some four millions sterling in the item of salaries alone. They have a further grievance in the fact that the examination for the higher branches of the civil

service is conducted only in England, and that natives unless they undertake the risk and expense of a journey from India—which to the pious Hindoo would involve the loss of caste—cannot enter the higher civil service at all. They demand, in my opinion, with great justice, that a fair share of these higher appointments should be allotted to natives, that the examinations should take place in India, and that the successful candidate only should be expected to go to England for two years for study at one of our national universities. But the main reform on which these educated natives insist is, that the legislative councils of India instead of being close bodies of nominated and official members, shall be opened to a certain number of elected representatives. They do not demand that the whole, or even a majority, of these councils should be elected. They are willing to leave the main power of government and administration with the European Executive. They would be content if one-third of the legislative councils, could in some way or other be elected by the natives, so that their views could be stated publicly, the Budgets discussed, and the Government interpellated on questions of executive administration. This demand is the inevitable result of the spread of English education, with its ideas of liberty and political rights, ideas fostered and encouraged to the utmost by a free native press, of great editorial ability. It is a demand to which sooner or later, the Government will be compelled to yield. The main difficulty is to find a constituency to elect. The mass of the people of India have no more idea of representative government than the inhabitants of a baby farm, and the educated demand for representative institutions only exists in the great centres of population. I discussed this matter with a party of educated gentlemen in Bombay, most of whom were members of the Annual Congress already referred to and they proposed that the large municipalities, like that of Bombay or Surat, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Universities, an electoral college of Mahommadans and another of Hindoos, might easily furnish a constituency that would meet all the necessities of the situation. I am, however, quite convinced that to satisfy in some way or other this legitimate demand of the educated Hindoo for some share in the government of his native land, would be of as great advantage to British rule in India as it would be to these educated natives and all they represent. The natives of India are also very urgent in another demand, which appears to me equally reasonable. The Legislative Councils of India are, of course, subordinate to the Indian Council in England, presided over by the Secretary of State. This home council consists of fifteen experts on Indian questions, and is composed of retired Indian civil or military servants, who have returned home. Their functions are to advise the Secretary of State for India. The original draft of the Act creating this council was drawn by Lord Beaconsfield, then Mr Disraeli, who, with great foresight, inserted a clause reserving four seats at this council for natives of India. His colleagues, however, objected, and it was struck out. Educated India anxiously demands that this wise proposal shall be adopted to-day, and that four or five natives, who have distinguished themselves in Indian administration, and enjoy the confidence of their co-nationalists, shall be added to the Indian Council as vacancies arise. These native gentlemen are also very anxious to see some of their number, enter the House of Commons, and many of you are familiar with the names of Lalmohun Ghose, Dadabhai Naoroji, and

other native Indians who have contested English constituencies, so far, I regret to say, without success. Briefly, then, what educated India desires is, representation in all the departments and governing bodies which control the destinies of their country. If they had fair play in the civil services, representation on their own legislative councils, and on the India Council at home, and if it were possible to induce some English constituency to accept one of their number, they would be more than content, while the advantage to Indian society of being able to discuss every grievance publicly in all the government bodies which rule their destinies, would be beyond all measures.

THE INDIAN POLITICAL AND GENERAL AGENCY.

[A Political and General Agency on behalf of the Indian National Congress has been established in London. It will aim to do for the people of India and for the various Political Associations what the India office does for official India as far as the office is concerned with presenting the affairs of the Empire to Parliament and the country. The agency works under the guidance of Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn. Mr. William Digby, C. I. E., is our agent. He is too well known a man to require any introduction from us. Mr. Digby's efforts during his residence in India will be remembered by the following :

- (1) Authorship and publication of pamphlets in favor of Reformed Legislature ;
- (2) Establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in Madras.
- (3) Origination of the Famine Fund of £800,000 in 1877, and Honorary Secretaryship of the Committee for Distribution of the same throughout Southern India ;
- (4) Editorship of a leading Anglo-Indian Daily Newspaper ; &c., &c.

In England, since his return in 1879, Mr. Digby has occupied positions, and performed duties which render him specially fitted to act as a medium between Indian reformers and sufferers from grievances in India and English political personages. He has edited two influential daily newspapers ; has organised and carried to a most successful position the largest political institution of its kind in the world ; was Agent for the Indian Associations in 1885, when the delegates to the British people were sent to England ; contested North Paddington as a candidate interested before all things in Indian affairs, and has written (among others) works entitled—

“ Indian Problems for English Consideration.”

“ India for the Indians—and for England ;” and “ India’s interest in the British Ballot Box ” (20,000 copies of this book were circulated in two months,)—works which have gained for Mr. Digby a high position in England as an authority on “ The India of the Indian people,” and as an acceptable exponent of Indian needs and aspirations. One of the most influential of English newspapers has said : “ The late Mr. Fawcett was known during his Parliamentary career as the Member for India,

and should Mr. Digby ever find his way into the House of Commons, he will have a very fair claim to inherit the honorable title.

Since the Agency has been established Mr. Digby has devoted to it not only his whole time but his whole vast experience and his whole heart. He has done a work for us that no one else could have done equally well. He is getting corresponding members of the agency in every important town of England. Among others the following duties will be performed by the Agency.]

1. Communications will be opened with all the various Associations in India having Political Reforms of whatever kind for their object. The interests of each Presidency and Province will be separately noted, and careful record made of them for immediate or future use. Any subject which, *e.g.*, a Bengal Association wishes should be brought before Parliament, or desires should be commented upon in the English Press, or both, will be carefully studied, and, in the most practical manner, brought under the attention of Members of the House of Commons and of the Press. The Agency will seek to be the Official Representative in England of the National Indian Congress and of the various Presidency and other Associations. Under instructions received from the respective centres such steps will be taken as may be calculated to secure the object aimed at.

2. Intimate intercourse will be maintained with Members of Parliament of all Parties, and their interest in the very grave questions which affect our Indian Empire will, by interview and correspondence, be aroused and informed.

3. Relations will be established with the Associations and organisations of both the great Political parties in Britain, and a systematic and determined attempt made to arouse British interest, and to enlist British effort, in Indian affairs. Communications will be opened with all Liberal and Conservative Associations; particulars supplied for discussions on Indian questions; arrangements made for lectures during the winter season, &c.

4. All official publications relating to India and presented to Parliament, as also records of political works and reports of meetings held in India, will be carefully filed and indexed.

5. Recourse to the Agency by all persons interested in Indian affairs will be encouraged, and information on all topics will be freely given.

6. Petitions from individuals or communities will receive careful consideration, and will be pressed upon the attention of the India Office or of Parliament as the case might require, or upon both, if need be.

7. From time to time as events call for this being done, the plain facts of important Indian matters will be prepared in clear and succinct form and presented through the Press and by other means, to the British people.

8. The arrangements (of whatever kind) for deputations from the people of India to the people of England, such as the delegation in the autumn of 1885, when Mr. Munomohun Ghose, from Calcutta, Mr. Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, from Madras; and Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, from Bombay; even amid the excitement of an unusually important General Election, attracted so much attention. The arrangements in such cases will include fixtures for public meetings in various parts of the country, inter-

views with prominent statesmen, and the like.

9. Quarterly Reports will be sent to the Indian Associations represented in the Agency, and special attempts made to ensure continuity of effort in all the matters taken in hand, whether in India or in England.

10. Eventually it is intended that a weekly Journal at a popular price (1d. or 2d.) specially devoted to Indian concerns, but at the same time largely mindful of English affairs, shall be published.

CIRCULAR LETTER.

[The following circular letter was sent to all the Members of Parliament and Press with the report of the Third National Congress.]

25, Craven-street, Strand, London, May 1888.

Sir,—We beg your kind acceptance of the accompanying Record of Proceedings of the *Third Indian National Congress*, and ask your most careful perusal of the various matters it contains.

The Resolution submitted to and (in some cases after most detailed discussion of differences) unanimously adopted by the Congress, and the speeches in which those resolutions were discussed, reveal with a force and intensity which nothing can distort, these things among others—

1. That the Reforms loudly called for by the condition of the country and by the intelligence and law-abiding conduct of the people will be striven for by constitutional means only.

2. That the Indian people as a whole, and their leaders in particular, are dominated by a sincere loyalty to the British Government, and are convinced that the granting of their demands would not diminish—but, on the contrary, would greatly increase—the strength of the Government against external foes, while, at the same time, largely adding to the prosperity of the country and

3. That Indian Reformers are, before all things, desirous, in the attainment of their objects, of establishing solidarity with their British fellow-subjects, being conscious that only through the sympathy and goodwill of yourself, and of others like minded with you, can the Reforms so urgently required be attained.

An examination of the particulars given on pp. 16 and 17, and especially in appendix 1, will show that the Congress, whose proceedings are placed before you, was fairly representative of the Indian peoples. The delegates were, in no single instance, self-elected, but were appointed either at open public meetings or by a political or trade association. No part of India was unrepresented, no section of the varied communities inhabiting Britain's Eastern Empire failed of appropriate representation.

Side by side with the education and consolidation of opinion in India and the organization of the people to press their desires upon the Government, it is intended to undertake like effort in this country. Every possible opportunity will be taken to impress upon the inhabitants of the United Kingdom—(any single vote here has more direct control over the destinies of India than have the whole two hundred millions of British

subjects in that empire)—the absolute need existing for the reforms which the Congress advocates. We know that without your co-operation we are quite helpless. The only road to Indian Reform runs through the British Parliament. That Parliament you can make what you will. We implore you to acquaint yourself with the unfortunate circumstances in which so many of your fellow-subjects are placed. Having so acquainted yourself, we ask you to render to this movement your most powerful assistance.

We venture to hope that your perusal of the accompanying statement of Indian needs and aspirations will lead you to wish for further information. Such information we shall be happy to supply. Communications addressed to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, 25, Craven-street, Strand, London, will receive the most prompt attention and all possible information will be freely given. With the view of affording the maximum of information to our English friends at the least expenditure or trouble on their part, arrangements are in progress which will, we hope, when fully matured, be of special service. Such action will be taken as may serve to maintain to increase and to completely inform that kindly disposition towards the well-being of India which we know dwells in the minds of your countrymen. This kindly disposition we regard as the most powerful weapon which can be caused on our behalf.

Again commending the *most urgent* matters contained in the accompanying record to your consideration

We are, Sir, your obedient servants, W. C. Bonnerjee, President of the First Congress; Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Second Congress; Budroodin Tyabji, President of the Third Congress.

PLACARDS.

[Twelve thousand copies of the following Quad Royal Pastors (four by three feet) calling attention to the Report of the Third Indian National Congress were plastered in every important town of the United Kingdom.]

INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM.

APPEAL FROM 200,000,000 BRITISH SUBJECTS TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

THIRTY YEARS AGO, when the Queen took over the Government, in a Proclamation to the Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples of India, Her Majesty said :—

“ We hold Ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian Territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all Our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, We shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.”

THOSE OBLIGATIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULFILLED. The People of India, thoroughly loyal to the British Supremacy, have

- (1) No voice whatever in the higher administration of their country. A single voter in Britain has more power in controlling Indian affairs than have all the Indians together.
- (2) No control over the expenditure of the money raised from them by taxation.
- (3) No power of questioning (as here, in the House of Commons) the acts of their rulers, let the grievances under which they suffer be ever so serious; while,
- (4) The way to high office is almost absolutely barred to them, and they are denied

rights and privileges as common to you Britons, their fellow-subjects, as the air you breathe.

The consequences of this kind of rule is most disastrous to the moral and material interests of India. The poverty of that great country is year by year deepening. BRITISH OFFICIALS state.

"THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE ARE MISERABLY POOR"

"FORTY MILLIONS GO THROUGH LIFE ON INSUFFICIENT FOOD."

Your Indian fellow-subjects, profiting by your example, are through constitutional agitation, endeavouring to secure political and other privileges. Their success means the greater prosperity of India and with it greater prosperity for great Britain. The interests of India and of Britain are indissolubly united and thoroughly identical.

Britons, who have yourselves been favoured with political rights and privileges, we beg you to acquaint yourselves with the condition of your Indian brethren, and help them to obtain the objects for which they are striving. WITHOUT YOU THEY ARE POWERLESS. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS RULES INDIA. IN THAT HOUSE INDIA HAS NO REPRESENTATION. Her peoples come to you and ask for your help,

The Indian people are already helping themselves. In representative Congress all classes of the vast Eastern Empire, your fellow-subject, have met year by year during the past three years, and have formulated their needs.

W. C. BONNERJEE (Hindu), DADABHAI NAOROJI (Parsee), BUDRUDIN TYABJEZ (Mohdn.) President of the 1st Congress. President of the 2nd Congress. President of the 3rd Congress.

Full particulars of the moderate demands of our fellow subjects may be obtained by a perusal of the

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD

'INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS'

which assembled at Madras, and which was attended by representatives from all parts of the Empire.

Copies may be purchased of all Booksellers. (Publishers : TALBOT BROS., 81, Carter Lane, London, and HAMILTON, ADAMS and Co., Paternoster Row, London.

Full particulars will be furnished to all interested. Enquiries are freely invited. Fellow-subjects, we ask your attention ; we beseech your help. You are all-powerful ; we are almost helpless. Without your aid our country and our countrymen will remain in their present backward condition and dire suffering. With your aid we shall become even as you are, and even as are our fellow-subjects in the self-governed Colonies ; then, and then only, will India rise from its condition of poverty and backwardness, and worthily take its place in the great British Empire.

BRETHERN AND FELLOW SUBJECTS, HELP US!

DADABHAI NAOROJI, Representative in Great Britain of the National Indian Congress.
LONDON June 1888. 25, Craven Street, Strand, London.

SIR W. W. HUNTER'S ARTICLES IN THE TIMES.

[The following is the text of the letters which Sir W. W. Hunter wrote to the Times in May 1888.]

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONGRESS.—I

Some little time ago the *Times* had two leading articles in a striking juxtaposition. One of them narrated the collapse of higher instruction in Russia. Taking as its text the recent "University strike and lock-out," it pronounced a stern English verdict on the policy by which successive Czars had created and fostered an educated class, and then tried to choke its natural

aspirations. It showed how "the epidemic of fury at oppression" had spread "as methodically as if it had been a travelling storm" from one great seat of learning to another, emptying colleges and lecture-rooms from Odessa to Moscow and St. Petersburg. It declared that, with the exceptions of the Fums and the German students at Dorpat, "the entire undergraduate class in the Empiro is in revolt. In Russia Proper all the Universities are shut except Kieff." It concluded with an eloquent warning to the rulers of Russia "on the absurdity of their attempt to chin by ordinances minds which by academical education they are enfranchising."

Side by side with this noble protest was an article on the Congress of Six Hundred Indian Representatives which was to meet the following morning at Madras. While declaring it impossible "even for the most obdurate opportunist to ignore" the obligations imposed on England by her world-wide Empire, the *Times* rightly insisted on England's duty to hold the balance equally between the divers races of India, and to calmly discriminate between the true requirements of its varied populations and demands which might possibly prove to be the perfervid aspirations of a small educated class.

The juxtaposition of these two articles, although perhaps accidental, may become historical. For next day, at Madras, the Mahomedan President of the Indian Congress, himself a late member of the Governor of Bombay's Council, made answer in memorable words to those who, unlike the *Times*, still question whether education is strength or a weakness to British rule in India. While showing that birth, wealth, native rank, and high official status were all represented at the Congress, he boldly accepted the position that the Congress is in a special manner the outcome of English education. He asked :—

"And where among all the millions of her Majesty's subjects in India are to be found more truly loyal, more devoted friends of the British Empire than among the educated natives? To be a true and sincere friend of the British Government it is necessary that one should be able to appreciate the great blessing which that Government has conferred upon us; and who is better able to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? If there were ever to arise, which God forbid, any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this country, who is more likely to judge better of the relative merits of the two Empires? It is the educated natives who are best qualified to judge, because it is we who know and are best able to appreciate—for instance—the blessing of the right of public meeting, the liberty of action and speech, which we enjoy under Great Britain; whereas probably under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits. No, let our opponents say what they please, we, the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government, and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India."

At the beginning of the year the policy of progress in Russia and in India had, therefore, reached two definite points. In Russia the Government

had deliberately acknowledged itself unable, for the time, to find a *modus vivendi* with the educated class and, saving the few exceptions already stated, had shut up the Universities throughout the Empire. In India the educated class had organized itself into a deliberative Congress, composed of 600 delegates, and claiming to represent not only the wealth and intelligence, but also the most devoted loyalty of every Province. In Russia the educated youth, denied the right of public meeting, had banded themselves in secret societies, and, forbidden to hope for reform, were plotting revolution. In India the Congress assembled in the most conservative capital of the Empire; it proposed not a single new political institution; the idea of a paper Constitution or of reforms on theoretical principles never occurred to it; its programme was strictly confined to the expansion and development of the existing methods of government. The year closed with friendly social courtesies from the representative of the British Crown to these business-like representatives of educated India; in Russia it closed with the leaders of the movement in prison. Public opinion in Russia, as embodied by the Press, stood by with face averted, silent, gagged, or overawed. Public opinion in England, as represented by the *Times*, was keenly watching the new phenomenon, admitting our national responsibilities, but insisting that those very responsibilities required that the fullest knowledge and the calmest consideration should precede any national decision.

For such a knowledge and such a consideration I shall endeavour to supply the materials. I believe the time is at hand when England must, under pain of grievous calamity, make up its mind on certain great questions of Indian policy. I see in India new forces gathering an ominous momentum, but yet under our control—forces which are surely destined either to strengthen or to imperil our Empire. Those forces take their origin from a motive power which we ourselves have set agoing, and for the time they still find one common outlet—the great desire now stirring the hearts of the Princes and people of India to be more closely incorporated into British rule. We have bred up a new generation of feudatory chiefs in the principles and practice of public duty, a generation which feel their position to be an anachronism incompatible with their training. They now beg to be allowed to prove themselves worthy of the tuition they have received, and press upon the Viceroy offers of their armies and revenues for a truly Imperial system of frontier defence. We have at the same time reared a great educated class with our own territories, nurturing them on the doctrines of English liberty, grounding them in the work of administration, disciplining them by the practical teaching of local self-government, admitting them to some of the highest offices in the State, and publicly consulting them in every large legislative measure. This powerful class, thus exercised and inured in the duties of British citizenship, now ask, like the feudatory chiefs, but in their own different province, to be more fully associated in the work of British rule. There rises, therefore, from the people and Princes of India a new and united cry to be allowed to enter on the responsibilities for which we have deliberately trained them—the responsibilities of the external defence and the internal government of their country.

I should be an unfit person for the task which I have set before me were I to conceal my belief that in this great upheaval there is cause for the most

sure-footed caution as well as for solemn national exultation. To produce the new India on which we now look, many a high-minded English officer has eaten his heart out in what seemed a vain struggle with the corruption, the oppressions, the numbing sensuality of the old native Courts. Many a weary Indian statesman has racked his brain for schemes to better the British provinces, with a sad despair of the results ; many a civilian has toiled, and been buried and forgotten in obscure districts; many a missionary has gone with a sense of hopelessness day after day to his village school. These all died as strangers in a strange land, not seeing even afar off the new India which our eyes behold. And on the present generation of Englishmen, the heirs to so much noble labour, there rests the weighty responsibilities that this great inheritance shall bring a blessing and not woe. A mistake either of temerity or of delay may work enduring evil. The moral and political forces which our predecessors have set in motion in India, and to which our system daily adds fresh strength, are so powerful that they must irresistibly produce change. It still rests with us whether those forces shall act as agencies of consolidation or of disruption. I have stood on the bank of the Ganges at Benares at the beginning of the rains, and watched the almost imperceptible rise of the stream. But the few feet more or less, which flow past the Holy City mean a mighty mass of water that will cover thousands of square miles lower down. No skill can anticipate the results of the vast new energy thus let loose each autumn upon the delta. We only know that nothing can stay its course, but that, throughout wide districts, it depends upon human fore-thought and human efforts whether the moving monster shall come as a fertilizing inundation or as a destructive flood. To many sober observers the National Congress seems also as the letting out of mighty waters, whose issue no man can foresee. I certainly am no professor of political prophecy to predict the possibilities which this veritable portent presages. But although I cannot prognosticate its future, I can truthfully state its programme at the present, and show how that programme has inevitably grown out of the past.

Portents and prodigies, like other phenomena, have their origin in causes. The 600 delegates who met in Congress at Madras are the product of a multitude of local associations which during the past 30 years have been silently spreading themselves over the British provinces. Like most popular movements of real strength or permanence in India, many of these societies had a religious or semi-religious origin. As the military confederation of the Sikhs started from a spiritual brotherhood, and as the modern vernacular Press of Bengal grew out of the theological or sectarian journalism, so the native political organization of the present day is to some extent a development of what seemed at first to be merely young men's mutual improvement associations. In such Indian societies religious discussion usually forms an important feature. Some of them were simply student clubs, which gathered round the nucleus afforded by the leading library of the central college or of the district school. I well remember the time when it was regarded at headquarters as a promising sign of a young district officer if he encouraged by his presence and sympathy those nascent associations of the educated youth. They were of a dreamy and occasionally rather dreary character, dealing with abstractions, and seldom condescending

to touch on passing events. Their staple business was mild speculation, a philosophy curiously compounded from the Sanskrit sages of the Vedanta and the American Unitarian divines. By degrees, however, they assumed a more practical tone. Social questions began to supersede theistic theses; Mill's "Political Economy" took the place of Theodore Parker's works.

This development received a powerful impulse from the action of the Government. British administrators long regretted that the self-acting village institutions of ancient India had been suffered to decay without any similar substitute being provided. The village watch, the river embankments, on whose continuity depends the safety of large tracts, the great reservoirs which distribute fertility, and many other branches of rural co-operation had fallen into disorganization or disrepair. A more careful scrutiny disclosed that the process was the result of causes at work anterior to British rule, and that the decay of village institutions formed merely an outward sign of deep organic changes in Indian social life. It was found impossible to put back the hand on the dial-plate. But it was deemed practicable to replace the worn-out mechanism of indigenous local government by a new agency. A series of enactments gradually and cautiously created municipal institutions and rural unions for British India. This new agency, it was hoped, would not only relieve the overburdened British administrator, but would re-incorporate the people in the work of local government, and furnish a modern adaptation of the old rural Councils of Five. Able Anglo-Indian journalists hailed the new boards as legislative recognition of the advance of India from the village to the municipal stage of civilization under British rule. Meanwhile the educated native youth who had formed the early mutual improvement societies and student clubs were growing into mature men. They naturally became an important element in the municipalities and rural unions. The spread of these new institutions reacted in turn on the old literary or semi-religious associations, and tended to substitute political for abstract speculations. Some of the older bodies changed their name with their character. But many of them, with true Indian conservatism, only very slowly and almost imperceptibly developed their new aims. It was such a graduate's society that elected to the late Madras Congress perhaps its most distinguished member, the Raja Sir Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I., one of the most powerful Prime Ministers of an Indian State whom our age has produced, and at the same time a sincere well-wisher and proved friend of British rule.

The habit of associating for political purposes received a second impulse from a very different source. Our earlier Indian legislators, destitute of the assistance which a more developed Press and the modern system of Legislative Councils afford, were often glad to receive information and guidance from local bodies of any kind. The Chambers of Commerce, or their prototypes, in the Presidency towns were consulted with more or less frequency; a wealthy association urged the views of the British planters and capitalists in Bengal; the cotton interest had its own strongly equipped organization. In course of time these bodies proved themselves powerful not only to guide legislation, but also to oppose it. The long struggle of the British Planters' and Capitalists' Association against the Land Law of 1857 forms, indeed, one of the most striking episodes in the history of English industry in India.

As the educated body of native gentlemen grew in numbers and importance, they not only felt their own strength, but they feared that fair legislation was sometimes imperilled by the unavoidably one-sided influence exercised by the various Anglo-Indian associations upon the Government. They accordingly formed themselves into societies at the chief Indian centres, more or less avowedly for the defence of their political and economic interests. Even when such societies started rather with a view to social progress, the strongest of them, by a sort of irresistible propulsion, developed a political character. The leading organizations of this class, like the British India Association of Calcutta, the Mahajana Sabha of Madras, the Sarvajanak of Western India, and the great Anjumans or Mahomedan societies in Bengal and Bombay, have now acquired a prescriptive title to advice in legislative measures affecting the interests of the populations which they represent. They also exercise a powerful, although less acknowledged, influence upon the selection of native members for the Viceregal and the Provincial Legislative Councils. The British India Association, for example, not only deliberates on Bills referred to it, but it has practically had a nominee of its own in the Viceroy's Legislative Council during the past five years. The influence which the representative of so powerful a body exerts is very great. When he speaks in Council the Viceroy pushes aside the bundles of papers in which his Excellency has been absorbed while official members were haranguing and becomes a picture of rapt attention. In Select Committee a prudent Law Member shrinks from using the numerical vote of his colleagues against the representative member's views. The secretary of the British India Association appointed to the Viceroy's Legislative Council about six years ago, although able and eloquent, was rather deficient in practical knowledge. Yet he was a power. On his death the leading man in the British India Association was again appointed to the Viceregal Council. This gentleman, a Brahmin of pure caste and a great landholder, minutely versed in the details of rural economy, has during several years perhaps the strongest individual influence on internal legislation.

While political co-operation was thus spreading over India, and receiving recognition from the Government, other concurrent causes have been at work. For the recognition was not alone in regard to legislative measures, but also in the actual conduct of affairs. The formal consultation of the people by means of public commissions has received a great development under the Queen's rule. Bodies of an avowedly representative composition have been from time to time appointed to collect opinion and hear evidence on the principal branches of the administration—education, excise, forests, finance, famines, irrigation, land revenue, agrarian economy; and lately by Lord Dufferin, on the great question of the reconstitution of the public services of India. The more important of these commissions went on progress from province to province. A single one of them examined 193 witnesses, and received 323 memorials, of which under a half were from municipalities or public bodies while the other half may be described as mass manifestoes, signed by over a quarter of a million of persons. The cumulative effect of such commissions in accustoming the people to express their views has been very great. At the same time the practice of holding

public meetings has grown into a new power. This practice is coeval with the establishment of British rule in India, and many instances, not always of a congratulatory sort, are recorded in the earlier journals and gazettes. It received fresh energy from the spread of municipal institutions. The ably organized opposition of the Anglo-Indian community to many measures from Lord Macaulay's judicial reforms half a century ago down to the land reforms of 1857, the reform of the jury system in 1865, the income-tax, the Ilbert Bill, and the Simla exodus, has given a further development to the practice, and taught the natives that the right of Public meeting might be used as an instrument of political demonstration. On some occasions, as in the case last named, Europeans and natives in Calcutta have assembled for the purpose of a joint protest in the Town-hall, public meetings and local associations now form the most powerful exponents of native opinion. It is from these two sources that the Indian National Congress sprang.

Of the 603 delegates who composed the Congress at Madras, 311 were appointed at public meetings, and 292 were sent by local associations. The public meetings were of many sorts, from great gatherings at the Presidency cities and assemblies in the district capitals, to smaller concourses drawn together for groups of towns, rural areas, revenue circles, and collections of villages. A market town would form itself into an electoral nucleus, and incorporate around it, say, 16 villages to name a delegate. Or a provincial club constitutes the organizing body, and appointed at a public meeting a member for itself and, say, 30 villages. Nor were the electoral associations of a less varied character. Many of them were avowedly race societies, representing distinct sections of the community—Hindoo, Mahomedan, Eurasian, native Christian, Jain, and Parsee. Others were for local or special purposes, including mercantile corporations, and agricultural association, a land-holder's association, a tenants' association, an artisan association and various fancy franchises such as the Committee of the Court of the Arbitration at Poona, a committee of united editors of native papers, a great Hindoo monastery and its monastic lands. The delegates thus selected represented widely different classes of the community, Rajahs and Maharaj-Kumars, Mahomedan nobles, a Sikh Sardar and *darbari* of the Viceroy, members of the knightly orders, members of the Legislative Councils, municipal commissioners, the sheriff and ex-sheriff of one Presidency capital, the Standing Counsel to Government at another, the former *divan*, or Prime Minister of a native State, the present *divan* of a Rajah; merchants, bankers, editors, professors, mill-owners, a Hindoo abbot, and a high priest.

Such was the origin and such is the constitution of the Indian National Congress which met during the closing days of last year at Madras. Two previous assemblages of a similar character have been held in India. The first met at Bombay in 1885, and consisted of 50 delegates. The second met at Calcutta in 1886, and numbered 436 delegates, of whom 300 travelled each on an average 90 miles, while the journeys of about 30 of them, exceeded 2,000 miles apiece. The third Congress, at Madras, in December 1887 was attended by 603 delegates, appointed by a more developed system of electoral bodies throughout the provinces of the Empire. Such an annual gathering claiming a representative character, and passing resolutions on questions of the highest political import is, as I have called it, a veritable

portent of India. It must be powerful either for evil or for good.

ITS PROPOSALS—II.

It is characteristic of the Conservative instinct in India that Madras Congress has no programme based on theoretical principles. The idea of a paper constitution, so dear to some European reformers, is altogether alien to its aims. Of the 11 resolutions passed by the Congress, four dealt with its own electoral organization and internal management ; four related to the expansion or modification of existing institutions of the civil government ; three gave expression to the desire, now felt alike by the princes and people, to take a more active share in the military defence of India. Regarding the first class it need only be said that they provide for 12 standing committees as electoral centres for the great territorial divisions of the Indian Empire, for the preparation of the business to be brought before the Congress at the end of each year and for the submission of its views to the Viceroy and Secretary of State.

Of the four resolutions dealing with the civil Government, perhaps the one of immediate importance is the proposal for the separation of the Judicial from the executive branch of the administration. It may seem strange that such a request has still to be preferred by subjects of Great Britain. It was one of the foundations of English liberty that the executive should not be both prosecutor and Judge in its own cause. The recognition of this principle in India formed the most beneficent aspect of that growing sense of public responsibility which, in the last century developed a trading company in Bengal into a great Government. The separation of the higher judicial and executive function effected by Lord Cornwallis has gradually been carried out in the lower grades. In the most efficiently administered provinces it is now almost complete. But one important officer still unites executive authority with judicial powers. This is the "Collector-Magistrate," or administrative head of the "district," and even his significant double title does not quite adequately express his combination of duties. He is the chief officer responsible for the collection of the revenue, for the efficiency of the police, and for the magisterial jurisdiction throughout a large area, sometimes containing two or three millions of people. The Indian Government has long felt the anomaly of holding the same official accountable for catching the thief and for convicting him, for protecting its fiscal and territorial rights, whose infringements come within the cognizance of the magisterial courts, and for the due punishment of the accused. It has realised, quite as keenly as the speakers at the Congress, the delays of justice and the inconvenience to plaintiffs prisoners, and witnesses which may arise from their having to follow wearily after the shifting camp of a revenue officer. A collector must move about his district, in some provinces during nearly half the year, and at certain seasons his magisterial work becomes practically subordinated to his more pressing fiscal functions. Postponements of criminal cases and adjourned hearings to an encampment, often many miles distant, are inseparable from such a system. The old argument in its favour, derived from the unsettled or unruly state of the people, is officially admitted to have lost its force in most parts of India. The Government does what it can to lessen the inconveniences by various devices ; such as the delegation of the criminal jurisdiction to the Joint Magistrate, who

remains at the head quarters of the district. But an appellate criminal jurisdiction still resides in the collector-magistrate and want of funds has precluded even this measure, of relief from being universally granted. Lord Dufferin has, however, expressed his desire to forward the movement, and the Congress strongly represents the willingness of the people to bear the additional expenditure required. There seems little doubt that, as soon as financial exigencies permit, the complete independence of the judicial administration will be secured throughout all the settled provinces of India.

Another proposal of the Congress is to modify the working of the Indian income-tax in favour of the poor. At present the tax is levied on incomes down to £35 (Rs 500). The Congress desires that the *minimum* income subject to the tax should be £70. It points out that the extortions and oppressions by underlings which render the tax so particularly odious in India are practically confined to the poor and timid class of taxpayers, whose incomes fall between these scales. It urges, with truth, that the Indian family obligation for the maintenance of female members and dependents falls with such severity on this class as to render it scarcely better off than the class with the same income in England, whom no Chancellor of the Exchequer would think of subjecting to the income-tax. As a matter of fact, every well-informed economist will admit that the class earning £35 a year in India is not nearly so well off as the class in England earning £150; the *minimum* income liable to the English income-tax. To attempt to levy the impost on incomes of £35 in England would render it as hateful to the people as it is now in India. The Congress argues that the Government itself acknowledged the hardships of the present low limit by its declared intention to exempt its own servants with incomes below £70. The unfairness of such a special exemption prevented it from becoming law. All that the Congress now asks is that the Government should recognize for the people at large the same limit of £70 which it desired to fix for its own servants—that is to say, for the class with whose means and capacity for paying the tax the Government was most accurately acquainted. In this, as in other questions, the Congress refused to make itself a party to extreme proposals. An amendment, "That as the administration of the income-tax has involved very great hardships, the tax should be abolished" was met with, "It is the only tax that reaches the rich; we do not want to relieve ourselves of taxation," and had to be withdrawn. Nor would it listen to an amendment which, following the English practice, would have entitled the well-to-do classes who composed the Congress to an abatement (in this case of £35) from their gross taxable incomes. The members desired relief only for their poorer countrymen. They expressed their willingness to make good the loss of revenue by a re-imposition of the customs duties, carefully exempting the coarser qualities of piece goods, in which the Indian mills now compete keenly with the English manufacturer, so that Manchester might not accuse them of protectionist leanings. In this proposal they have the concurrence of a large section of the European community in India. It is certain that if the present military exigencies had been foreseen the customs duties would not have been abolished. It is also certain that by exempting the lowest class of incomes, under £70 from taxation, the Government would get rid of the special odium which in In-

dia attaches to the Income-tax.

A resolution to which the Congress attaches much importance deals with the expansion of the Legislative Councils. It points out that the progress of India under the Queen's rule has involved a new development of local government, as represented by municipal legislation, about every ten years. It urges that a similar development may, after a lapse of nearly 30 years, be reasonably expected in the Viceregal and Provincial Legislative Councils. It believes that such an expansion can now be safely effected both in regard to the functions and to the structure of those bodies. As respects functional changes it makes the judicious request that the yearly budget may be laid before the Viceroy's Legislative Council and not exempted from authoritative discussion by merely publishing it in the Gazette. In this request the Congress is supported by the Chambers of Commerce and indeed by the whole European and non-official community in India. Some defence might indeed be made for the existing practice, if the Indian finance were carefully controlled by Parliament. But even those who most regret the present state of things clearly recognize the impossibility of any real supervision of Indian expenditure being exercised by the House of Commons. We see each year 70 to 80 millions of Indian public money expended without criticism or control from the Indian Legislature, and with the mere farce of a debate before 16 or 20 wearied members of Parliament in the dying hours of the Session. No terms can be stronger than those in which English statesmen of both parties and members of the House have condemned or lamented this system. The Madras Congress, in asking that the revenue and expenditure of India may be annually submitted to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, is in complete accord with the European community in India, and with all serious political thinkers in England.

The other functional change which the Congress desires in the Legislative Councils is the right of interpellation. This right was conceded by Lord Dalhousie to the earlier Legislative Council in 1854. Indeed, one of the obvious uses of such a body in a country destitute of any official organ or of a semi-official Press, is to enable the Government, by answers to questions, to correct misapprehensions and to state facts. Lord Dalhousie, who held the reins tighter than any Indian ruler since the Marquis of Wellesley in the first years of the century, provided by a standing order that—"A member may ask a question of another member, but such question must be confined to matters immediately connected with the business of the Legislative Council, and must be asked in a manner which does not involve argument or inference." This order was put to extreme uses, it is stated by certain English members of the Council, and the Councils Act of 1861 has been worked without any such provision, often to the inconvenience of the Government, and now to the dissatisfaction of the people. The Congress asks that the right of interpellation be declared afresh, in regard to all questions of internal civil administration. It would exempt from interpellation all questions bearing upon the army, and there are obviously other groups of subjects connected with the foreign policy of the Government and its dealings with the local Governments or with Her Majesty's Ministers, which would also be excluded. The clear right of the

Executive to withhold an answer would have to be reserved.

The structural changes which the Congress wishes to see in the Legislative Council are also two in number. One of them has reference to raising the proportion of non-official members from a third to a half; the other to the introduction of the elective principle. These proposals involve issues so serious that they could only be accepted after deliberate inquiry by Parliament. The numerical change would, indeed, still leave a working majority with the Government, owing to the widely different views and interests which the non-official members represent. The Congress desires in any case to exclude the army from the scope of the reformed Legislative Councils; an exemption to which it might be somewhat difficult to give practical effect.

Its proposal for a partially elective constitution of the Legislative Councils is the outcome of a gradual growth of the representative element in the work of local government during the past 30 years. Lord Lawrence laid down as Viceroy the general principle in 1864:—"Holding the position we do in India," he said, "every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people." The chief Indian administrators of our day have made similar declarations. Some of them, like Sir Richard Temple, base their view on political considerations. "It must be remembered," he said, "that the elective principle is essential to that political training which every stable Government (like that of the British in India) must desire to see possessed by its subjects. Public spirit cannot be created without intrusting the people with a part of their own public business, a part limited at first, but increasing as their fitness shall grow. A trustful policy will be found a wise one, and that which is sound morally, will prove to be the safest politically." The majority of Indian statesmen have, however, dealt with the elective principle simply as an administrative necessity without pretending to any personal predilection for it. Sir Auckland Colvin, the cautious Governor of the North-West, who unites the experience of India and Egypt, lately declared:—"The business of administration in India becomes more complex as years pass on, and the wants of the country grow more numerous. It is impossible for Government, unaided by the people, either to know or to supply those wants. It is to the co-operation of the people in the administration of certain branches of public business that the Government must look to to enable it to deal successfully with its difficulties."

The representative principle has already received recognition in many spheres of Indian public life. It has made the great municipalities its own. Even the Universities are passing under its sway. By the Act of 1857, which created the three original Universities of British India, their governing bodies were composed entirely by nomination. But the Acts for the two more recent Universities cordially recognize the elective principle in the composition of those bodies. The Fellows were no longer to be appointed entirely by nomination, but in part also by election. The three older Universities now desire to strengthen themselves by adopting the same principle. In Bombay a Bill has, I believe, been introduced in the Legislative Council for this purpose and the question is passing

through other stages of development in Calcutta and Madras. The truth is that representative institutions are an irrepressible growth among a people educated on the examples of English liberty, and ruled in the spirit in which England rules India.

The extension of the elective principle to the Legislative Councils would be attended with serious, although not with insuperable difficulties. In the first place, it is no easy matter to construct an electoral body which would truly represent the diverse races and conflicting communities of India. The Congress clearly perceives this. It proposes, therefore, that the electoral college, "after being constituted with due precaution as to fairness from the Municipal Councils, Chambers of Commerce, and other representative bodies, should be subject to the scrutiny and revision of the Government, which would supplement any deficient representation of particular classes by adding to the electoral college members named by itself. In the second place, the extension of the elective principle to the Legislative Councils should be gradual, precisely as its adoption has been gradual, in the municipalities. The Indian Government must be a strong Government, and any expansion of popular rights would be dearly purchased if to weaken the executive. But Legislative Council in which one-half the members were officials, another quarter nominated by the Government, and one quarter elected, would probably increase rather than impair the authority of the Viceroy and the provincial Governors.

I have now enumerated the resolutions of the Indian National Congress bearing upon the civil government. Whatever may be our personal predilections we cannot help making two acknowledgments. First, that each of the proposals is a cautious advance upon well established lines. Second, that as a whole, they bring forward the main subjects which a Royal Commission, or a Joint Committee of both Houses, such as was announced in the Lords and Commons two years ago, will have to deal with. In a concluding article I shall examine the suggestions by which the Congress would give effect to the desire of the princes and people to take a more effective share in the military defences of India.

THE ARMING OF INDIA.—III.

Having enumerated the proposals of the Congress in regard to the Civil Government of India, it remains to examine the suggestions by which it would give effect to the popular desire to take a large share in the military organization. During the past decade this desire has rapidly gained strength. It was awakened by the employment of the Indian troops in Malta and Egypt, by the visit of the Indian soldiers to England, and by the attention justly shown to them by the Queen and the nation. It received a memorable impulse from the threatened aggressions of Russia in 1885-86, and it found a splendid expression in the Nizam's offer last summer. That offer was preceded and followed by similar acts of loyalty by other Indian Princes. The Calcutta Correspondent of *The Times* has ably summarized the results. By the 11th of March nine leading potentates had offered more than a million of money together with their armies to the Viceroy. Since then another of the most powerful feudatories, Holkar, has been added to the list. But in addition to those who came forward with free-will subsidies in cash, the whole native Courts

are expressing in various modes their desire to take part in the defences. I cannot do better than reproduce your Calcutta Correspondent's telegram, premising that the feudatory armies of India aggregate a third of a million of men. The ruler of Mysore has offered to the Viceroy to raise and maintain a suitable military force, trained by British officers; the ruler of Puttiala offers troops whenever required; the ruler of Bhawalpore, a contingent of troops and money aid, proportioned to his resources; the ruler of Tonk the service of himself, his family, his troops, and the whole resources of his State; the ruler of Alwar money and troops whenever required; the ruler of Rampore to defray the expense incurred in raising and maintaining a native infantry regiment in every war, together with all the resources of his State; the ruler of Mandi the services of himself and the resources of his State; the rulers of Suket and Mantes the like; the rulers of Loharu the service of himself, his brothers, his property, and caravan of 50 camels; the ruler of Chamba land for cantonments.

This widespread desire on the part of the great feudatories to take a more active share in the defence of the Empire is only the counterpart of a similar movement in our own Provinces. It would indeed have been a mournful result of English rule if, amid the loyal arming of the native States, British India had remained cold and inert. In both cases the immediate cause was the same—namely, the aggressive action of Russia. The Russians, argues the Madras Congress, have enlisted their lately conquered hordes of Central Asia against India, "Have we been less loyal to the British than the Turcomans to the Russians whom they fought with only yesterday?" Russian aggression has thus called forth an outburst of patriotism in India such as no statesman could have dreamed of, 20 years ago. It is not needful to reproduce the picture drawn by an eloquent speaker at the Madras Congress of the "hundred wild tribes that Russia will tempt into making common cause with her in plundering our towns and ravishing our women." But the cheers which answered his inquiry when he put the whole question into the single sentence, 'Are we such fools as not to realize the difference between British and Russian rule, were very significant. The truth is that Russia by her instiable policy in Central Asia has raised a spirit of self-defence in India which is animating alike the feudatory States and the British Provinces. India has for ages been accustomed to dread barbarian incursions from the north, and the old fear has been again thoroughly aroused. There is a growing conviction among the Princes and people that no treaties will bind the officers of the Czar. The Penjdeh incident was one of the historical mistakes of Russia's semi-civilized and cynical indifference to international rights. For from Penjdeh will be found to date the new frontier defences and the closer military organization of India. Never was a nobler defiance hurled back against foreign menace than the answer that the Princes and people of India gave to Russia's threatened aggression.

The reply which the natives of the British Provinces promptly made to Penjdeh was a demand to be enrolled as Volunteers. The Congress points out that Lord Canning's resolution permits natives to be enrolled only in existing Volunteer regiments, and not as separate corps. As the existing Volunteer regiments consist of Europeans who do not desire to elect Indians into

their ranks. Lord Canning's provision is practically prohibitive to native volunteering. One or two Indian gentlemen have indeed, obtained election into existing corps, but as in the Regular Army so in the Volunteer force, native could only be enrolled in any considerable numbers in native regiments. This proffer of their services as Volunteers is the counterpart in British India of the offers by the feudatory Princes of their free-will subsidies and troops. England may well be proud of the spectacle of a united India, feudatory and British, loyally asking leave to join in the defence of the Empire. But the political considerations involved by the acceptance of either set of offers demand the most deliberate caution. Taken together they amount to a new military organization for India. Such an organization cannot be decided upon in a few months. As the Princes of India should not be impatient if the Viceroy delays to accept their subsidies and troops while this great problem is being worked out, so neither should the natives of the British Provinces misunderstand Lord Dufferin's inability to enrol them as volunteers. No Viceroy or Commander-in-Chief can decide that great issue, but only the British nation, which has taken on itself the responsibility for the external defence and the internal peace of India.

Three points are, however, clear. First, that if we can accept these magnificent offers of Indian loyalty, England will have an armed array at her back in India that will render hopeless any project of Russian ambition on our Eastern Empire. Second, that native volunteering in our own provinces forms not only a patriotic counterpart, but also a necessary equipoise, to an increase in the efficiency of the feudatory armies. Third, that both the Princes and people have urged their request in a most temperate and becoming manner. All that the Princes say is,—“Use our revenues and troops in whatever way the British Government thinks best.” The Indian National Congress equally refrains from attaching conditions to its volunteering offer, and clearly recognizes that Government may have to place very careful restrictions on a new force capable of assuming unknown dimensions. Its resolution of 1886 ran thus:—“That in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared, therefore, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorize (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis.” This resolution was enthusiastically reaffirmed by the Madras Congress in 1887. It also asked for the establishment of military schools in India, such as the Indian Sandhurst which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is understood to advocate, with a view to the better training of native officers. The Congress pointed out that the age of mercenaries is over in Europe, and that in any great struggle England must depend for her fighting men on her own subjects. India can supply the one thing wanting to the military strength of England—numbers. The Congress perfectly realized, however, the gravity of its proposals. “We none of us wish,” said the principal speaker, “to press this question too far. We do not ask that the privilege of volunteering should be conferred on everybody in India. We only make a very

reasonable demand—namely, that the Government should allow those it knows it can trust, and those only, to volunteer."

An appeal made in this spirit is sure of a fair hearing in England. Whatever may be the immediate decision, England cannot help a new and just pride in a people in whom her training has begotten this loyal desire to share in the defence of her Empire—a people who claim their right to discharge their obligations as British citizens and claim it with moderation of tone and with persistent patience under unavoidable delays.

On all the various questions which I have enumerated the Congress was unanimous; but one proposal, the repeal of the Arms Act brought out a wide difference of opinion among its members. A section regarded the prohibition to wear arms, except by license, as a slur on the loyalty of the people. Another section (the mover of the resolution stated that he belonged to the farmer class) insisted on its practical hardships in a country in which 22,907 persons and 59,029 cattle were in 1885 killed by snakes and wild beasts, and enormous damage was done to the crops by wild boars. A third section perceived that to allow the races of India to relapse into their armed or the semi-armed state would be a public calamity. An armed population means a military police and a murderous criminal class—two of the most cruel scourges which can afflict a peaceful people. In India the resumption of the wearing of weapons would also intensify the dangers arising out of religious animosities and conflicting festivals. When India went armed, hundreds of men perished every year in street processions which now pass without a blow, or end in a few fanatics being carried off with sore bones to the lock up. The result this diversity of opinion was an inconsequential compromise effected during the last minutes of the Congress. One suggestion, however, deserves attention. By making over the working of the Arms Act under due safeguards to the municipal and rural councils—the local bodies most interested in preserving order—Government would secure that sufficient licences are granted to protect each neighbourhood from wild beasts, and rid itself of the unpopularity arising from the sometimes too rigid interpretation of the law.

I have now reviewed the proposals of the National Indian Congress, and tried to present an impartial account of its proceedings. It was, perhaps, inevitable that such a body should, at starting, encounter some misapprehension. It was feared, for example, that the Congress would be the selfish organ of a small educated section. Its yearly list of delegates include, however, representatives of every order in the community—from the native nobility and the high official aristocracy to the professional, banking, mercantile, trading, artisan, and agricultural classes. It was also anticipated that the Mahomedans, apprehensive of finding themselves in overpowered minority, would hold aloof. But, with the exception of the province in which the Mussulmans were in their own memorial specially provided for by the Education Commission as among "the backward races," the Mahomedans of India have cordially joined in the movement. A Mahomedan was the president of the Madras Congress, and the 83 Mahomedan delegates who attended furnished some of its ablest speakers and men of business. No terms could be stronger than those in which the Mahomedan members one after the other, protested against

the Congress being regarded as Hindu or sectarian in any sense. Then we were warned that the Congress was a connection of the too ingenuous Bengali, and would represent only the weakest race in the Empire. As a matter of fact, it is the perhaps even abler Maratha who has most powerfully influenced its proceedings. The first Congress of 1885 was fixed to assemble under the auspices of the great Maratha Association at Poona, the headquarters of that race of hereditary administrators. When cholera broke out at Poona, it was held at the nearest capital, Bombay. A Maratha statesman (a Rajah and a Knight Commander of the Star of India) was again the convener of the Congress at Madras. In that its Congress, as might be expected from geographical position, the Tamil and Telugu speaking peoples predominated. The actual history of the Congress has falsified the initial forebodings. Yet those forebodings were uttered with perfect sincerity. A venerable Mussulman, who rendered such noble services to his countrymen, in his prime that we may well excuse the aberration of his age, solemnly, although unsuccessfully, warned his co-religionists against the Madras assemblage. "If any of you," he is thus reported by the Calcutta correspondent of *The Times*, "to whom God has given sentiments of honour, if you accept that the country should groan under a Bengali yoke and the people lick Bengali shoes, then in God's name jump into the train and be off to Madras." Such violence of speech defeats its own purpose, especially as the aged orator forgot that nearly one-half of the whole Mahomedans of British India are Bengalis.

The truth is that a loyal but vehement old Mussulman finds it hard to comprehend the change which has come over the Indian political world. It is difficult for him to understand that the problem in the India of the Queen is no longer how to divide and govern, but how, having united, to rule. The difficulty is shared even by some Europeans. Indeed, *The Times* lately deemed it needful to rebuke an Anglo-Indian official, of high position and unquestioned ability, for having "been so far tempted from his reserve as to use language likely to inflame the passions of the Queen's subjects against another." But those who have attentively watched the course of Indian sentiment during the past quarter of a century are accustomed to these passing exacerbations against each of the leading races, in turn. The Mussulmans were for long the chief object of attack; during more recent years the Mahrathas and their strongly organized association at Poona were inveighed against. The wealth and success of the Bengali have always made him many enemies. His superior education enabled him to engross a disproportionate share of public employment even in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab; he takes the bread out of the mouths of our young English barristers and solicitors in the Calcutta High Court; his competition has reduced the number of English clerks in the mercantile offices. At the same time, the system of great landed estates developed by the British in Bengal has created a wealthy and independent native gentry who do not fear to criticize the English officials, while the Marathas live on the healthy uplands of the south, the Bengali is chiefly situated by his critics in the Gangetic delta, one of the malarial tracts of India. English child-life withers in that region, and it is said that the British race cannot there reproduce itself, if unmixed with

Indian Blood, beyond the third generation. The fever bacillus and other deadly germs find a permanent home in Bengal and destroy a large portion of the natives in childhood or before they reach their prime. The survivors are an attenuated race, with slender bodies, but of a bright intelligence, and marvellously patient of mental labour. The Bengali is, in fact, the product of our permanent settlement and our public instruction, as modified by the bacteria of the delta. His English critics see him chiefly in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts, where he is physically at his worst, and where he is commercially and officially an inconvenient rival. Until lately, indeed, throughout all northern India in every post-office, in every telegraph-office, in every bank you found a Bengali. This partial monopoly of public employment resulted from the partial monopoly which the Bengali for a time enjoyed of educational advantages. The Calcutta University gave an intellectual impulse which reached the Bengali sooner than the more distant populations of the north. The Government has now remedied this by establishing Universities for the North-West and the Punjab; and as education becomes more accessible to the robustor races the monopoly of Bengali disappears. In the Congress he is brought face to face with the Marathas—a race of hereditary administrators of a high physical type, patient of labour as himself and endowed with a more masterful intellect.

The Congress has outlived the misapprehension that it would become the tool of any single race or class, and has vindicated its claim to its title as an Indian National assemblage. But it has to encounter dangers and to overcome temptations of a not less serious character. Of its loyalty and moderation it has given clear proofs. But it must never forget that it is a consultative body only. The one thing which the Government of a country like India cannot permit is the slightest pretensions to *imperium in imperio*. A speaker did well, therefore, to impress on his brother delegates that they "are not the legislators of the country," although some of them have held and others will no doubt hold seats in the Legislature. Another necessity of the Congress is to separate itself in an unmistakable manner from the seditious or scurrilous section of the Press. The leading native journals are loyal critics of the Government and a true strength to the British rule. But the Indian Press has suddenly stepped into the full enjoyment of that liberty which the English Press only won after a century-and-a-half of hard schooling. Anglo-Indian journalism passed 50 years in peril of deportation and under the terror of the censor's rod. The first English newspaper in Calcutta was proscribed by the Government within ten months, after which no copy could go through the post office ; its later numbers were edited in prison. The present freedom of the English Press at home and in India is a freedom purchased by discipline ; and it is a freedom not granted in almost any country of Europe. Some of the more ignorant sections of the native Press have shown that they are unable to enjoy that liberty without abusing it. The Congress clearly perceives this. One speaker, indeed, was too sweeping in his denunciations of the vernacular journals. His declaration that for many of their editors "the goal is the proper place," and that their tone "would qualify, and should qualify, their writers for prison diet," evidently went beyond the sense of the Congress. But cheers greeted the president's impressive warning to local agitators and newspapers

who, " have not fully realized the distinction between license and liberty ; and have not wholly grasped the lesson that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges. If the Congress at its yearly meetings thus wisely confines itself to proper consultative functions, and thus firmly separates itself from disaffection of every sort, it may render great services to India. In that case, and in that case alone, it will justify the opening words of its venerable convener at Madras—" To well-balanced minds such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation."

THE CUTTINGS FROM THE ENGLISH PRESS.

[The following are the extracts from the English papers, which have favourably spoken of the movement and reviewed the report of the Congress at length. In publishing these extracts we leave hundreds of small paragraphs, that appeared in many provincial and metropolitan press which only set forth the receipt of the Report and recommended all interested in Indian matters to study it. In England these paragraphs were immensely useful, as they helped to bring to the notice of hundreds of thousands of readers, perhaps millions that there was such a thing as Congress, and that a report was available and they led scores perhaps hundreds to get and read that report, but they are not interesting enough for republication here in India.]

(*Christian World.*)

The 'Report of the Third Indian National Congress,' held at Madras in December last, has appeared almost simultaneously with the publication in *The Times* of three lengthy articles on the origin and objects of the Congress. We do not think we can be mistaken in identifying the writer of the articles with Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., formerly a high official under the Government of India, but, since his retirement in 1882, the leading spirit of the new National movement in India. The proposals of Mr. Hume and his native friends are too numerous to be even summarised here, but the general drift of them is to enlarge the sphere of Native influence in the management of Indian affairs, a sphere which is now cramped and narrowed to an extent hardly appreciated by Englishmen at home who live under parliamentary institutions.

The three Congresses hitherto held have been successful beyond the hopes of their promoters, and as long as the new movement is guided by men like Mr. Hume there is little fear of its assuming a complexion calculated to cause anxiety to the Indian Government. The official Anglo-Indian Press regards with jealousy, if not with alarm ; but this is, no doubt, largely due to reminiscences of the mutiny and the dread of any innovations in the vast machine of Indian Government which might work on it when confronted by any similar emergency in the future.

(*Manchester Guardian.*)

The truth is, the cultivated intelligence of India is rising superio-

to caste prejudices and racial differences, and, seeing in the administration of the country no room for adequate representation, is uniting to make room by agitating for the displacement of what is unsatisfactory. The expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils are the main objects of the National party. As at present constituted, these Councils are in no sense representative, the official element being so much the stronger that the non-official is practically powerless. The Executive is also the legislative authority; taxes are imposed, laws enacted, domestic regulations framed, and foreign engagements entered upon without reference to the taxpayer, and without regard to the wishes of the people at large. The Executive, acting on the paternal principle of doing what it likes with its own, manages affairs in India according to the exigencies of the State; and though it should be recognised that on the whole the rulers have meant well and exercised a beneficent authority under which India has developed wonderfully, both materially and intellectually, it is none the less true that the system of government itself is a reproach, excluding as it does the people from the administration of their own affairs, and permitting the exercise in combination of both Judicial and Executive functions. The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on a partially representative basis is what the National party are urging, and urging in a spirit of perfect loyalty to the Crown. They say that the Government of India, in awakening Native intelligence, in affording the people educational facilities, and in placing the higher cultivation within their reach, prepared them for the representative system, and equipped them efficiently to take a part in it. Why then, they ask, should they be denied institutions for which they have been so admirably fitted by the Gvoernment? Perhaps, the best notion of what the Legislative Councils are as they are at present constituted was given by Rajah Rampal Singh at the Madras meeting. "On one occasion," he said, "I was talking to a gentleman who had the honor of being a member of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, but who knew not one syllable of English. He was one of the Maharajahs of the North-Western Provinces, and a relation of mine too. I asked the Maharajah, 'How did you manage to vote and take part in the discussion?' He told me, 'It was difficult at first, for I do not understand English, nor was I allowed to take anybody with me to explain what went on to me; but as I receive it through the favor of the Viceroy, I raise my hand whenever the Viceroy raises his, and I hold down mine when he holds down his hand.'"

17652.

(*Whitehall Gazette.*)

India, thousands of miles away, is doing all she can to urge on us that she longs not only for our rule, but to strengthen our rule, declaring that our enemies must be her enemies. In Ireland, under the Roman Catholic Church, we have a population seething with sedition : in India, education not under those auspices, has had a diametrically opposite effect. It is a great, a glorious time for England if she makes the most of her opportunities—it is the beginning of a rapid downfall if for want of sufficient self-

confidence in themselves, our Government listen to the voice of traitors, whose heads, a few centuries ago, would have adorned Temple Bar. What is the great feature brought out in this Congress held in Madras, which represented Mahomedans, Parsis, and all the tribes of India? It is that these men, who as fully represent the teeming millions of India, as our House of Commons represents England—*it is that these representatives of the wealth, intelligence and education of India feel that they have a foe who will be their ruin if he succeeds, and that foe is also the foe of England—Russia!* Will England rise, throwing away the good will, the warm friendship of an impulsive Eastern race, because a few addle-headed, red-tape officials safe in their Government offices raise a cry of alarm at a movement which is not moving on the slow eternal wheel of a Government-office coach! God forbid. Shall the English people never credit the millions of India with the good sense to see that English is a better protector for her interests than the Russian Bear? If Ireland were to plead and *to feel* as India thus pleads and feels, would we not say “God speed to an Irish Volunteer movement?” There is no external Papal question in India; there are not in the counsels of these men American-Irish carpet-baggers—no dynamiters. We have the voice of a great country asking us to strengthen the bonds of union, and to aid our small army by a National Indian Volunteer movement. What a noble opportunity. Shall we throw it away?

(Christian.)

By the report just published, of the Third Indian National Congress, which was held at Madras in December last, it is made wonderfully evident that the Native races can, in spite of their great, religious differences, meet upon a united and strong platform for the discussion of the many social and political questions affecting themselves. Great ability was shown in the deliberations upon reforms proposed at that Congress; all parts of India were represented, the delegates numbering over six hundred, not a few of them men of statesmenlike calibre.

(Graphic.)

It is evident that in spite of the occasional violence of the vernacular Press, intelligent Native opinion in India is thoroughly loyal to the British Crown, and that the alleged designs of Russia meet with no favor. In fact, the Natives are perfectly well aware that if Russia were to invade India successfully, and drive out the British, there would simply be a change of masters, and that the little finger of the Muscovite would probably be much thicker than the loins of the English. Years, however, would most likely elapse before the invaders could firmly establish themselves, and meanwhile a terrible period of disorganisation would ensue, during which the less warlike races would groan under a grinding tyranny. And this remark points another lesson taught by the Congress. Hitherto, owing to his intellectual nimbleness, the Bengali has loomed unduly large in the imagination of the European. It is now being made clear that the

Bengali is only one out of many nationalities some of which are fully his equals in intelligence, while possessed of far higher physical capacities.

(*Daily Chronicle.*)

That veteran Indian statesman, the Rajah Sir T. Madava Rao, K. C. S. I., in his eloquent address at the recent meeting of the Indian National Congress at Madras, described that great gathering of representatives of the Native races as "the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation." We have many sins to answer for in India, but it is something to our credit that such an assemblage as the Congress of the National Party can meet without molestation to discuss popular grievances, to criticise the administration, and to help forward the realization of the just aspirations of the Indian people. The gathering was a truly remarkable one, and included representatives, not only of the Natives of every rank, creed and race, but also of various sections of the European settlers. So far as social grades and positions, professions and occupations were concerned, no assembly could have been more representative of the entire Indian community. It was equally representative as regards creeds, sects and castes. It included Christians, Jains, Parsis, Brahmos, a Sikh, Hindus of all castes (except the very lowest or no castes), and Mussulmans. The elaborate reports of the proceedings of the Congress has just been issued. It is well worth the careful study of all who wish to become well-informed upon the questions which are agitating the minds of the more thoughtful of our Indian fellow-subjects. Though a persistent and ungenerous effort has been made by certain Anglo-Indian officials, and some of their representatives in the Press, to misrepresent the aims of the National party and to charge them with disloyalty, there can be no doubt that the organisation is a truly patriotic and constitutional one, and is devoted to the attainment of objects which ought especially to command the sympathies of Englishmen. The leaders of the party recognise that loyalty to the British Crown and Government must necessarily be the basis on which they are to work. The most highly educated of the Natives have joined the party, which, by their influence, is leavening the ignorant masses with a sound and healthy political education. So far from the party being a source of danger, to British rule, it can tend only to strengthen our authority, so long as that authority is exercised in the spirit of the famous Proclamation issued by the Queen on the occasion of the transference to the "Crown" of the rule of the old East India Company. As the introductory article to the admirable report referred to declares, "Every man who with understanding joins the movement is one less possible enemy in any crisis to Great Britain. It is the National party who are true British Party; those who recklessly denounce it and wantonly misrepresent it are the real traitors to our common Queen and country." Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, the leading Mussulman Barrister of Bombay, who was unanimously elected President of the Congress, in his inaugural address asked whether the opponents of the National party who were always charging them with disloyalty, realised the full import of the meaning of such a charge. "When" he continued

" they say that the educated Natives in India are disloyal, what does it mean ? It means this : that in the opinion of all those who are acquainted with the history of their own country, and with the nature of the present and past Governments that in the opinion of these the English Government is so bad that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking part of the population. Now, gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more frightful and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated Natives of India."

The resolutions submitted to the Congress, and (in some cases after most detailed discussion of differences, unanimously adopted by the Congress, and the speeches in which these resolutions were discussed, show :— First that the reforms loudly called for by the condition of the country, and by the intelligence and law-abiding conduct of the people, will be striven by constitutional means only; secondly, that the Indian people as a whole, and their leaders in particular are dominated by a sincere loyalty to the British Government and are convinced that the granting of their demands would not diminish—but, on the contrary, would greatly increase—the strength of the Government against external foes, while at the same time largely adding to the prosperity of the country and thirdly, that Indian reformers are before all things, desirous, in the attainment of their objects of establishing solidarity with their British fellow-subjects, being conscious that only through the sympathy and good will of yourself, and of others like-minded with you, can the reforms so urgently required be attained.

(*Daily News.*)

This bulky report should tend to enlighten the English people as to the objects of the National party in India, and to bring home to them the increasing earnestness of the educated Indian Natives in their demands for some of the advantages of that freedom of which we have taught them to value. Not only is this record of Indian native activity circulated in England, but throughout the Indian Empire a catechism has been circulated in the vernacular tongues teaching the people the nature of their government from England, and prompting them to support these National Congresses which are trying to secure for them some of the advantages of that representative government which is so dear to their governors.

It should be decidedly humiliating to the English people to find themselves described as a nation who, though willing to act justly by India, have neither sufficient time nor sufficient knowledge to do justice to that Empire. The tone of the Congress, however, is thoroughly loyal to this country. It is accurately reflected in the speech of a Mahomedan mill-owner who spoke in favor of a resolution claiming for the Natives a system of volunteering, " under such rules and restrictions as might seem fitting to the Government." This Native was evidently a genuine Russophobe. He spoke of Russian designs on India in terms that might have gladdened the heart of the Jingo Opposition of the 1880 Parliament. Contemplating a time when the often-imagined struggle with Russia might come, the perfervid Mahomedan said :—" The English Government might have

millions and hundreds of millions of money, but money will not fight. It is men that will fight, and where will England get them when by her present policy she has turned us all into women? Are we to be for ever treated as if we cannot be trusted? Are we so low and degraded that we are not to be trusted to defend our hearths and homes? Are we such fools as not to realise the difference between British and Russian rule?" Though some Anglo-Indians shut their own'eyes and try to blind others to the importance of the national movement in India, it is important to note this third National Congress was attended by 600 delegates from all parts of India; that it was composed of Mahomedans, Hindus, Parsis, Native Christians and Jains, that its president was a Mussulman, and that the preceding Congresses have been presided over successively by a Hindu and a Parsi, and that those present, while animated by a loyal and even grateful feeling to England persist particularly in demanding two reforms—the better representation of Native opinion in the Legislative Councils, and the separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the administration of the Empire. We are educating the Indian people; they benefit by our teaching, and ask us to square our practice with our theory.

(*Echo.*)

The great representative gathering of Native delegates commenced its sittings at Madras on the 27th Decembor. The Conference has been called to discuss reforms of the Legislative Councils, Military expenditure, the Arms Act, the separation of Burmah from the Indian Empire, the expected deficit in the Budget, and not the least of its objects is to enable—to quote the words of the Circular convening the Conference—"all earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other." The Confernce,represents the aspirations of what we may call young India; and there is nothing in those aspirations opposed to what the most eminent of Anglo-Indian statesmen had admitted to be just or to what has been promised to the people of India by the Sovereign and Parliament of England, the time must come, and may be near, when the Natives of India must be given some share in the Government of their country, despite the opposition of the ruling class in India. Nothing could be more illogical nothing more absurd, than the official position. Many of the men who are most stoutly opposed to any concession in the direction of Self-Government have been amongst the warmest advocates of education. They profess to have no confidence in the Natives, they would give them no authority, and exclude them from office as much as possible; yet they are bent in their zeal of enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge. No conceit was ever more wild than this, for what is in every age and every country, the great stimulus, to the pursuit of knowledge but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? And what is even the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose—the service of the community? "Are we," asks Mr. Macaulay in his celebrated speech upon Government of India, "to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awaking ambition? or do we mean to awaken ambition and provide it with no legiti-

mate vent ? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative ? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought to exclude the Native from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us, and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honor." Fifty four years have passed since the speech was delivered from which we take this extract. During that period the education of the Natives of India in Western knowledge has spread apace, yet to-day, we find a great Conference sitting in Madras to complain that the people of India are still virtually excluded from all control over the affairs of their country.

(*North Middlesex Chronicle.*)

This bulky, but extremely important, document contains a full and *verbatim* report of a Congress consisting entirely of Native Indian leaders and representatives. The speeches, in which various reforms are called for and advocated, reveal a force and intensity which nothing can distort, and show that these Indian reformers are animated by sincere loyalty to the British Government, and that they are before all things desirous of establishing solidarity with their British fellow-subjects, being conscious that only through their sympathy and good-will the reforms so urgently required can be attained. To those who wish to study current Indian politics and opinion, this volume would be invaluable.

(*Liverpool Post.*)

England, the mother of Parliaments, may, at some future date, be the parent of one in India. Such a result would be only in legitimate accordance with the aspirations the people have always been encouraged to entertain ; and it would be a more certain barrier against Russia than any armies we could put in the field. Whatever, officialism may do in India, it is quite beyond the power of any authority to check the growth of public feeling in that vast community which the last three years have witnessed. This feeling should have the sympathy, of every Englishman and Englishwoman, for it owes its development to solemn pledge voluntarily offered by our sovereigns and statesmen to the natives of India during the course of more than half-a-century. Thirty years ago in a State proclamation her Majesty renewed the pledges given by her uncle William IV., in 1833. That these pledges have been to some extent redeemed no one, of course, would think of denying. Officialism would, no doubt, say they had been far too amply, even extravagantly, redeemed. That this is not the conviction of the people of India was significantly shown during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. That it is not so now is shown by the report of the meeting of the third Indian National Congress at Madras at the close of last year.

English administration in regard to a population only one-third less than that of China, but infinitely more diversified in race and creed, has not always been worthy of the more than generous eulogiums passed

upon it at this third Indian National Congress, though they will be none the less gratifying to the national *amour propre*. What is of more immediate interest is the rapid growth and present development of national feeling as evidenced by the congress. The success of this third annual meeting was the more remarkable from the unsuitability of Madras for such a purpose, and the city is two thousand miles distant by rail from Lahore, and further still from the more western portions of the Punjab. An equal distance lies between Madras and Calcutta, though half of this may be abridged by those who are not afraid of sea sickness. By road rail or sea the appointed place of meeting is about 1,500 miles from Lucknow, Allahabad, Benaras, Patna, and Agra, more than 2,300 from Nagpore and Kurachhi, and close upon 800 even from Bombay. The English Government may be literally said to have made such a gathering possible. Even with the assistance of railways, however, a considerable amount of enthusiasm is necessary to induce a man to undertake a journey of 2,000 or even 700 miles for impersonal and purely public objects. The fact of this being done becomes still more remarkable when it is borne in mind that this gathering from all parts of India was composed of men who for centuries have been in a position of racial and religious antagonism, and who may be said in this instance to have supplied an illustration of the saying about the lion lying down with the lamp.

This unique native Parliament, for such it was though without executive power, was held in a huge shed, or "pandal," as it is called in the district. As many as 3,000 persons were assembled in it at one time, and yet every word of the speakers could be distinctly heard over the whole area, thanks to the perfect order and demeanour of all the proceedings. The delegate representatives from the various parts of India were elected by popular votes, and in many cases their travelling and other expenses were paid by their constituents. In some instances the funds were supplied by local magnates who had diplomatic reasons for not taking a public part in the proceedings. In others the delegates had to overcome local official hostility before they could attend the Congress. In spite of such difficulties, every province, sub-province, and, except in the Punjab almost every large city was represented, while in Bombay and Madras every town, district, and association was represented. Every class of the community, too, had its spokesman, from the old aristocracy down to the shopkeepers and small agriculturists, while the higher landed interest was well represented. Among the constituents of the assembly were newspaper editors, doctors, millowners, manufacturers, ministers, missionaries and artisans. One of the latter, a carpenter by trade, made a most sensible speech in Tamil on the necessity for a regular system of technical education. The resolutions submitted to and endorsed by the congress should be studied in the report, and will be found to repay serious attention. Enough to say here that the spirit in which they are drawn is excellent, and full of loyalty to English rule. The fact is recognised that only through this country can necessary and desirable reforms in the native administration be secured, and that they can be only hoped for through the direct influence of the English constituencies. Finally, an ardent desire is expressed for the solidarity in common interests of the people of this country and

those of India. The most interesting fact about the Madras congress is, however, that in it the hitherto voiceless 200,000,000 of India have at last found an articulate utterance.

(*Western Mercury.*)

The proposals discussed at the National Congress, recently held in Madras, are conclusive evidence that India is rapidly advancing on the path of European civilisation. Each of the reforms which it is now urged should be introduced in India, at one time or another, as formed the subject of bitter controversy between the Liberals and Tories in England. It is, therefore, only to be expected that the same parties will renew their struggle on the great battle-ground of our Indian Empire. This, indeed, has already proved to be the case. The resolutions passed by the Madras Congress substantially embody the policy advocated by Lord Ripon, and so strenuously opposed by the Anglo-Indians, and their Conservative allies at home. The principal reform demanded by the national party in India is the recognition of the right of the people to a larger share in the management of their own affairs, fiscal and otherwise. It cannot be said that the request assumes an unreasonable form. At present, in the Legislative Councils the official members and the non-official members are in the proportion of two-thirds : to one-third : the Congress urges that this ratio should be altered to one-half. The change would still leave the Government with a practical working majority in the Councils, as the points of disagreement among the non-official members are so numerous that united opposition would in reality never exist. A still more important proposal is embodied in the resolution that the Legislative Councils should be partially elective. That such a reform will be effected at once is, perhaps, too much to expect. A parallel is offered in the English Reform Bill of 1832 ; and it was not, is well known, till the Tories saw that England was on the brink of a revolution that they allowed this measure to pass. It is possible that they will pursue the same policy with regard to the demand put forward by India for partial Self-Government. To delay acceding to such a reasonable aspiration would be to pursue a dangerous course. India is at the present time fairly well effected towards England; but if we repress her natural tendency towards development, we may easily create a feeling of sullen disaffection, which Russia would speedily turn to her own advantage. Sir Richard Temple was aware of the danger which we ran of losing India if we refused to recognise the representative principle. Some time ago he recorded his opinion in these words : "It must be remembered that the elective principle is essential to that political training which every stable government (like that of the British in India) must desire to see possessed by its subjects." Sir Auckland Colvin expressed himself to the same effect when he was Governor of the North-West Provinces. "The business of administration in India becomes more complex as years pass on,"—he wrote—"and the wants of the country grow more numerous. It is impossible for Government, unaided by the people, either to know or to supply those wants. It is to the co-operation of the people in the administration of certain branches

of public business that the Government must look to enable it to deal successfully with its difficulties." The Government at home cannot be too strongly urged to give effect as rapidly as possible to the Resolutions passed by the Madras Congress on this subject. Delay is suicidal. If the Native population be contented, and well disposed towards English rule, we can afford to defy the danger of Russian encroachments. If, however, we are hated and disliked by the Natives the days of our Indian Empire are numbered.

(*Weekly Record.*)

At a time when the home division of the British Empire is passing through one phase of a struggle, in which one part cries for "Home Rule," and the other Part says "No," it is interesting to look beyond the horizon, and over the minor questions of "Compensation" and such like, to see what the other parts of the empire are doing; to watch the changes which take place in appearances—social, commercial, political—national; and further, to try to fully understand to what extent they are representative of the educated and modernised sections of Indian society which we have hitherto scoffed at as "Babuism"; and they fully understand the difference between the Russian rule which assimilates wild tribes of Turcomans and Afghans with the view of banishing them upon the plains of India, and the British rule which establishes peace and security for every subject.

The growth of the Native idea of combination with the Anglo-Indian garrison for the defence of the frontier should be encouraged. The Natives are anxious to enrol themselves in volunteer regiments, and to comport themselves as loyal citizens of Empire. Their offer ought to be accepted with reservation. Volunteer regiments officered by Englishmen would be at least a good garrison defence in war, and the regular troops could safely be sent to the frontier, if such a second line existed. The volunteer system, however, receives very spare encouragement from the War Office at home; and in India it will have to fight an uphill game before it is recognized. But in the volunteer system lies the secret of the defence of the Indian Empire. The Indian troops are more than a match for Russian regiments. We have no other foe to fear in Asia, and why not make our rule safe by organising a cheap army of some five hundred thousand men officered by Englishmen; ruled and administrated by Englishmen; an army which, without officers, would be as useless against English troops as the mutinous Sepoys, and which might find occasional employment in our little frontier wars? The Indian Congress advances the point of the military organisation of the people before civil reforms. It has few suggestions to make in the way of amendment of the law, which is so good and so well administered that the people rejoice to find themselves under such an administration. They now claim to enter into partnership with us in the defence of their homes, and it will be to our advantage to humour them. But we have to satisfy ourselves that the demand truly proceeds from the sentient classes of India. Without that assurance we might be delivering ourselves to the democratic ideas of the Babus.

(Liberal and Radical.)

THE report of the Third Indian Congress, held in Madras last December, is not only a considerable volume, but one full of interest to persons interested in the constitutional development of our great Empire in the East. It is useless for English statesmen to rant and prattle about our great dependency, unless they are prepared to do something to assist that country in the several ways which the true and real friends of India wish. We have educated the people very largely, and now they are educated they want to employ their abilities and genius in the service of their country, and just demands from us that we should open the services wider still for Native talent.

(Kent Argus.)

Compared with the Congress of 1886, this Congress appears to have been more numerously attended and more thoroughly national and representative in character; and by the cordial support which it received from high-class English papers in every Presidency, gave abundant proof of the great increase in the movement of which it is one outward and visible sign. Indeed what in 1885 was little more than an experiment had every appearance of having become a permanent National Institution.

(Weekly Guardian.)

These reforms, advocated by the Congress, look rather sweeping to the average English mind, and would probably be treated with contempt and ridicule by most Anglo-Indian officials. Notwithstanding the representative character of the Congress, it is likely that its demands are not even understood by the bulk of the people, who in many cases are neither wishful nor ready to have such power thrust into their hands. Even in the Congress itself there is much difference of opinion as to the extent to which popular representation should be put in practice, and the right time to begin. On such subjects it may safely be assumed that the members of the Congress are far in advance of national public opinion. They are in many cases men whose minds have been opened and quickened by direct contact with English institutions and European literature, and it is likely that many years will pass away before they have brought their countrymen anywhere near their own level. But this is not any reason why their deliberations should be overlooked or sneered at; it is rather a reason why they should receive the thoughtful consideration of every politician who has ever pondered over the grave problems of the future of India. These Congresses mark the direction which in a few years the tide of popular feeling will run, perhaps with overwhelming strength, and wise men will try by foresight to guide into safe and beneficial channels a current which, if met simply by attempts to block its way, might sweep everything before it in widespread wreck and ruin. Not only of the Queen of England, but of the Empress of India, too, may it be said that:—

Statesmen at her Councils met,
 Who knew the seasons when to take
 Occasion by the hand, and make
 The bounds of freedom wider yet.

(Northern Whig.)

More than a century ago—to put it in round figures—when England began practically to influence the destinies of India, the country was completely disintegrated. Distrust, jealousy, and hatred were rife amongst the almost innumerable tribes who overran the land, internecine warfare raged all round, the conqueror of to-day being the captive of to-morrow, life and property were not worth an hour's purchase, and, though last not least, the soil was uncultivated, and the shadow of impending famine hovered over the Empire like a pall. What a contrast to this dismal picture did the Madras Congress present! There, chosen by the popular voice, a vast body of men, representative of every race, creed, and community that compose India's heterogeneous population, met to discuss matters relating to the welfare of their common country, which during the hundred years—a mere day, so to speak, in the life of a nation—it had been under British rule had, despite many adverse circumstances, so far progressed in the path of civilisation as to render that assemblage possible. The Congress was held to further the objects of the national movement, whose cardinal principle is unswerving loyalty to the British connection. The ends it aims at are briefly, the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, until recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; the gradual regeneration in every respect—mental, moral, social and political—of the nation; and solidarity of the union between England and India. Many eloquent speeches were made demonstrating the necessity of the reforms sought to be effected and strenuously repudiating even the remotest idea of hostility to the British connection. The speakers emphasised in the most forcible manner their fealty to their Empress, and their deep conviction that the prosperity, culture, and intelligence, which existed in the country, were the direct offspring of its union with Great Britain. A series of resolutions were adopted setting forth the popular demands, amongst which were the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General and the provincial Legislative Councils; a complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions, so that they shall not be combined in the same officer; the practical opening of the higher grades of the military service to the Natives of the country, and, to attain this end, the establishment of military colleges for the education and training of officers; the organisation of volunteer corps, so that the Indian population might be capable of rendering effective assistance to England in the event of any serious complication arising out of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe; the reduction of the assessable minimum for income-tax to 1,000 rupees; and the elaboration of a system of technical education. A great deal of spasmodic croaking has been indulged in as to the desire of India to break from the Home Government, and the article headed "Will England Retain India?" by Mr. Meredith Townsend, in the *Contemporary Re-*

view, may be taken as a fair sample of the pessimistic views which some hold in reference to this question. We think the proceedings of the National Congress are an unequivocal refutation of such assertions, and prove that, though the country may seek for and formulate in Council assembled those reforms which it deems necessary for its well-being, it is none the less true to its allegiance to that State to which it has solemnly declared it owes so much. It is to be hoped that Parliament will deal with the subject promptly, and while safeguarding the interests of the Empire, show to our Indian fellow-subjects that England in the treatment of her dependencies remains faithful to her proud boast of being a land where freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent.

(*City Press.*)

The resolutions unanimously passed at the Congress, it is claimed, "reveal with a force and intensity which nothing can distort" that the reforms loudly called for by the condition of the country, and by the intelligence and law-abiding conduct of the people, will be striven for by constitutional means only; that the people, as a whole, are sincerely loyal; and that Indian reformers are, before all things, desirous, in the attainment of their objects, of establishing solidarity with their British fellow-subjects.

(*Western Press.*)

In a pamphlet just published, setting forth the views of Mr. Allan O. Hume, as expressed at a large public meeting in Allahabad, the objects of the Indian National Congress are detailed so clearly and fully, and at the same time in so moderate a tone, that the principles adopted by the so-called national party cannot fail to arrest attention. For the enlightenment which has led intelligent Indians to desire these far-reaching advantages for their country the attitude and methods of successive Home Governments are to be held responsible, and there is no reason why doubt or hesitation should interfere with the acknowledgment of such gratifying results of a truly generous and progressive policy.

(*Glasgow University Herald.*)

The Congress was thoroughly representative of the various peoples of India; the speeches, though some of them were pitched in rather a strong key were on the whole full of good feeling toward the dominant race, and the spirit of loyalty displayed was fervid in the extreme. The demands of the Congress have, of course, been stated already, and this is not the place to discuss them. They include the reform of the Legislative Councils, the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions, the opening up of the higher grades of military service to Natives, the establishment in India of the Volunteer system, a change in the incidence of the Income-tax, the establishment of a system of technical education, and the modification of the Arms Act. These are all subjects of legitimate discussion, and the views of our fellow-subjects in India regarding them should be made as widely

known among the British electorate as possible. It is to be feared, however, that the bulky pamphlet just sent out is too big to answer the purpose. It contains a vast mass of excellent material, but life is short, and the volume looks decidedly repellent.

(*West Briton.*)

Such gatherings as these, however, little practical fruit they may at first bring forth, can only be considered as "sign of the times." To conduct a public agitation in India is far different from undertaking the same work in England. The Government of England is really a Democracy. Parliament is supreme, and the people make the Parliament or, at least, the House of Commons, whose views, with sufficient popular force behind them, must ultimately prevail. Not so in India. There representative institutions, as we understand them, are unknown. Of inestimable benefit as that Government has proved in the past, yet it is a bureaucracy over which the people have not an atom of direct power. Their only hope lies in an appeal to Cæsar in the shape of the people of the United Kingdom. What then, we should ask, are the demands put forth? We are the people who make them, and what is their attitude towards the crown? These questions can all be satisfactorily answered. The requests are of the most reasonable and moderate character. The principal one is the extension of representative institutions in a small way at first, but ultimately in something like the shape we enjoy. The Indian Government have already taken some steps in this direction in the matter of Local Government. It is to be hoped that they will accelerate their pace as much as is consistent with safety. Then the Native facilities should be given to them to enter the service of the Government, and that the enormous salaries at present paid to Anglo-Indian officials should be reduced. The spread of technical and general education, and the relief of taxation, are also reforms which have been advocated. The men who have proposed these reforms are drawn from all classes; they acknowledge the blessings of English rule, and their only desire is to obtain it more on the English pattern. At all three of the Congresses the demonstrations of loyalty have been of the most extreme character. In fact, one of the demands most strongly urged has been the inauguration of a Volunteer movement with a view to meeting a possible attack from Russia. Such a movement, it is urged, need not be general, but may be confined to those Districts where the people can be trusted. The fact that assemblies such as those we have referred to, should be possible, and that the delegates thereto should come as national representatives with one common aim, the good of their country, is an eloquent testimony to the beneficence of our rule, but at the same time it is an indication that India will not always be content under the same *regime* as at present.

(*Gloucester Journal.*)

Such is the organism by which the popular will in India has, at last found adequate expression. It is the natural outcome of the measure of freedom which England has extended to India, the necessary result of the

higher education which we have given in our schools and colleges, of a free Press, of free speech, and free power of political combination. A little leaven has leavened the whole lump; and a new power has arisen in the State. Of the strength and extent of the movement there can be no doubt. What does it portend to our rule in India? Is it the beginning of the end? or is it not rather the dawn of a brighter morning for a long suffering race—the beginning of a stronger and higher national life, to be enjoyed in happy partnership with England, the mother of free nations? The answer to these momentous questions depends, we believe, entirely upon the line of conduct adopted by the English nation. If they remain true to their best traditions, and show themselves just, fearless, and unselfish, then all will be well. Confidence in the people means safety, prosperity and honor. But if, on the other hand, they allow themselves to be deceived by cliques of interested officials, if they throw back the proffered friendship of the Indian people, and embark on a policy of distrust and repression, then certainly the future is a dark one both for India and for England.

It is, indeed, a sad pity that John Bull does not try to understand the Indian question which is quite a simple one. India is a vast country, almost a continent in itself, containing every variety of soil and climate, and inhabited by 250 millions of docile, intelligent, and industrious people. These millions are, as agriculturist, capable of bringing every known product to the highest perfection; as consumers, they afford a market sufficient to take all the manufactures our workshops can turn out; by inclination they are attached to the British connection; and, awakened by the touch of western arts and sciences, they are eager to revive their ancient civilization, and to take a worthy position among the nations of the world. This is India of the year of grace 1888. And the Indian question simply is, whether this magnificent dependency shall be administered for the good of the people of India, and to the safety, honor, and welfare of our Sovereign and her dominions; or whether it shall be left to the tender mercies of a monopolist bureaucracy, a prey to greedy cliques and selfish class interests. The sins of John Bull in this matter are those of omission. His impulses towards Indians have always been good, and his actions, when he has been persuaded to act, have been wise and benevolent. But unfortunately he neglects his duty as a guardian to the Indian people, and habitually leaves the management of this great trust in the hands of official agents who have again and again been proved untrustworthy, who are practically irresponsible, and whose interests are in most respects diametrically opposed to those of the people of India. Even in England the tax-payers, with all their parliamentary power, fail to control the extravagancies of the great spending departments. What can we expect in India, where the power is not with the tax-payers but with the tax-eaters? Naturally the fixed policy of the Indian Government is one tending to the profit and glorification of the civil and military services, a policy of lavish expenditure in salaries, of excessive taxation, and unprovoked wars of aggression. This was so 100 years ago, when Edmund Burke dragged some of the chief offenders before the judgment seat of Parliament. And it is so now. While our highest military authorities assure us that our army is insufficient for its duties of defence, the Government of India employs its available forces in

a foolish and unjust war of conquest beyond the Indian frontier. As if we had not already far more territory than we can manage, Upper Burmah, a province as large as France, is added to our dominions; the brave and harmless people of the country are shot down as dacoits because they try to defend their homes from invasion ; and the cost of this buccaneering expedition is extracted from the unhappy Indian tax-payer, whose total average income is less than three-half-pence a day; although in order to levy the required amount a tax of 2,000 per cent. has to be placed upon salt, which for a vegetarian race is a first necessary of life.

Such a policy is a disgrace to England; and by ruining the Indian people and by alienating their affection it must end in the loss of our Indian Empire. It is well known that in all Russian schemes for the invasion of India some co-operation by the Native races is regarded as a condition essential to success. While the "thin red line" of British troops is engaged along the frontier, the Russian invader reckons upon a rising among the people of India in the rear of the defending army. And if this expectation is realised, no doubt the English army would be extinguished, and our Empire in India would become "a thing of the past." Our true safety lies in confidence in the Indian people, and in deserving such confidence. Then India, instead of being a source of danger and discreditable panic, will become to England a tower of strength. Nor is there the slightest difficulty in attaining such a result, which will be equally beneficial to India and England. Hitherto England has been able to plead the excuse of ignorance for her wrong-doing and blunders in Indian affairs. Now happily she has no longer cause to plead such an excuse. For now at last the voice of India has made itself heard, and in clear and friendly accents tells us how we may redeem the errors of the past and cement a happy union in the future. How the first steps in this direction should be taken is pointed out in the resolutions passed unanimously by the Indian National Congress. These resolutions refer to such plain and practical matters as peace and administrative economy, the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, the administration of the Income-tax and Arms Act, volunteering, and technical education. The intelligent representatives of Indian public opinion know very well that under existing circumstances an independent Indian Empire is an impossibility. And they have no desire at all to exchange the progressive rule of the freest nation in the world for the retrogressive despotism of Russia, their object, therefore, is, by friendly criticism and suggestion, to remove those defects in our administration which cause it to be unpopular, so that the feeling of attachment now existing towards England may be confirmed as a permanent national sentiment, and the two countries linked together in a partnership of common interest and mutual good will. The spirit of the Indian National Congress is well illustrated by a joint letter, which accompanies the printed report, and is addressed to the friendly British People. It is signed by the Presidents of the meetings of the Congress held at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1886-7-8. We trust, for the sake both of India and of England, that this appeal unto Caesar will not have been in vain.

(45)

(*Shetland News.*)

Although India has been under British rule for about a century, during which time she has enjoyed all the blessings that peace and firm government can give, nevertheless there are still many reforms to be worked out that require earnest attention.

(*Overland Telegraph.*)

We had occasion to call attention to a former Congress of the Natives of India, and this again is most important gathering of the same kind. It is impossible indeed to overestimate the importance of the movement, by which two hundred millions of our fellow-subjects seek to obtain a voice in the reforms naturally demanded by the changed and changing conditions of Indian life. The most striking results of these Congresses are the evidence of the intelligent loyalty of the people well aware of the many advantages they obtain under our strong rule, and the evident resolve to strive for the necessary reforms by constitutional means. We cannot doubt that it is wise to hear these opinions, still less can we question the advisability on any ground of giving effect to them so far as possible. This volume is a most valuable resume of Indian public opinion on great imperial questions, and may be consulted by all who are interested in our great Eastern empire [and who is not] with marked advantage.

In fact we have taught them to demand reforms constitutionally, and they avail themselves intelligently of the privilege.

(*Stockport Herald.*)

The Congress, which was the third of its kind, showed a great advance on its predecessors, both in point of interest and importance. Some six hundred delegates, comprising many of the most cultured and intelligent of the Native races, were gathered in one large assembly hall, and their proceedings were watched with eager interest by over 1,500 spectators. No one can read the speeches given during the four days that the Congress sat without being struck by the moderate tone, the unshaken loyalty, and the deep-rooted patriotism which each speaker displayed, as well as their refinement and eloquence. The leaders of the national party include the entire culture, their followers the entire intelligence of the country. There are no doubt, educated men of strongly Conservative tendencies who hold aloof because the movement is new, but, broadly speaking, the culture and intelligence of the empire is embodied in the national party. This culture is the direct offspring of the union with Great Britain, and to all who share this culture Great Britain is the parent of all that to them makes life worth living. From the conditions of the case they are necessarily loyal to the backbone they could only be disloyal if the British Government were a very bad Government. The objects of the national movement are threefold: the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population

of India ; the gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social, and political, of the nation thus evolved; and the consolidation of the union between England and India by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country. The Congress was intended to enable all interested in public questions to supplement their knowledge and correct their views in the light of the information possessed and the opinions held by others, to exorcise sectarian and class antipathies by associating all in one common work for the common good, to habituate all to personal sacrifice, and by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national question and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests, to foster a wider altrurism and a more genuine public spirit. It was also intended to familiarise the country with the methods and working of representative institutions on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of those institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires. Its promoters claim that there is not one of these objects that has not been already partially achieved, and not one of which the perfect accomplishment in a not distant future does not appear to be, humanly speaking, certain. As an instance of this, we may state that it was resolved that in view of the growing poverty of the people of India, representative institutions ought to be established in India, as this would place it within their power to effect those reforms in the administration which they believed to be necessary to relieve that poverty. Among the other resolutions which were endorsed were those dealing with the complete separation of the executive and judicial functions in officials, the establishment of Native military colleges, the formation of an Indian Volunteer force for defensive purposes, reform of the taxation, the elaboration of a system of technical education suitable to the condition of the country, and the modification of the Arms Act, which casts an unmerited slur upon the loyalty of the people. The next Congress is to be held at Allahabad in December next.

(*Southport Visitor.*)

The Empire in the East, of which our Queen is *Kaiser*, or Empress, is, as we all know, a vast possession located in that part of the earth where nature is the most generous, both with her sunshine and her luxury of soil. The population of India is 300 millions, and the area amounts to over a million and a quarter square miles, including Native States. The country was fought for by Clive, and other Englishmen who flourished after him, and it was obtained, generally speaking, in an honourable way, judging the matter from the stand point of the times in which the conquest was made. How the territory was turned into British, however, does not now matter, seeing that if we had not annexed it or purchased it, would now have been captured, by some other European nation which would have had no more right to it than we had, and which would not have dealt with the Natives in nearly so fair and upright a manner as have the British nation. Sunk in the depths,

of ignorance, weakness, and misery wasted by wars between the petty princelets who then divided the country into a multitude of little kingdoms over which they ruled with despotism—such was the condition of the masses of the country when it came into the hands of the English. The East Indian Company, who first ruled the Hindus, effected many improvements in the condition of the peoples, but the main good derived from the Government of that Company was the prevention of the ravages of war, so that the Natives were given more time and more inclination to undertake their own advancement. After the Mutiny, the English Crown was vested with the direct sovereignty of the dependency, and the rule of the Company having prepared the people in an educational sense for further improvements, a very excellent system of government was adopted—public Schools and Universities were established, State Railways were built, Municipal Boards for towns and cities were elaborated, and many great and important works were carried out for the benefit of the country at large.

In the treatment of the Mahomedans and Hindus who form the bulk of the population, a very wise course was adopted, perfect freedom being given for all religious worship. Care is taken in India that every man shall have as good opportunity for observing the rites of religion, as in England has been given to Catholics since the Emancipation Acts. Kindness and conciliatory treatment are always shown to the Natives, and under the excellent administration—so far as it goes—of public affairs the nation has thrived and improved wonderfully since its days of subjection, poverty and woe. There is still much poverty among the very lowest classes, but in the course of time it may reasonably be hoped that all but a small per centage of the community will be in the position to earn a very respectable livelihood. It would be utopian for any nation to expect to remove every trace of poverty. The result of the fairness of English Government has been to create a large amount of loyalty to the English Crown. It is obvious to those who have visited India, and observed the conduct and listened to the conversation of the Native people that to a very large extent, the population is distinctly satisfied with England as the dominant power. It is true some of the Native papers are filled with vituperations of Britain, and of the Executive Officers of the British Government who live in India; but it would be absurd to expect any vast body of human being to be pleased with their surroundings ; and dissentient sprinkling as found in every community. On the whole, the Indian nation is loyal to the country to which it is dependent. The proof of this is found in the fact that the chief accomplishment given to Hindu or Mahomedan children is the knowledge of our language. Any thing that is English is eagerly studied, and all English books and periodicals are voraciously read. The demand for English books amounts to a craze, as we happen to know. We tried in vain to obtain a Latin Dictionary in Calcutta ; and the same difficulty would probably have been experienced in obtaining a French lexicon. But the importation of English volumes is continuous. Educated Natives, many of whom have been through English Universities, are frequently met with, and as our tongue in the popular schools is very rapidly becoming as common in India—especially near the large towns—as it is in Wales. All the children first learn Hindustani, and then are taught English in the Government schools large numbers of the

Natives are busily engaged in commerce and manufacture, whilst the clerks in the offices of English merchants, the officials on the railways, most of the clerks in the banks, and many of the Police are Natives of the country. It will thus be seen that the Indians are rapidly acquiring education and business capacity, and their earnest perusal of British books and news papers is leading them to the inevitable end—the desire, now they feel competent to conduct their own affairs.

At present the Government is vested in the Viceroy and a council composed of officials and Natives, and selected by the Governor-General himself or by the Government. There is, therefore, no representative assembly. A strong feeling is being created among the Natives, especially the educated Natives, that a Parliament elected by the people should conduct the public affairs of the nation—a Parliament elected on a franchise, which will, at least, include all the educated men in the country, and all the men in such a social trusted to exercise the position that they may be important function of Self-Government. There are other improvement which the Natives desire to bring about, and to gain their end they have adopted what must be termed a wise and constitutional course, namely, the holding of an annual Indian National Congress, at which properly-appointed deputies from all Districts in the dependency attend. The first Congress was held in 1885, when 100 gentlemen assembled at Bombay from all parts of India. In 1886 440 gentlemen, elected for the purpose, assembled at Calcutta; and in 1887—last December—the third Congress was held, when 604 gentlemen, elected by almost all the large towns and associations in the Indian Empire, met at Madras. Next December the fourth Congress will be held at Allahabad. The delegates consisted of Princes, lawyers, doctors, landholders, editors and proprietors of journals, and other leading Natives, and the discussions were carried on in English. Some Anglo-Indians were present and many Eurasians.

It may be taken for granted that, after all the expense and trouble of the English people to obtain, to keep, and to bring into such an efficient and prosperous condition, their Indian Empire they will not do anything to weaken their hold upon that Empire, at any rate not unless the Natives would be thoroughly capable of keeping it themselves, and preventing any other foreign power from obtaining possession of it. Still, the appointment of a Parliament of a representative character, to carry on the public affairs, to regulate taxation, &c., would have no weakening effect upon British rule, if due powers of rejection were given to the Viceroy as representative of the Queen. In fact, it may be taken that to establish such a Representative National Council would tend to increase the respect of the Indians for the ruling power. Their cry for a voice in the management of their own affairs is undoubtedly the results of our own teaching.

The Congress also claims that the Civil Service examinations should be conducted in India simultaneously with those in London. To this there can be no objection, as where a Native gentleman is clever enough to pass the strict examinations, he has undoubtedly a right to join the Civil Service of his country. Other resolutions, passed by the last Congress, are that the Government should separate the Judicial offices from the Executive offices, that the military service in the higher grades should be practically

opened to the Natives of the country, and that a system of volunteering should be established. Justice is obviously placed in at least occasional jeopardy by the judge being also an Executive officer, and the demand of Congress that the offices should be separated is reasonable enough. And with regard to the other two propositions, they might be adopted provisionally and with proper precautions. The Congress claim a modification of the Arms Act, that every person shall be allowed to carry arms unless a special order be issued preventing them. This request seems to be the only one not perfectly reasonable, and if this resolution be persisted in it will give a doubtful color to the proceedings of the delegates. There is no necessity in England or in India for the ostensible carrying of arms.

(*Eastern Press.*)

The proposals, discussed at the National Congress, recently held at Madras, are conclusive evidence that India is rapidly advancing on the path of European civilisation. Each of the reforms which it is now urged should be introduced in India, at one time or another, has formed the subject of bitter controversy between the Liberals and Tories in England. It is, therefore, only to be expected that the same parties will renew their struggle on the great battle-ground of our Indian Empire. This, indeed, has already proved to be the case. The resolutions passed by the Madras Congress, substantially embody the policy advocated by Lord Ripon, and so strenuously opposed by the Anglo-Indians, and their Conservative allies at home. The principal reform, demanded by the national party in India, is the recognition of the right of the people to a larger share in the management of their own affairs, fiscal and otherwise. It cannot be said that the request assumes an unreasonable form. At present, in the Legislative Councils, the official members and the non-official members are in the proportion of two-thirds to one-third; the Congress urges that this ratio should be altered to one half. This change would still leave the Government with a practical working majority in the Councils as the points of disagreement among the non-official members are so numerous that a united opposition would in reality never exist. A still more important proposal is embodied in the resolution that the Legislative Councils should be partially elective. That such a reform will be effected at once is, perhaps, too much to expect. A parallel is offered in the English Reform Bill of 1832; and it was not, as is well known, till the Tories saw that England was on the brink of a revolution that they allowed this measure to pass. It is probable that they will pursue the same policy with regards to the demand put forward by India for partial Self-Government. To delay acceding to such a reasonable aspiration would be to pursue a dangerous course, India is at the present time fairly well affected towards England; but if we repress her natural tendency towards development, we may easily create a feeling of sullen disaffection, which Russia would speedily turn to her own advantage.....The Government at home cannot be too strongly urged to give effect as rapidly as possible to the resolutions passed by the Madras Congress on this subject. Delay is suicidal. If the Native population be contented and well disposed towards English rule, we can

afford to defy the danger of Russian encroachments. If, however, we are hated and disliked by the Natives, the days of our Indian Empire are numbered.

(*Manchester Guardian.*)

A report of the proceedings at the Madras meeting has been issued by Messrs. Talbot Brothers, of Carter Lane London, from which may be gathered some interesting and significant facts in regard to the reforms advocated at the Congress, and in regard also to the attitude of the delegates to the Government of India. It should, perhaps be explained that no sectional or racial interests are promoted, these being left to the organizations formed for such purposes in the various Indian communities, the national party standing together to obtain reforms for the common benefit of the people of India and for the removal of disabilities which detract from rather than add to the strength of the empire. On this broad ground Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsis and Christians are able to meet; and in point of fact they foregathered at Madras under the presidency of a distinguished Mussulman Barrister of Bombay. The President of the first Congress was a Bengali Brahmin, Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and a Parsi presided at the Calcutta Congress; so that the reproach thrown out by the opponents of the movement, that powerful communities were holding aloof, is now seen to be entirely without foundation. That the Mussulmans and the Moslem press have joined the National party, and shared with Christians—European, Eurasian, and Native,—Brahmins, Parsis, and Hindus of all castes, the hospitality of Lord Connemara the Conservative Governor of Madras, surely indicates the removal of many of those influences which until recent times have kept the Indian communities apart. The truth is, the cultivated intelligence of India is rising superior to caste prejudices and racial differences, and, seeing in the administration of the country no room by agitating for the displacement of what is unsatisfactory. The expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils are the main objects of the National party. As at present constituted these Councils are in no sense representative, the official element being so much the stronger that the non-official is practically powerless. The Executive is also the legislative authority taxes are imposed, laws enacted, domestic regulations framed and foreign engagements entered upon without reference to the taxpayer, and without regard to the wishes of the people at large.

(*Freeman's Journal.*)

An observant foreign statesman declared many years ago that India would prove the ruin or the salvation of England's Empire. A time would come, he foresaw, when the educated classes of the subject races would demand admission to the higher offices in the Administration, and when their claim should be conceded in practice as well as in theory. It would not suffice to decorate an occasional Native Prince with a Star of Birmingham manufacture; to nominate now and again a Native nobleman as a member of the Legislative Councils, and to throw open to Natives those offices which no European would accept. The official, the

planter, the merchant—every European, with scarcely an exception—regards India as a country in which he must exist for some years, and from which he must come with a fortune and a spoiled liver. The administration is fearfully expensive and the cost is squeezed from a people whose poverty is so extreme that one-fifth of the whole population, according to official statistics, live on one wretched meal a day. Since 1876 at least 7,000,000 Natives have died of famine. Yet though taxation is forced up to the last possible turn of the screw the Budget rarely shows a balance between revenue and expenditure.

They have combined, and their movement is gathering strength rapidly. In 1885, the idea occurred to a few prominent leaders of Native opinion that a convention of representative Indians, men of influence in their respective communities would advance the reforms which had been so fiercely discussed and finally defeated during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty. At all events, by bringing together, from provinces a thousand miles apart, men of various races and different religions—Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Bengalis, and Sikhs, and what not of the 200,000,000 inhabitants of India—such a gathering could not fail to give indications as to the practicability of uniting the people of India in a constitutional movement for reform. The promoters of the Conference were encouraged to go on, and in December 1886, a second Congress was held at Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji, at which the principles of Indian National Party were clearly stated for the information of friend and foe—the political regeneration of the people, with the establishment of representative institutions as the first object to be sought. All through last year the movement was fiercely assailed by the papers representing British officialdom, and still more dangerous efforts were made by professing well-wishers to include in its programme measures of social and even of religious reform. The leaders, however, wisely set their faces against the proposal which if adopted, would necessarily have shattered the young organisation by reviving the racial and sectarian differences that were the ruin of the land. It is impossible to acquit the rulers of the country of a deliberate purpose to stir up the old feuds between the various races and creeds, when we find an official in the position of Sir Lepel Griffin addressing to the Sikhs just such a harangue against the Indian National Party as Lord Randolph Churchill addressed to the Belfast Orangemen, with fatal consequences, two years ago. But, despite the opposition of the ruling class and the denunciation of the official Press, the Congress of last December, the authorised report of which lies before us was successful beyond the hopes of its promoters. The number of delegates was 607, as against 437 in the previous year. The list includes men of all stations, from the Rajah to the ryot and of all creeds. A majority of the delegates had received a liberal education, and their speeches, which, as a rule, were delivered in English, disprove completely the charges that have been brought against the National Party. But, though loyal to a degree, prudent, and strictly moderate in tone, the numerous speakers were emphatic in asserting their determination to carry on to success the struggle for their rights. They came from all parts of India, some had travelled upwards of two thousand miles in order to be present, many had come at very great expense

to themselves, and in other cases local associations had helped to defray the cost of the journey. It was not for nothing, nor merely to hear each other talk, that they assembled. A characteristic feature of the proceedings that is well worth noting is the harmony that prevailed. Sectarian and class antipathies had disappeared in the desire to promote the common welfare and their certainly seems to be good ground for the claim that the leaders of the National Party include nearly the entire culture and their followers the entire intelligence, of the country. A genuine representative system of Government, and with it an effective local and Municipal Government—that claim was placed in the forefront of the demands that the Congress formulated. Practically, it embraced all the others for the abuses which the various resolutions indicated, and the reforms which were declared urgent, affected comparatively minor but still important questions. A new nationality is growing in India, It is not the product of this movement, but rather the cause of it. And it must be conciliated speedily, too. Lord Ripon when he brought upon his head the anathemas of officialdom by his measures of justice to the Natives, and especially by his efforts to develop into something practical and real, the nominal Self-Government that exist was a little, but not much, in advance of his time. He will, in all human probability, live to see far larger reforms granted—when the concession may come too late. For that England can hold India much longer by the present system of Government is contrary to reason.

(Brighouse and Rastrick Gazette.)

The report is very complete, and indicates an enthusiasm and thoroughness which must count for some ground of hope that Indian politics and progress may yet have the fortune of being carried beyond the bounds of talk and discussion. All reforms are sought for by the parties represented in this conference in a sincere loyalty to the British Government, and are expected to be brought about by the sympathy and good-will of all concerned in education and the establishment of solidarity throughout the Empire. The Conference itself was the representation of public bodies, popular, municipal, educational, etc., no individuals attending except such as were nominated by some influential and well-known authority; they represented nearly all classes and were animated by one spirit of desire for the aid of India. The resolution passed were of the first importance, and were intelligently discussed and supported. The report, though somewhat large, should be read by all politicians, who should also spare a little time (from burning home questions) to give to the Indian Empire.

(Carlisle Journal)

Even in the year 1888 news of most important kind sometimes travels very slowly. Except for some brief telegrams, the world was left in ignorance of the very important fact that an Indian Congress was held at Madras last December, and we learn only last week through the columns of the *Times* that even the much-despised Babus have come out in a manner which is exceedingly creditable to them. It is not quite easy to give a definition of the "Babu." The term is, to a certain extent, contemptuous epithet,

applied to Indians, who adopt European's costume, ape European manners and habits, and employ their usually keen intelligence in obtaining and using a knowledge of the forensic journalistic arts by which a man may earn a living, and perhaps fame without any capital either of money or position to start with. But the Babus are not the only members of the Indian Congress. Its yearly list of members include, says the *Times*' correspondent, representatives of every order in the community from the Native nobility and the high official aristocracy to the professional, banking, mercantile, trading, artisan, and agricultural classes. It includes, therefore, all sorts and conditions of men, although there is a strong flavour of Babuism in the classes which do not belong either to the nobility or the aristocracy; and, therefore, there may be some doubt whether the real India, over which a few thousands of Anglo-Indians rule, is properly represented. Of the two or three hundred millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, all except perhaps a quarter or half a million are mute. They have no public opinion as we understand it. Their touch with the ruling power is to pay taxes, which are mercifully indirect. But, above the great mass of cultivators of the soil there is a very important and very numerous class of men from whom the Mahrattas and the Mogul Emperors recruited their forces: from whom came the statesmen and the administrators of the Native rule in past days; and from whom we must recruit the defensive force of India if the history of the future brings us into conflict with Russian battalions. We are fain to believe that the fighting strength of India would be arrayed on our side in such a contingency, and indeed the Indian Government has received very flattering offers of offensive and defensive help from Holkar, Nizam, the Gaekwar, the Rajah of Bhawalporo and many of the fighting Rajput States. They are willing to help the slender British garrison if a fight with the Russians comes off; and we may take their offers as being an expression of the military sentiment of India. It is all the more valuable from the fact that the Indian Government does not recruit reliable troops from the populations under our directs way, when populations, by-the-bye, furnish the greatest number of Babus. The Madras Sepoys are well known to be "soft" in action; the Bengalis are rather worse; and so, for fighting work, we rely upon Mahrattas, Sikhs, and Pathans. Holkar, Scindia, and the other Maharatta and Rajput Princes can give the Indian Government an unlimited quantity of the raw material of "cannon fodder" which makes heroic soldiers when led by British officers, and it seems that they are quite willing to do so. A Russian invasion of India is a far cry to us sit at home in "happy England," but the mere threat has a very serious significance with the people who would suffer most by it. Cynics have said the millions of India would care nothing at all for a change of masters, and that the fighting races would only too gladly rise to destroy the British Army aligned upon the North Western frontier. We find a better feeling in the Madras Congress. These Indians fully appreciate the consequences of a Russian invasion.

(*Weekly Record.*)

At a time when the home division of the British Empire is passing through one phase of a struggle, in which one part cries for "Home Rule,"

and the other part says "No," it is interesting to look beyond the horizon, and over the minor questions of "compensation" and such like, to see what the other parts of the empire are doing ; to watch the changes which take place in appearance—social, commercial, political—national ; and, further, to try to fully understand to what extent they are due to our influence ; to what extent they are right; and to what extent we, as a nation in our national arrangements, should foster their development.

Our minds are led to one part of the Empire—India—by the receipt of the authorized report of the third Indian National Congress, held at Madras in December last.

It is now a little more than a century since the British could first be reckoned as a growing power in India. Then the entire country was divided, and sub-divided, even in some cases divided again, into innumerable clans and sects and castes, separated not so much by physical obstacles as by mistrust, misconceptions, and even hatred. From time to time an able chief had led his warriors victoriously against a neighbouring clan, to be in turn overthrown by internal disruptions among his followers. There was no security for life or property. Communication from one part to another was exceedingly difficult. Lands were falling out of cultivation. The buildings which had been set up by past generations were crumbling and decaying. Ignorance, heavy, black, cruel ignorance, was settling upon the whole country like a blight.

India, in the ages past, was not thus. She had her days of brightness and glory ; but had passed through a long period of retrogression. But now, Britain—England—takes her in hand. Progress is reported here, there, and everywhere. Counterparts of our "glorious institutions" are set up. Darkness is fought against by legal and other functionaries by missionaries and by traders. Light is let in ; and education plants its germs, and spreads. And now we look upon India, with its 787,000 square miles of area, and close upon two hundred Millions of population, as one of our most valuable possessions.

But with light and learning, with precept and practice, we have taken our own "conveniences," amongst which are railroads and other means of transit and communication more easy and expeditious than those which we found. One result of this was that Native men, whom we had assisted in obtaining a fair mode of learning, and who had means, travelled from one part of India to another. Ideas, views, sentiments, opinions were interchanged, to be again interchanged ; man told his thoughts to man who took them and repeated them to others. And thus was born a feeling that there was something more than a state of dependence upon another nation to live for ; faults innumerable could be and were found with the mode of government under which they lived ; and with education it was also found that there was a use for learning. So things went on, until in December, 1885, there met together in Bombay men of influence, Natives mostly, from nearly every part of India. Count them—they are less than 100 ; but watch them as they go earnestly to their work ; hear them, as they debate the "questions of the day." Nine resolutions in all were passed—proposed, seconded, and carried—dealing, with war expenditure and taxation the conference lasting three days.

And now the work began. These men were not elected. But meetings are held throughout the empire and their resolutions endorsed. Furthermore, delegates were elected for the Second Indian National Congress, which was held at Calcutta on Dec. 27, 28, 29 and 30, 1886. Thither they hie at time duly appointed. See them—Pleaders and first-grade Pleaders, merchants, tradesmen, M.A.'s B.A.'s, B.L.'s, editors, here and there an LL.B., anon a schoolmaster, there an articled clerk, here a landholder—to the number of 434, out of 500 who were elected.

Fifteen resolutions were carried unanimously with the exception of two. And then the President gives his few parting words; volleys of enthusiastic cheers, are given for the Queen Empress and the Viceroy: thus the Congress of 1886 dissolves. But as they leave the lines

" And men grow pale
Lest their own judgments should become too bright, And their free
thoughts be crimes, and earth have too much light!"
are almost to be read on their faces What will be the result? Will the
Congress bear fruit? Well, if the Government in England remain deaf; the
Congress will have demonstrated loyalty to the Queen-Empress, and an ex-
isting sense of growing importance. This done, they are willing to leave to
God and to time the fruition of national aspirations.

And now can we ask, Was the Congress barren? Was it? See its
members as they hie hither and thither, meeting here and there enthusiastic
eager throngs; speaking words of counsel and encouragement to their
fellow-countrymen. Rights of men growing into shape! Duties of men
becoming more known! Mights of men becoming day by day, slowly and
surely, a fact and reality.

Arrangements are made : delegates are appointed thousands of copies
of the printed report of the 1886 Congress about 75,000 copies of tracts
have been distributed; the intention to widen the basis of the part of
progress (except the British party) has been successfully carried out so far
as time would allow, and there go up to Madras in December 1887, elected
delegates, to the number of 607. They meet in a large hall erected for
the purpose, capable of holding 3,000 persons. Are they representatives of
the people? Think ye of the tardiness of the Indian to deliver over his
coin for an indefinite object; and then read ye that out of Rs. 3,000 no less
than 5,500 was the total of over Rs. 8,000 sums offrom one anna to Re. 1-8,
and about Rs. 8,000 in sums of from Re. 1-8 to Rs. 30.

There they met. The delegates commenced their proceedings before
an audience of 1,500. Rajah Sir Tanjore Madhava Rao, K. C. S. I., Chair-
man of the Reception Committee, welcomes the delegates.

Hon. Budruddin Tayabji is elected President, and then the work begins. Resolution 1 is for a Committee to settle rules of Congress. Resolution 2 confirms resolution 3 of the two previous Congresses. Then follow demands for reforms in judicial, military, and financial regulation ; an elaborated sys-
tem of technical education ; and other matters of business. Ten resolutions
and all 'carried unanimously.'

But the speeches. Listen Britons born, how they speak in your own
tongue; how their diction equals (alas, in the comparative aggregate sur-
passes) yours ; the sparkling wit ; the cutting sarcasm; the brilliant rhetoric

the impressive oratory; the moving eloquence; the earnestness! And then as they turn to their detractors. Loyal! The president deals with this—“The conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the foolish woodman who was lopping off the very branch of the tree upon which he was standing—(hear, hear, loud applause, and loud laughter)—unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (Applause and laughter.)”

Well might this Congress be called “The soundest triumph of British administration, and a crown of glory to the British nation.” But what is their cry? A reform of the legislation! Representative institution for India (under restrictions already quoted)!

The time has come that we have built up from the dust of nation another nation more noble than that which went before. We have taught them our tongue, our customs, and are doing our best to teach them our creed. We have taught them our spirit of self-help. They feel it. They look for encouragement to use those talents and powers which they possess, and which we have taught them how to use. They look to us with gratitude for the past, and with hope and fervent promises for the future. Oh! that we turn not to them a deaf ear! Oh! that we send them not empty away! Rather that we should carry out the work which we have begun, and make India ours in heart and mind, brothers by the strongest and holiest ties; our help in the now unseen day of tribulation; our comfort and pride in our days of peace and prosperity. Then will she be a sounder triumph of British administration and a brighter crown of glory to the British nation!

(Pall Mall Gazette.)

Leaving the composition of the Congress and turning to the enthusiasm which it has roused, and turning to the list of the resolutions debated and carried last December, the reader of the report will find them to be of an eminently practical nature, and most moderate and reasonable in their demands. It was natural that at such a gathering “Representative Institutions for India” should be a prominent topic of discussion, of the eloquence of some of the speeches which were given in support of the resolution embodying this request was worthy to be ranked with that which marked the speeches of Henry Grattan against the Union. The debates which followed upon this, the central subject of the Congress, were perhaps marked by a less fervid eloquence, but the cases against the union of the judicial and executive functions is one official, against the exclusion of natives from the higher grades of the military service, and against the present mode of levying the income tax, were presented with a debating power which is not surpassed in any assembly in the world.

Looking at the report of this great gathering as a whole, one cannot but feel that these Congresses are a factor in Indian political life which no future Government can afford to disregard with impunity. These three last Congresses have received well merited praise on all hands for the extreme moderation of their demands. To some extent already their requests have been granted, and if in the future an increasing attention be paid by the English people to this expression of the wants of the great Empire, the

love, gratitude, and proud admiration which unites this Eastern people to the Western nation that rules them will grow stronger and stronger. But if a deaf ear be turned to their requests a time will come when the magnitude and the danger of the movement will compel attention, and the English Parliament will find itself confronted with problems which shall altogether dwarf its present Irish difficulties.

We are rapidly coming to the parting of the ways. By means of free speech, a free press, and an almost free university education, we have created a mighty power in India. We have done much for the people of India, but up to the present we have allowed little to do. There are few who would wish by maintaining intact such a state as that which at present exists to keep this great nation in perpetual tutelage. The land of the Vedas, the home of a great philosophy, the country which has produced some of the most profound and subtle speculations of the human intellect, is surely destined for something nobler and better than that.

It rests with the English nation to decide whether the work which was begun when we gave free speech to the people of India, and was continued when we added to it the blessings of education and a free press, shall be prematurely arrested or carried forward to its logical conclusion in the gift of representative government.

(Grantham Times.)

Broadly speaking, the leaders of the National party include the entire culture of the country, and their followers its entire intelligence. This is the direct offspring of the union with Great Britain, which in the case of all who share this culture and intelligence, is the parent of everything that makes life worth living. From the conditions of the case, therefore, they are necessarily loyal to the backbone. When it is remembered that England rules over two hundred million Native races in India, and that three-fourths of these are engaged in a perpetual struggle for bare life, under hard condition, it will be evident that we have solemn duties to discharge.

It is a reproach and a scandal that so little interest is taken in this matter and in the whole subject of India, either by the Press, by the people, or in Parliament. When, what is called, the Indian Budget is introduced in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State, or when some proposal affecting the happiness or even the existence of many millions of people is brought forward there usually a mere handful of members are present. But the whole subject will assume importance, and will open up vital issues when the artizans and agricultural laborers who form the bulk of the electorate at home, come to realize that these hitherto mute millions of India are their fellow-creatures and their fellow-subjects. The fact is that since the resumption of a policy of annexation in India, and the enormous increase in taxation that has resulted from the general policy of the existing administration, the Indian community almost despair of obtaining any material alleviation of the misery they see around them, until they can secure a potential voice in the control of affairs by direct and adequate representation. The time has long gone by when India was simply regarded

as a happy hunting ground, or place laden with spoils to be seized and appropriated by the younger sons of aristocratic English families, who looked to make a colossal fortune in a few years. We have been educating the Natives, who as is shown by these Congresses, and by the positions they fill with honor and success in trade, at the Bar, on the Bench, in literature, and in the Civil Service, are now able to compete with Europeans. They have no desire to shake off or to weaken British rule, but they reasonably and rightfully demand to be treated as intelligent and loyal men who are entitled to equal rights in their own land.

British education and literature, instinct with the highest principles of civil and religious liberty, British history, and the example of Britain's noblest sons, the grandest gifts ever bestowed by conquerors upon vanquished and tributary races, have rendered the Indian National Congress a possibility, and have aroused new hopes and ambition in a noble though subject people. Among these, only a few decades ago, ignorance of the rights, duties and privileges of citizens reigned supreme. Now, a keen and growing appreciation of all three has been substituted. The mutual hatred and scorn of rival creeds and classes, which rendered impossible all contact except as enemies, has been replaced by tolerance, by a willingness to co-operate, and by a sense of brotherhood. An exclusive devotion to family, or tribal or caste interest, has been tempered by public spirit and a wider sense of duty; and through the fading mists of local and sectarian prejudices, the outlines of a new-born nationality are clearly distinguishable. There is hope for India and the Indians, if the Imperial Legislature and the Executive will enact and carry out equal laws, and will give the myriad population a fair chance.

(Western Morning News.)

The Congress was representative of the Indian people, the delegates to it having been elected either at open public meetings held in various districts or by political or trade associations. No part of the Dependency was unrepresented, and the gathering afforded a remarkable illustration of the way in which the growth of an intelligent public opinion is being fostered amongst the natives. The speakers addressed the audience in various languages and some of their speeches were characterised by great force of argument, moderation, and good sense. There were no manifestations of disloyalty to the Government at the meeting but the necessity of introducing reforms was strongly urged.

(Newcastle Daily Leader.)

The publication of a full report of the third Indian National Congress held last December at Madras is likely to bring the party and its claims more prominently before the British public of self-government. The poverty of the country may be removed, wise legislation taking advantage of the natural resources, and attracting the labour which can be had on cheap terms. Just now, the native races are satisfied with the Government of England. They have no desire to weaken the authority of the Empress, or

to infringe upon the privileges of those to whom she has delegated the right to govern in her name. All they ask is to have a fair share in the responsibility administration involves. Nothing is claimed in behalf of the majority ; no ascendancy is sought for either race or creed. Lord Lytton told the natives they had a recognised claim to share largely with their English fellow-subjects, according to their capacity for the task, in the management of their country. Lord Dufferin expressed himself ready, as far as possible, to extend and place upon a wider and more logical footing, the political status which was wisely given by Lord Halifax, to competent Indian gentlemen. Now the competent Indian gentlemen wish to have these promises fulfilled, and pledge themselves to use their enfranchisement for the benefit of the British Empire.

(Morning Advertiser.)

It is pleasant to note the moderation both of the sentiments embodied in the resolutions and the language in which they are couched. There is no demand for representative government in India, and in not making such a demand the congress shows itself better advised not only than many of the natives, but than many English sympathisers. Representative institutions in India are out of the question for many years to come, unless the whole work we have accomplished in the country, and which has brought it to its present condition of prosperity, is to be undone. Such institutions were established under Lord Ripon's viceroyalty for the purposes of municipal government, but they have not proved a success, and very few Anglo-Indians, not carried away by sentiment or devotion to a theory, would advocate their extension. The government of India must be, for a long while to come, if not always, a despotic government—a benevolent despotism, no doubt, but a despotism nevertheless, and it is satisfactory to find that the members of the congress do not appear to dispute this. What they are most anxious for in the immediate future is the right to take part in the military service of the Empire on a footing of equality with Europeans, and to be permitted to organise themselves into volunteer corps for the defence of the country. Other proposals, such as the raising of the minimum below which income tax should not be imposed, and the extension of technical education, are matters of detail. It is for the Viceroy and the Government at home to consider whether the time has come when all distinction between Europeans and Natives shall be broken as regards the army ; but we do not, for our own part, believe that it is yet safe or possible at present to permit native officers to hold high command in the Queen's service. The creation of Indian volunteer corps is also matter for very serious consideration, but the time may not be very distant, if it has not yet arrived, when volunteering may be permitted, under restrictions to which no loyal native could take reasonable exception. There is evidently at this moment a strong disposition among the better educated portion of the native population to support the British *raj* against foreign invasion. The possibility of Russian attack upon India has been realised rather vividly during the last year or two, and it has come to be pretty generally understood that to exchange the rule of the Empress of India for

that of the Czar would be the worst of calamities. This is matter of congratulation, and the loyalty of the natives, whenever it is displayed, should be cordially recognised.

(Birmingham Daily Post.)

These delegates were the representatives of the Indian National Congress, which has now held three annual meetings. The last of them took place at the end of December, and the report of the proceedings has just been officially issued, and forms a very important and interesting publication. The Congress assumes, and not without reason, to represent the populations of all the provinces of India, and to include amongst its numbers some members of nearly all the races and religions of the empire. Those who attended were representatives elected either at open public meetings, or by political or trade organisations. The officers of the Congress say that "no party in India was unrepresented; no section of the varied communities inhabiting Britain's Eastern Empire failed of appropriate representation." This last meeting was held at Madras, and the distances between the different provinces are so vast that some of them could not be largely represented. Yet there were ninety deputies from Bombay and Sindh; forty-five from the Punjab, from the North-West Provinces, and Oudh; and seventy-nine from Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Assam. The importance of the meeting and the character of its members were recognised by the English authorities, the President and all the Congress being invited to a garden party by Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras; and other attentions of a similar nature were paid to them. There can be no doubt that, whatever may be its exact representative character, such an assembly is entitled to speak with a considerable amount of authority, alike as to the wishes of the Indian people and as to their political and social requirements.

(Chester Chronicle.)

It is perhaps not known to most of us English that for the past three years the people of that vast collection of countries called India have been sending up to a central point each year a kind of informal Parliament to discuss their grievances. The first of these congresses composed of representatives from the principal cities of India was held in Bombay in December 1885, the second at Calcutta in December 1886, and the third in December last at Madras. The assemblage is one whose business is to discuss Indian grievances, and to secure their removal by constitutional methods. Glancing through their proceedings, a report of which has been sent to us, we find the spirit animating all the speakers, while earnest and enthusiastic for reform, is loyal and conciliatory to the British Government. Probably no other country could produce an example of a great gathering of representatives drawn from points thousands of miles asunder to discuss crying national grievances and differing widely, in some cases, upon matters of detail, inspired by such unfailing good humour and kindly spirit. Such a gathering was not inaptly described by one of the speakers thereat as "the soundest triumph of British Administration and

a crown of glory to the British nation."

The report of this congress will, we trust, reach many English hands and serve to diffuse a wide knowledge of the immense empire in the east whose millions acknowledge happy sway and the beneficent, elevating influence of England ; and rightly read we believe it will persuade open English minds that our Queen possesses no more loyal subjects than those of India. The representatives of the congress, amongst whom are the foremost thinkers of that country, did credit to their race by the intellectual cast of their discussion and the good humour, play of wit, and harmony which reigned from first to last notwithstanding all differences. In this respect they set a good example to many of our own political assemblages, concluding their third congress with vociferous and prolonged cheers for the Queen Empress.

(*British Daily Mail.*)

It says but little for the confidence which a certain class of politicians have in the value and stability of British influence in India that the first awakenings of political life amongst our fellow-subjects in that great country should have been greeted at once with timid distrust and with violent hostility. The people who see nothing but treason and sedition in the Irish national movement which is represented by the Indian National Congress. That body has been obliged to devote no small amount of time and energy to the task of defending itself from the numberless aspersions that have been heaped upon its honour and its loyalty. Yet the Congress has given no occasion for its enemies to blaspheme. It has assembled now in three successive years and nothing have been more strongly insisted upon at each gathering than the perfect loyalty of the delegates and those whom they represent to the Queen Empress. This loyalty is based on something more than sentiment for they know perfectly well that India could not stand without the presence of the British, and they have sufficient sense to appreciate the difference between British Government and Russian domination.

For suggesting such reforms as these the members of the Congress are accused of veiled treason and sedition, notwithstanding all their protestations to the contrary. The resolutions, it may be admitted, are debatable ; they cover a wide extent of ground, and are not to be hastily assented to. But the spirit in which they are to be considered makes all the difference. If we distrust our Indian fellow-subjects, and lack confidence in ourselves, we may as well let the subject alone altogether. But if, on the contrary, we trust the people and sympathise with the men who are endeavouring to quicken and enlighten political life amongst their countrymen, the full and fair discussion of the proceedings of the National Congress will do nothing but good. The Congress makes no novel demand in asking that the people of India should have a larger share in the administration of their own affairs.

(*Liverpool Daily Post.*)

Enough to say here that the spirit in which they are drawn is excel-

lent, and full of loyalty to English rule. The fact is recognised that only through this country can necessary and desireable reforms in the native administration be secured, and that they can be only hoped for through the direct influence of the English constituencies. Finally, an ardent desire is expressed for the solidarity in common interests of the people of this country and those of India. The most interesting fact about the Madras congress is, however, that in it the hitherto voiceless 200,000,000 of India have at last found an articulate utterance.

If pure selfishness is the be-all and the end-all of our Indian policy we are unmitigated humbugs, and do not deserve or comprehend the liberties of which we boast. We must vindicate our conquest by making it a blessing ; we must give to the peoples of India more than we took from them ; we must impartially extend to them, as they are able to receive, the institutions which are the outcome of the freedom and energy of our race. It is, therefore, with satisfaction and relief that we notice the inhabitants of India are beginning to move on their own behalf, to lay hold of our methods of government for their own use, and to appeal to England in terms that she can understand, and to which she must listen, or stand confessed a tyrant. More power, greater responsibilities, representative institutions are what the natives ask for. They claim that they are fit to receive a certain measure of self-government and there cannot be the least doubt that it is so, and that the employment of native agents, and the development of popular representative institutions may be very rapidly extended. Shall we do it ? That is the question on which the permanence of British rule in India depends. The people are beginning to feel their power. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin they are beginning to unite, and "the bars of speech and creed and race," are being broken down. If we refuse to recognise their reasonable claims, if we give the lie to our professed love of free institutions ; if we allow domineering young pups, in the form of civil service of officials, to offend the dignity, outrage the feelings, and despise the traditions of the people, as they too often do now, we shall in the end be kicked out of India exactly as we deserve, but if we are wise in time and give an ear to the reasonable demands of the natives ; if we trust them, and try to develop in their midst counterparts of the institutions which are the institutions which are the safeguards of our liberties, there is no reason why India should not be as one of the speakers assured united with us.

(*Western Daily Press.*)

Indiscriminate arming would certainly lead to strife amongst Hindoos and Mussulmans in the districts where the standard of civilisation is low, and this is not asked for. But if what is asked for can be granted, the strength of India in a war of defence of Indian homes would be immensely increased. It is in the same statesmanlike spirit that the demand for representative institutions is made. The idea of the ignorant millions of India electing members of an Indian House of Commons is too grotesque to be considered, but this is very far from the object of the Indian National Congress. It is a strictly Conservative proposal that is made. The

electors would be only men of education or business capacity, and they would elect representatives on the existing Viceregal Council, not to govern India contrary to English ideas, but to assist the English Government by informing them officially of the views of the leaders of Indian opinion. In local administration also the services of Indians might be utilised, and there are certain advantages asked for in respect of Indian candidates for the Civil Service. The demands do not go beyond this, and they are stated in a friendly and modest way, which ought to be recognised. The whole purport of the Congress is not that the Indians are disloyal, but that they think they can assist in the government of their own country within the limits which they see to be essential, and their representation deserves the friendly attention of the Government and of the English people. We are happy to believe that the Marquis of Lansdowne will be behind none of his distinguished predecessors in trying to rule India to the satisfaction of its people.

(*Liverpool Mercury.*)

We have ourselves frequently lamented this neglect of a great people whose country has given the Queen an imperial title and which is the proudest possession any imperial race could ever boast of in the world's history. An indifference so unfair to those who are its victims should give place as soon as possible to active inquiry and sympathy. Whether we go upon the lower or the higher ground—of expediency or of justice—is the duty of the people of the United Kingdom to concern themselves more intimately with the wants and the yearnings of their Indian fellow-subjects. There are 200,000,000 of them, and they are willing to form one with us in this empire. Education has spread even amongst the masses, and the benefits of civilised development have been felt by them. They have no desire to encourage Russia, knowing well the difference between the British and Russian systems. They have discovered that a strong external Power like England can provide them with that internal quiet which would be impossible if they were independent, and that, with all the drawbacks of which they now complain, they would be incalculably worse off if brought into subjection by the legions of the Czar. In this frame of mind they are constitutionally agitating for reforms. They are resolved, they assure us, to continue the movement without faltering.

(*Sheffield Independent.*)

It requires a little courage to remind poor John Bull, distracted and perplexed by his Irish troubles, that Ireland is by no means the only part of his extensive dominions whose aspirations to an extension of self-government press for consideration. A bulky "Report of the Third Indian National Congress," held at Madras on the closing days of last year, is a very visible reminder of the multitude of reforms which our Indian fellow-countrymen urgently need, and which they are entitled to demand on the strength not only of justice and national right, but in fulfilment of the most solemn promises made by Parliament and by the Empress of India. The prejudiced race of Anglo-Indians, and the official classes who resent

any desire of the natives to obtain a voice in their own affairs, are apt to make a mockery at these Congresses—sometimes to deride them as impotent, at others to represent them as disloyal and dangerous. But to those who are free from those race hatreds which seem to possess the souls of European residents in India, these proceedings bear on their face the mark of such intelligence, loyalty, and capacity for the service of the State as to be the best possible argument for the removal of the disabilities and inequalities under which the natives labour. We need only recall the animated controversies which took place over the Ilbert Bill to remember how great a wrong has been inflicted on Indians in encouraging them to qualify for high positions in the Civil Service of their country, only to expose them to the cruel arrogance which refuses them the full fruits of their cultivation and training. And it is but natural that the same spirit which looks scornfully upon the educated classes simply because, though the equals or superiors of the scorners, they are of different race and colour, is still more offensively displayed towards the humbler natives. An account has recently been published in this country of the unrestrained verbal and physical violence in which the Anglo-Indian hatred of, and contempt for, the natives constantly manifests itself. Travellers are absolutely shocked at the tone that is current in "society," and at the selfish indignation with which partial employment of natives in administrative affairs is regarded. Knowing these things, it is a matter of surprise to find, in the report of the Congress now before us, an absolute freedom from the retaliatory resentment which would not be unnatural. The dignified absence of personal considerations, and of any trace of bitterness; the unfailing good humour; the exceeding ability; the reverence for the law and for constitutional procedure; and above all the spirit of patriotism and of intense loyalty to the English rule, are most strikingly illustrated throughout these proceedings. Perhaps it is necessary to explain that now for three successive years these Congresses have been held, and each year they have shown a large growth in representative influence and weight. They have met in increasing numbers, first in Bombay, then in Calcutta, and now in Madras; the last being attended by delegates from every part of India; not self-elected, but appointed either at open public meetings or by political or trade associations. The gathering was thus fairly representative of the Indian peoples, and any country might well be proud of such representatives. The main object of the Congress is a most worthy one—and certainly the English people should be the last to complain at the flattery implied in borrowing from us this method of at once consolidating and educating public opinion, and of formulating sober demands for reforms. It is claimed that the National party, as the participators in these Congresses are beginning to call themselves, include with few exceptions the entire culture and intelligence of the country; and it is further pointed out that this culture, being the direct offspring of the union with Great Britain, absolutely compels both the leaders of the movement and their followers to be "loyal to the backbone."

A FEW PLAIN TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA.*

CHAPTER I.

(Introductory.)

My good friend Mr. Justice Cunningham, who was one of my brother judges in the High Court of Calcutta, commences a very able article, which he has lately written upon the finances of India, with this somewhat remarkable passage: †

"The administration of the Indian finances is a topic in which Englishmen, naturally and rightly, feel a deep concern."

I heartily wish I could endorse this sentiment. It would indeed be very right and very natural, if Englishmen did feel some concern about the state of Indian finances; but I am afraid, as a matter of fact, they do not. My own belief is, that not one Englishman out of a thousand, unless he has been in India himself, or has some personal stake in the country, feels any concern whatever, either in Indian finance or Indian affairs in general.

We are all full of foreign news, and foreign politics. Every move upon the continent of Europe is watched and discussed with the greatest interest. But upon our own great Empire in the East, for whose welfare and good government we are as responsible as we are for Great Britain itself, we rarely bestow a single thought; and this, I feel sure, not from any want of good feeling towards our Indian fellow-subjects, but simply because we know so little about Indian matters, and consider it no part of our duty to concern ourselves about them.

So long as India consumes a fair share of our exports, and supplies us with wheat and tea at the lowest possible price; so long as she maintains our armies, and provides lucrative employment for some thousands of our population, we are content to regard her as a very useful Dependency, to say nothing of the power and influence which the possession of so vast an Empire confers upon the British nation.

But as for troubling ourselves about her difficulties, attempting to redress her wrongs, or inquiring into the prosperity of her people, all this we are apt to regard as quite beyond our province. We see no more reason why an English gentleman should concern himself with Indian politics, than why an Indian zemindar should interfere with questions of Home Rule, or the protection of British industries.

Besides, have we not a Government specially designed by Parliament for the requirements of the Indian people? Have we not a Viceroy, and a Viceroy's Council, and a Legislative Council? Have we not Local Governments and Local Councils? Are not all these under the control of a Secretary of State, assisted by another august Council? Is not the Secretary of State himself under the control of the Ministry of which he is a member? And is not the Indian Budget under the special supervision of

* By the Right Honorable Sir Richard Garth Q. C., late Chief Justice of Bengal.

† "The Finances of India," by Mr. Justice Cunningham, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1886.

the House of Commons ?

Surely with these safeguards it is unlikely that any difficulties should occur ; and if they do, is it not wiser to leave the solution of them to the ruling power, than to attempt to busy ourselves with questions, which it might give us some trouble to understand ?

All these, no doubt, are very comfortable reflections for John Bull. They suffice at any rate to quiet his conscience, and enable him to sleep soundly over Indian troubles, without any unpleasant feelings of responsibility.

But, however, sound his slumbers may be, and however cloudless and serene the Eastern outlook may be painted in some of the English newspapers, it is certain that India herself presents a very different picture. Our friends there believe, rightly or wrongly, that they labour under grievances, which call loudly for redress ; and that reforms of a very serious nature have become of vital consequence to the country.

They say, moreover, and with too much reason, that, under the present system of Government, it is impossible that these matters should be properly discussed or understood ; that the Government is deaf to their appeals, and the House of Commons seemingly indifferent ; and that the time has now arrived, when, in accordance with the gracious proclamation of 1858, the people should be admitted more largely into the confidence of the Government ; and the principle of representation, so far as it may safely be engrafted upon the present constitution, should be adopted in the Councils of the nation.

Whether these views are well founded or not, it is certain that there prevails a deep and general feeling, that they deserve to be carefully considered. And this feeling is by no means one of recent growth, or confined to the native population. It has been increasing in intensity for many years past ; and in some respects, especially as regards questions of a financial nature, it is shared by the European community.

It was only a few months ago, that the Chambers of Commerce of the three great Presidency towns addressed urgent memorials to the Government upon several important subjects, to some of which I shall presently refer ; and it must be borne in mind, that the gentlemen who compose these Chambers are the leading European members of the mercantile world, many of whom have occupied seats in the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils, and who, from their long experience in the country, their constant intercourse with the natives, and their intimate acquaintance with commercial and fiscal matters, are probably better qualified than any other class to advise the Government upon questions of finance.

The natives have adopted a bolder and more effectual means of proclaiming their political opinions. In each of the last three years they have held an important National Congress, the first at Bumbay in 1885, the second at Calcutta in 1886, and the third at Madras in 1887. We hear that at the last of these great assemblies no fewer than 600 to 700 delegates, representing the talent, influence, and education of the native population, were collected from all parts of India.

It is no part of my present purpose to describe at any length what took place at these meetings. Suffice it to say, that on each occasion many

excellent speeches were made, and important resolutions passed which were afterwards submitted to the Viceroy; and that the proceedings were conducted in a spirit of loyalty to Her Majesty, and respect to the Indian Government, which should commend them to our sympathy and consideration.

I am aware that amongst many of our countrymen, and by a certain section of the Press, both here and in India, these Congresses have been regarded with disfavour. Their motives have been impugned: their proceedings ridiculed; and attempts have been made to depreciate their importance, by disparaging the rank ~~and~~ position of the delegates who composed them.

All this seems to me very much to be regretted. It is unjust, ungenerous, and impolitic. Such attacks are directly calculated to foment that unhappy spirit of disloyalty, which has manifested itself of late in the native Press at Calcutta, and which led in Lord Lytton's time to the passing of that unhappy measure, "The Vernacular Press Act."

Whatever may be said to the contrary, it is undoubtedly the fact, that the gentlemen who attended these Congresses are for the most part in high social position, and the recognised leaders of native thought and opinion; and if, in their honest endeavours to correct abuses, and to bring about what they believe to be wholesome reforms, they are treated unfairly by the English Press, what wonder is it, that the crowd of disaffected scribblers, who write in the native papers, should vent their spleen and indignation in the only way that is open to them, by abusing the British Government?

Of course, I do* not mean for a moment to justify this abuse. There is no justification for it. It is doing incalculable mischief to the cause of unity and progress, and it is giving the Bengalis generally, (and very underservdly), a bad name. The English people are naturally disgusted with the accounts which they read, of the disloyalty which prevails in the capital of India; and as Calcutta is taking a leading part in the proceedings of Congress, the excesses of the native Press become associated with Congress in the public mind.

If the loyal native gentlemen of Calcutta, who, I am quite sure, disapprove of this spirit of disaffection as strongly as we do, would boldly use their influence to repress it, they would not only be vindicating the honour of their own great city, but they would have a far better chance of commanding the views of Congress to the favour of the English people.

One thing, I am afraid, seems tolerably certain: that unless India can find in this country some just and generous champions to espouse her cause, she has very little chance of fair play.

Neither Congress nor the Chambers of Commerce can do much more than they have done. They have performed their duty faithfully and well in bringing to the notice of the Government what they consider to be defects and abuses in the present system. They have done this in the most open, straightforward, and respectful way, and with the concurrence of the great mass of the Indian people, who are capable of forming a judgment upon such matters. But the Government makes no response.

For myself, I have long been persuaded, that many of the abuses complained of are real and serious ; and that some of the proposed reforms would not only be of advantage to India, but would materially strengthen the hands of Government.

I shall endeavour in the following pages to explain as clearly as I can my views upon this subject. I hope I may not be considered too radically disposed ; my tendencies are generally in a contrary direction. But I have lived long enough in India to realise some of the evils of despotic rule, and I cannot help thinking that the time has arrived for relaxing, in some degree at least, the tension of that system.

I ought perhaps to mention, that, so far as my own local experience is concerned, it is principally confined to Bengal. I cannot, of course, pretend to any special knowledge, except in my own particular department; and I hope that any errors I may make through imperfect memory or information, may meet with some indulgence from my readers.

This is probably the last service that I may be able to render to India; and if I am fortunate enough in any degree to enlist the sympathies of my countrymen, I shall be more than content.

CHAPTER II.

(*The Indian Budget.*)

Of the reforms most strongly advocated, both by natives and Europeans, those relating to finance are amongst the most important.

Under the present system, the Indian people have no voice whatever in their own financial arrangements. The Government are all-powerful. They spend what they please ; tax as they please ; borrow as they please. All matters of revenue and expenditure are entirely in their hands, subject only to the control of the Secretary of State in Council, and the nominal supervision of the House of Commons.

It is true, that if the annual budget provides for the imposition of any new tax, which requires the aid of the Legislature, it must come before the Legislative Council, in order that the necessary powers may be obtained. But this very seldom happens.

The budget is usually prepared by the Finance Minister ; and after being approved by the Government, it is published as a final measure by a Resolution in the Gazette. I believe I am correct in stating that only upon three occasions since the year 1872 has the budget been submitted to the Legislative Council. Even then, the discussion is virtually confined to the points which require legislation ; and the Government vote and influence is so powerful, that opposition to it is practically useless.

It does sometimes happen, that a non-official member, with the courage and ability of my friend Mr. Evans, one of the leaders of the Calcutta Bar, takes occasion to remonstrate, as strongly as the rules of procedure allow, against abuses and extravagance, which have long been the subjects of complaint. But to what good purpose ? Such remonstrances fall lightly upon the ear of a despotic Government ; and, the same abuses, the same extravagance, will continue in the future, as they have done in the past.

until Parliament finds some means of interference.

It is the constant recurrence, year after year, of these and other matters of complaint, without any means being afforded to the public of fairly testing their propriety, which has given rise in great measure to the present feeling of dissatisfaction.

It may be that the so-called abuses are capable of justification ; that what is deemed to be extravagance, may turn out to be unavoidable. But surely there ought to be some constitutional means of inquiring into the truth of these matters ; and I am free to confess, that I very heartily sympathise both with the Chambers of Commerce and with the native Congress, in their disapproval of the present system of the budget.

There are, indeed, certain items of expenditure, against which a strong feeling exists, which it would probably be impossible to regulate effectively without the direct intervention of the home authorities ; as, for instance, the enormous cost of the army ; the heavy burden of the home charges ; the increased expences of the Simla exodns ; the waste of money attending the Governorships of Madras and Bombay ; and the large sums expended by and upon the Public Works Department.

There are other items, to many of which the attention of Parliament has lately been directed by Lord Randolph Churchill, which are more directly under the control of the Indian Government.

But all these, it is considered, from the highest to the lowest, require vigorous and impartial handling ; and to be scrutinized in the same spirit of watchful economy, which is acted upon by the House of Commons in dealing with our Home expenditure.

But how is such a scrutiny to be effected ? The budget accounts in India are at present not open to investigation. The public have no means whatever of ascertaining the necessity or propriety of the various charges ; and the Government are, year after year, in the unpleasant position of being accused of wasteful extravagance, which, if duly examined and explained, might be found to be inevitable.

Surely this is unsatisfactory, both for the Government and the people ; and the remedy which is proposed for it, by the almost unanimous voice both of natives and Europeans, seems reasonable enough. It is simply that the budget, whether it requires the aid of the Legislature or not, shall be submitted for discussion to the Legislative Council.

The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, in their Memorial to the Government, towards the end of last year, strongly urge upon them the importance of this change in the law ; and, after quoting in favour of it the opinions of several distinguished Indian statesmen, and notably of Lord Mayo, Mr. James Wilson, and Sir John Mackay, the Memorial proceeds thus :—

" From these statements it appears that the Government of India has been fully conscious of the advantages which would accrue to it from a full discussion of its financial measures, and of the accession of strength which it would derive from the support of public opinion."

" The Committee of the Chamber of Commerce has no reason to doubt, that the present Government shares the views of its predecessors ; and it has been confirmed in this confidence by the public speeches of the present Viceroy. In the judgment of the Committee, the annual discussion of the budget in the Legislative Council, with a detailed scrutiny by the Committee of the Council, afford the best available means of securing the advantages which have been described."

The Madras Chamber, in a similar Memorial, after expressing their approval of the views of the Calcutta Chamber, proceed as follows:—

"Under existing arrangements, the budget cannot be presented to the Legislative Council, unless it is connected with some project of law. This virtually hands over the public purse to the sole control of the Finance Minister, and discussion is effectually stifled. This state of things is so out of accord with the spirit of the age, and so much at variance with the efforts of the Government, in the promotion of Local Self-Government, that this Chamber shares the opinion of the Bengal Chamber, that it is desirable to make such a change in the law as shall permit of the annual discussion of the budget in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy. The Government has nothing to fear from such a discussion, since its aim is not to shelter the theories of the Finance Minister from legitimate criticism at the hands of men of practical experience, but to do what is best calculated to promote the financial and general welfare of the country."

Thus far the views of the Chambers of Commerce seem quite in accord with those of the native Congress. But Congress goes a step further. They not only condemn the present system, and desire a discussion of the budget in the Legislative Council, but they ask for an expansion of that Council, upon a principle of representative selection, instead of nomination by the Viceroy: and they also ask, that the right of interpellation, by which, as I understand, they mean the same right of asking questions of the Government, which is exercised in Parliament, should be allowed in the Legislative Council.

It certainly seems difficult to imagine, how the views of the Chambers of Commerce can be effectually carried out, without some such expansion of the Council and alteration of its rules, as is proposed by the Congress.

At present there are only six non-official members of that Council, all nominated by the Viceroy, and half of them generally native gentlemen. The remainder consists of the six members of the Council of the Governor-General, and of six other official members, who are also nominated by the Viceroy.

It is obvious, that no fair or effectual discussion of the budget, such as would or ought to satisfy the Indian public, could possibly be carried on by these few non-official gentlemen, when opposed to the weight and influence of the Government members.

The very object, I apprehend, of such a discussion would be, not only to test the wisdom or expediency of the measures proposed by Government, but to supply the Council, as far as may be, with all requisite information as to the wants, the feelings, and the opinions of the people.

I suppose that no Government in the world requires more of this peculiar knowledge, both for legislative and administrative purposes, than the Government of India. The variety of races, religions, interests, and customs, with which it has to deal, renders information of this kind especially necessary to the due discharge of its functions. And yet, as the Council is now constituted, it is almost entirely devoid of this valuable assistance.

Now the proposals of Congress, with a view to improving this state of things, seem sensible enough.

Their effect would be to leave the balance of power sufficiently in the hands of Government to insure them a good working majority; whilst they would also secure to each member the right of free discussion, and afford the Government a much larger share of information, than it has at present.

They propose that the Legislative Council shall be considerably expanded ; that one half of it, instead of two-thirds, shall consist of non-official members ; and that these shall not be nominated by the Viceroy, as they are now, but selected upon some equitable principle, which will afford a fair share of representation to the civilized sections of the Indian community.

I am unwilling at present to hazard an opinion, whether the plan that has been suggested by Congress for establishing an Electoral College would work altogether satisfactorily. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the various bodies, out of which the selection is proposed to be made, to form any proper judgment upon that question.

Much care and consideration would, of course, be required, before any decision could be arrived at, either as to the numbers or the composition of the expanded Council ; but I cannot help thinking that, whatever plan may be adopted, it ought to provide for a fair representation of the three great religious sects in India,—Christians, Hindoos, and Mahomedans ; and that the official as well as non-official members should be selected from different provinces, so as to represent, as far as possible, the feelings and opinions of every portion of the Empire.

The right of interpellation, and of calling for the production of papers and accounts, seems only a necessary incident to the right of free discussion. This privilege must, of course, be protected from abuse by any rules which Parliament may think proper ; but it would obviously be impossible, without such a right, to attempt any useful inquiry into particular items, especially such as are within the exclusive cognizance of Government Officials.

If reforms of this nature could be carried out in such a way as may commend itself to the wisdom of Parliament, I most firmly believe, that they would not only assure to England the gratitude and confidence of the Indian people, but that they would add materially to the strength and popularity to the Government, and would be the means of supplying, both to the Secretary of State and to the House of Commons, a vast deal of valuable information, which cannot possibly be obtained under the present system.

We often hear it stated, indeed it is sometimes urged as a matter of reproach, that the discussion of the Indian budget in the House of Commons is little better than a farce. And so it is. But that is not the fault of the House of Commons. It is the fault of the system, of which the Indian public so sorely complains. What means, I would ask, has the House of Commons, when the Indian budget comes on for discussion, of investigating the propriety of a single item in the accounts ? Let a member of the House be ever so able, ever so conscientious, ever so well disposed to do justice to India, and to check undue expenditure, how is he to set about it ? He has absolutely no information or materials to guide him. The accounts submitted to Parliament look well enough on paper ; and however unwise or unreasonable the proposed expenditure may be, or however odious the taxation to the Indian people, the accounts would not be likely to disclose it.

But if, on the other hand, the budget were always open to discussion in India in a properly constituted form ; if objections could be freely and fearlessly made to this or that mode of taxation, or this or that item of expenditure ; if the debates in Council fairly represented the argument on

either side, and a full report of the proceedings appeared in due course in the Gazette, the difficulty would be practically removed.

The Secretary of State in Council would thus obtain far more reliable information as to the state of public opinion in India, than he ever has at present; and the House of Commons would learn what are the really questionable points in each succeeding budget, and would have the means, if they so pleased, of keeping a wholesome control over Indian finances.

But great as would be these advantages, I believe that a still greater benefit would result to India herself from this liberal and generous change of policy. It would engender a feeling of mutual trust and confidence between the Government and the people, which has never been what it ought to be; and which it never will be, I fear, so long as the policy of reserve, which is always, I suppose, more or less a characteristic of despotic rule, is allowed to continue.

Perhaps some of my readers, who have never been in India, and who enjoy here in England all the blessings of a free constitution, may hardly understand what I mean by "*a policy of reserve*."

I have tried to find a more appropriate expression, and I use this one, I need hardly say, with every feeling of respect. What I mean is, that spirit of self-reliance which induces the Government of India to exclude the people and the Press from its confidence and counsels, even in matters where they are most entitled to have a voice.

A remarkable instance of this occurred very lately, even during the reign of one of the wisest, and most conciliatory, of Indian Viceroys.

On the 10th of January, 1886, a Commission was appointed at Simla, which is known by the name of "The Finance Committee."

Its object was to enquire into the best means of effecting economy in the public expenditure, and relieving the Government from its financial embarrassments.

It was appointed at a time of great pecuniary depression. The land-owners could not get their rents; the stagnation in the commercial world had become a grave subject of anxiety; the official classes were suffering from the low rate of exchange; and as regards the Government itself, the despatch sent to the Secretary of State upon the question of the Currency disclosed only too clearly the critical state of the Exchequer.

It must be confessed, that the constitution of the Committee was not quite what the public would have wished. It was undoubtedly composed of gentlemen of high character and ability; but they were supposed to be wanting in the independence of position, and freedom from Court influence, which was essential to the due discharge of their duties.

And yet the fact of such a Committee being appointed at such time, and the belief that the Government was really in earnest in trying to curtail expenditure, produced a confident expectation in the public mind that the result could hardly fail of success.

Their proceedings were consequently watched with extreme interest. They extended over several months, and by the end of the year 1886, the Report of the Committee was laid before the Government.

It may be imagined, that under these circumstances, the publication

of the Report was looked for with some anxiety. The waste of public money had long been complained of; and it was supposed that one chief reason for appointing this Committee was to satisfy the public that the Government was fully resolved to adopt every reasonable economy.

And yet, from the end of 1886 to the 5th of June in the present year, the Report remained a secret.

One would have thought, that if there were any State Paper, in which all ranks and classes in India were more deeply interested than another, and the contents of which every member of the community had a right to see, it surely was that Report !

How differently in such matters are we treated in England !

Whilst the Finance Committee was thus engaged in India, another Commission in London, under the presidency of Sir Fitzjames Stephen, was inquiring into the working of the Ordnance Department. No sooner was the Report of the Committee in the hands of Government, than it was at once made public ; the newspapers were full of it, and its contents were discussed from one end of the country to the other.

And why should not the people of India be permitted to share the confidence of the Government in the same way ?

Why should a matter so full of interest as the Report of the Finance Committee be kept back from the public for a period of eighteen months ? I suppose there was some reason for it; but I confess I cannot help thinking, (in common, I believe, with thousands of our countrymen in India), that this apparent want of confidence in the people is much to be regretted, and that it gives rise, not unnaturally, to suspicion and distrust.

CHAPTER III.

(Technical Education, and Promotion of Industries and Manufactures.)

A very healthy sign in India, and one which shows that public opinion is progressing in a right direction, is the Resolution passed at the last Congress, in favour of technical education, and the promotion of Indian industries.

It is possible, that this Resolution may have been influenced to some extent by the views of the Education Commission. Certain it is, that at the two former Congresses at Bombay and Calcutta, the subject was not brought prominently to the front, although a good deal was said on each occasion as to the increasing poverty of the people, and the necessity for reviving the old indigenous manufactures.

But the demand for a largely increased system of technical education is by no means a new idea amongst enlightened native gentlemen. I have heard it discussed frequently as one of the great requirements of the age ; and I remember that in the year 1879, a very excellent article upon it was written by my Honourable friend, Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee, of Calcutta, the President of the British Indian Association, and a distinguished member of the Supreme Legislative Council.

The great want in India is "employment for the million;" a diversity of employment for all classes, from the poorest ryot to the gentleman who

has taken his degree at the University.

We have spent a good deal of time and money over what is called *high class education*. We have encouraged dreams of ambition amongst thousands of young men, which it is of course impossible to realise; and the consequence is, the growth of a vast body of unemployed well-educated men, all craving for appointments in the public service, and many of them, I grieve to say, more or less in a state of destitution.

This condition of things is bad enough in England, but in India it is far worse; because there are so few professions or employments in that country which men of that class consider worthy of their position. Law and justice probably provides for the largest number; the medical profession absorbs its fair share; and many more find a place in the various branches of the Uncovenanted Service. But all these are sadly overcrowded; and there still remains a large residuum, who are either too proud or too wanting in energy, to betake themselves to the humbler occupations of life.

And what is the consequence? Why, this is the very class out of which come the preachers of sedition and disloyalty, who abuse the Government in the native Press. Many of them are of inferior caste, the sons of tradesmen and others of very moderate means. They have been sent to college, because they are sharp, clever boys, and their parents are ambitious for their future. They all expect to be made judges or magistrates, or to obtain some good administrative appointments; and when they have toiled hard and taken their degrees, they become utterly disgusted at finding themselves without money or employment. They have been taken out of their proper sphere; they are ashamed to return to their fathers' occupation, and sometimes even to consort with their own families; and they vent their spleen in a way which is perhaps not unnatural, by abusing the Government which has placed them in this position.

If only one half of the money, which has been expended upon high-class education, had been devoted to technical schools and colleges, and to the promotion and development of arts and industries, the result would have been far more satisfactory.

Let us now consider the condition of the agricultural classes.

Here we have an immense population, in many districts far greater than the land can support, and most of them without any means of useful employment.

It constantly happens in Bengal, that between the zemindar, who pays his rent to Government, and the ryot, who cultivates the soil, there are no less than seven or eight intermediate tenure-holders, each subject to his superior landlord, and each trying to obtain as much rent as he can from his own immediate tenant.

This is a natural consequence of the permanent settlement, and one main reason why Bengal is so terribly over-populated.

It is a rich, fertile country, and so far as its cultivation is concerned, I believe there is little fault to be found with it. The poverty which was so loudly deplored at the Congress, arises generally, I fear, from the enormous mass of people which the land has to maintain, and which year by year becomes more formidable.

The practice of early marriages, and the joint family system, which

entitles each male member of a family to an undivided share of the family estate, helps largely to increase the evil.

These people are as fondly attached to their old ancestral holdings as an Irishman ; and each member of the family has as much right as another to remain in the profit which the tenure, whatever it is, affords. Consequently, the little farm, which twenty years ago provided comfortably enough for ten persons, is unequal now, although probably better cultivated, to maintain a hundred ; and it will have more difficulty still, in the course of a few years, to support a much large number.

Then what is to be done ? Surely the most obvious remedy is that which for years past we have been experiencing in England, and which is now proposed by the Indian Congress,—namely, by promoting industries and manufactures of various kinds, and educating and encouraging the rising generation to betake themselves to occupations of that nature.

If capital and enterprise could only be found for starting such industries, there would be no difficulty in obtaining labour ; and the more the system is extended, the cheaper labour would become. The working classes in India are remarkably clever at handicraft of all kinds, and they soon learn the difference between the good pay of the factory, and the pittance which they earn in the fields.

The main difficulty, I fear, at present would be the disinclination which exists amongst the richer agricultural classes to invest their capital in trading speculations.

One reason for this is, that these gentlemen can generally lay out their money to greater advantage, and more in accordance with their own customs and convenience, by lending it to needy members of their own class. These loans in Bengal are very common indeed ; and the interest obtained upon them seems to our English ideas extravagantly high. Upon good security it ranges from eight to twelve per cent., and is generally much higher upon second-class mortgages. The poorer tenure-holders are often crushed by these transactions, whilst the wealthy zemindars and bankers become richer and richer, and acquire the mortgaged properties at a ruinous sacrifice to the owners. Capitalists naturally find this a more easy way of making money, and enlarging their estates, than by entering into trading speculations, to which they are not accustomed.

Another reason is, that men of rank and position in the Mofussil consider it beneath their dignity to engage in commercial pursuits. They have the same sort of feeling about this, that our own aristocracy had only a few years ago. But such prejudices are fast disappearing in this country, and I believe they would do so in India, if a breach were once made in the rampart of conventionality.

In the towns, of course, and amongst the commercial classes, there would be no difficulty of this kind. Industrial projects there would be readily undertaken, if people only saw their way to a fair prospect of success.

Of one thing, however, we may be quite certain ; and that is, that the question whether this most desirable policy is to be encouraged and promoted by native gentlemen, depends mainly upon the Government.

Sir William Hunter never said a truer word, than he did in his lecture reported in the *Times* on the 12th of May last, that "India was now wait-

ing for a Commercial Viceroy; for an English statesman with breadth of mind to grasp the situation, and with firmness of purpose to give effect to his views."

It is no use to spend money upon technical schools and colleges ; it is vain for Congress to pass resolutions in favour of this movement, unless the Government itself, both in India and in England, shows *by deeds, as well as words*, that it is desirous of promoting private industries and enterprise.

At present there is a strong feeling that the Government is not in earnest in this respect ; and that English politics and English interests are allowed to interfere unfairly with Indian trade and industry.

And how can it be otherwise ? The repeal of the cotton duties, although now an old story, is not at all likely to be forgotten. Those duties were not only of immense importance to India's cotton industry, but urgently required in aid of the Indian Revenue. Lord Northbrooke, to his lasting honour, preferred even to resign his Viceroyalty, than be a party to the injustice of repealing those duties. Of course we all know the true reason for that measure. We all know that it was the pressure put upon England by the Lancashire cotton spinners ; although the pretext assigned for it was the plausible one of Free Trade.

But what have we to say with regard to gold and silver manufactures? England's manufactures of that kind have long been admitted into India duty free, whilst similar Indian manufactures are still subject in England to a heavy import duty. Let us hope, from what we hear, that this injustice may soon be discontinued ; but it has lasted long enough to make India doubt the sincerity of England's Free Trade principles.

And what have we to say to the Indian tea industry ? No men in the world have worked harder, or under greater difficulties, to establish their position, than the tea planters in India. What has England done to aid those men ? Have we given them the benefit of our vaunted Free Trade principles ? Although tea is one of the necessities of life, and, many people would say, *one of the special necessities of the poor*, Indian tea is now paying a duty to England of six pence per pound, amounting annually, I believe, to upwards of two millions sterling !

Is this Free Trade ? Does the duty upon Indian coffee or Indian rice savour of Free Trade ? I confess to being myself a Protectionist. I agree with Sir Edward Sullivan that a reasonable measure of Fair Trade would be beneficial both to England and to India, because I believe it would go a long way towards providing employment for the people. But whatever we are, I say, whether Free Traders or Protectionists, let us at least be just and consistent. Let us not adopt Free Trade or Protection to the detriment of India, just as it answers our own purpose for the time being !

And now, before I leave this subject, let me venture to say a word to the Government of India.

When the associated Chambers of Commerce urged a few months ago upon the Indian Office the necessity for an extension of Indian railways, Sir John Gorst, who received the deputation, very truly told them, that India was a poor country ; that she had already spent large sums upon railways, and had undertaken to lay out another large sum in the course of the next three years ; and that it was impossible for the India Office,

having regard to the state of their Exchequer, to sanction any further outlay.

"But," added Sir John Gorst, "if it is true, as you gentlemen say, that there is so much room in India for new railways, what a chance is here for private enterprise!"

Poor private enterprise! Having been virtually expelled from India for the last twenty years, so far at least as railways are concerned, she is now invited at the last moment, after all the best lines have been constructed, to come over to India and complete the railway system, with all the disadvantages of course which would naturally attend such a thorough change of policy!

But private enterprise is one of those succours, which a nation cannot call to its aid just as and when it pleases. It is a plant which requires careful nursing and generous treatment; though, when it has once taken hold of the soil, it soon puts forth its branches, and repays your care and generosity a hundredfold.

Look at England's vast network of railways, all constructed in the course of a few years, and all the work of private enterprise! And who were the promoters of this wonderful system? You need only have visited the Parliamentary Committee Rooms during the great railway mania from 1840 to 1860 for answer to that question. The men who set this mighty machinery in motion were some of the most eminent engineers, surveyors, contractors and solicitors of the period; and behind these again, not occupying so prominent a position, but assisting, nevertheless, in their capacities, were bankers, timber merchants, iron-masters, brick-makers, sub-contractors and others; all, from the highest to the lowest, taking part in the wonderful work, and inciting landowners and the public generally to lay out their money in undertakings which were destined in a marvellous degree to swell the prosperity of the nation, and to assist in the development of other great industries.

And what was England's policy with regard to these railways? Why, a thoroughly generous one, and worthy of a free nation. She asked no money for concession; she took no profit herself out of the pockets of the public. She imposed upon the companies who carried out these schemes, no harassing control or conditions. She allowed them to spend their money, and to take their own profits in perpetuity, subject only to certain statutory provisions, which were necessary to protect the interests of the public, and prevent the rights of private persons from being unduly invaded.

Let us now look, on the other hand, at the policy of India. Of late years Indian railways have, with some few exceptions, been made and managed, and their profits appropriated, entirely by the Government. But even under the guarantee system, which was in force some twenty years ago, and under which some of the earlier railways were made by English companies, the whole control of each scheme was practically in the hands of Government.

They provided the necessary land guaranteed certain interest upon the paid-up capital; but in return for this, they exercised a complete practical control over the proceedings of each Company, and at the end of a few years retained the option of buying up the concern, on certain specified terms.

So that, if the project succeeded, the Government might reap the benefit of it; if it did not succeed, the Company were saddled with the burthen.

In speaking of this system, General Chesney says in page 389 of his work upon Indian Polity :

"The truth is, that all these devices for guaranteed interest or guaranteed traffic receipts, are merely transparent disguises of the fact, that Indian railways, under any form, are really Government undertakings; and until this fact is distinctly recognised, a thoroughly satisfactory policy in regard to railway affairs appears to be impossible."

General Chesney's opinion was, that Indian railways, and, I believe, all other public works of every description, ought to be made and maintained by the Government itself.

And there is so much high authority in favour of this view that I fear it is almost presumptuous in a humble individual like myself to doubt its wisdom.

It may be, that the peculiarities of our Indian system of Government, or perhaps of the people themselves, render a policy of this kind advisable in India, which would be intolerable in a country like England.

It may be that in 1854, when the Public Works Department was first established by Lord Dalhousie upon its present basis, private enterprise, however carefully and generously fostered and encouraged would have been utterly unable to carry out, or even to aid effectually in, the undertakings, which that great statesman though necessary for the development and improvement of the country.

And it may also be that, having once established that vast and expensive machinery, and having learnt to lean upon it more and more for the execution of all its operations, the Government, as time went by, may have become less able or willing to dispense, even partially, with its support and assistance, although the increase of civilization, and the improvement in the status and education of the people, may well have warranted the adoption of a more liberal policy.

But whatever may be the merits or demerits of the present system, I am afraid that, so long as it exists, and so far as its operations and influence extend, it must be destructive of private enterprise.

In the matter of railways, for example, what room is there in India at the present time for the class of men whom I have described, as having been the great promoters of the English railway system? Such men would be lost in India. They would find no room there for the exercise of their energies and talents. Their occupation is entirely monopolised by the Government.

And what is true of railway enterprise, is true also, more or less, of all other classes of industry, which are excluded from employment by the Public Works Department.

That Department is, in fact, a gigantic Government monopoly. It appropriates to itself not only railways, but roads, canals, buildings, bridges, irrigation, drainage, and a thousand other works, both civil and military, which in England would be open to public competition.

It expended upon its own staff of officers and servants several millions annually of the public money, which would otherwise be distributed amongst a vast variety of professions, trades, and businesses, and would afford that very stimulus to private enterprise, which India so urgently

requires.

I shall be told, I know, by those who approve of the present system that the Government is bound to get its own work done as well and economically as possible; and that this can be better accomplished by means of its own staff, than by employing private agency. I can only say, that I believe this is by no means the general opinion; and I have heard it denied over and over again, by those who are well qualified to form a correct judgment. I would only ask any of my readers, who take an interest in this great question, to be kind enough to read the evidence upon it, which was taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons during the years 1871, 1872 and 1873. I think they will find there good reason to doubt, whether the work done under the present system in India is either so good or so economical as it might be.

I need hardly say, that this is a matter of which I have no personal knowledge, and upon which I cannot presume to offer an opinion; but it is one which, in the interest of the Indian public, deserves to be most carefully investigated; and it is obviously impossible to investigate it satisfactorily, so long as all information as to the cost and details of this enormous establishment are in the sole and exclusive keeping of the Government.

There is one thing, however, which I think must be patent to every one; and that is, the inconvenience and imprudence of keeping up an immense permanent staff of this kind, at a time when in all likelihood it may become necessary or advisable to make a large reduction in the public works has been for several years past about five or six millions; and if this were reduced by one-third or one-half, what a waste of power and money would necessarily be involved in keeping a large portion of the staff unemployed.

CHAPTER IV.

(Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions:)

The only two remaining matters with which I propose to deal, relate to abuses, or what are considered to be, so, in the administration of justice.

The first of these was made the subject of a Resolution at the Calcutta Congress in the following terms:

That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions, (so that in no case the two functions should be combined in the same officer,) has become an urgent necessity; and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure."

This is, indeed, as the Resolution expresses it, "a universal conviction." I believe the mover of this Resolution was quite justified in saying, that the principle, embodied in it had been accepted, not only by the whole country, but also by the Government of India, and by almost all the Local governments; and I sincerely hope that the only obstacle, now in the way of carrying out that principle is the additional expense which it involves.

The injustice of the system against which the Resolution is directed can hardly be appreciated in a country like England. In a very modified form the combination of police and magisterial duties has been the subject

of animadversion in Ireland ; but when the functions of a policeman, a magistrate, and a judge, are all united in the same officer, it is vain to look for justice to the accused.

Imagine, my good reader, an active young magistrate, having heard of some daring robbery which has alarmed the neighbourhood, taking counsel in the first place with the heads of the police, with a view of discovering the offender. After two or three vain attempts he succeeds at last, as he firmly believes, in finding the right man ; and he then, still in concert with the police, suggests inquiries, receives information, and hunts up evidence, (through their agency,) for the purpose of bringing home the charge to the suspected person.

Having thus done his duty very zealously in the first stage of the case, he next proceeds to inquire, as a magistrate, whether the evidence which he himself has collected is sufficient to justify a committal ; and having come to the conclusion, not unnaturally, that it is, he afterwards, upon the self-same evidence, tries the prisoner in his judicial capacity, without the assistance of a jury, and convicts him.

However monstrous this may appear to an English public, the picture which I have presented is by no means overdrawn. It is not so common now as it used to be ; but it was a matter of constant occurrence only a few years ago ; and there are additional circumstances in India, which render it still more objectionable.

In the first place, it is extremely difficult in outlying districts, especially in the case of a poor man, to obtain the assistance of a competent advocate. In the next place, there is no public opinion, no wholesome influence of the Press, to operate as a check upon the magistrate. And lastly, the police themselves, upon whom the magistrate is obliged to depend very much for his facts and information, are neither so honest nor reliable, as they are in this country. Besides which, there is always the fear that the charge against the prisoner may be the work of some wicked conspiracy. In England, the getting up a false case against an innocent man is a comparatively rare thing. In India, it may almost be called one of the customs of the country. If you want to spite your enemy, or to revenge some injury to yourself or your family, one of the most ordinary means of doing it is to bring a false charge. There are always professional witnesses to be had, who would join in such a conspiracy for the sake of a few annas ; and it sometimes happens that the police themselves are engaged as the chief actors in making these abominable charges,

No wonder with the knowledge of all this before their eyes, that the Congress at Calcutta should have passed two other cognate Resolutions, in addition to that which I have already quoted ; first, with a view to extending the system of trial by jury ; and secondly, that a provision, (similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act in England), should be introduced into the Code of Criminal Procedure, to enable an accused person in serious cases, instead of being tried by the magistrate, to be committed to the Court of Sessions.

It is not that the Indian public have any want of confidence in European officers, as such ; on the contrary, they have the greatest faith in English honour and uprightness ; and I believe that, as a rule, they would

rather be tried by an English judge, than by one of their own nationality. But to be tried by a man, who is at once the judge and prosecutor, is too glaring an injustice; and it is only wonderful, that a system so indefensible should have been allowed to prevail thus long under an English Government.

CHAPTER V.

(The Stamp Fee System in Bengal.)

Another subject of complaint, which is urged very justly by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, is the heavy tax by way of Stamp fees which is imposed upon civil suitors in Bengal. It is one which I represented to the Government on no less than three occasions, during my tenure of office; but the grievance still continues unabated.

In the present state of the law, no suit or appeal can be instituted in the Mofussil Courts, until the plaintiff or appellant, as the case may be, has first paid a heavy ad valorem duty in the shape of a Stamp fee.

The amount of this duty was fixed by "The Court Fess Act, 1870," at about 5 per cent. upon the value; and I believe that is the rate at the present time.

People here would hardly believe, that before a man can bring a suit in India upon a bond for 10,000 Rupees, he has to pay a duty to the Revenue of 475 Rupees. If the value of the suit is as much as 410,000 Rupees, the Stamp fee is 3,000; but this is the maximum duty ever charged.

The grounds for imposing this tax upon civil suitors are thus explained by the Legislature in the "Objects and Reasons" of "The Stamp fees Act, 1867":—

"It is not contended that the expenditure on the Courts of Justice should be met in full by a tax on such individuals of the community as alone resort to the Courts; because it is manifest that all classes have more or less a direct interest in the administration of justice, especially of justice in the Criminal Courts.

"But it is only reasonable that those who resort to the Courts should contribute in a larger proportion than the general public to the support of them, as Institutions by which they, more than others, are immediately benefitted."

"It has been found, too, that some tax upon litigants is absolutely necessary, to restrain the especial tendency of the public in India to resort either to the Civil or Criminal Courts on the occasion of every petty claim or dispute."

It is clear, therefore, that the object of the Government in imposing this tax was *not to make suitors pay the whole cost of the Civil Courts*, and certainly not to burden them with a large surplus in addition; whereas the amount of the tax now raised in Bengal exceeds by at least one-half the entire expense of the Civil Courts.

From the High Court Report, which was forwarded to the Government for the year 1882, it appears that the total estimated cost of the Civil Courts in Bengal was Rs. 3,396,066, whilst the total income to the Government from the Stamp fees was Rs. 16,612,933.

This surplus had at that time been increasing for several years past; and I learn that it is now even larger than it was in the year 1882.

The result is, that civil suitors in Bengal are not only made to pay the entire cost of the Civil Courts, but of the Criminal Courts also, besides

contributing a very large surplus for the benefit of the general public. All this I stated very plainly in a Minute, which I addressed to the Government in 1883, and, as far as I am aware, my facts have never been questioned.

Now this is a manifest injustice, which falls with peculiar severity on the poorer class of litigants. To the rich the payment of so large a fee is often a serious matter; but in the case of the poor, it absolutely bars the door of justice. It often happens that suitors cannot possibly raise the necessary sum to enable them to enforce their rights; and consequently suits in India, both by rich and poor, are frequently carried on, not by the claimants in whose names they are brought, but by suit-brokers and money-lenders, who undertake the case and pay the necessary expenses, upon the terms of getting a share of the property, if the suit should prove successful.

This mischievous system, which is known in England by the name of champerty and maintenance, is here considered illegal, as being contrary to public policy, and tending to encourage strife and litigation; but it has been tolerated in India for no better reason, than because, without it, many unfortunate claimants would be without any means of redress. There is no doubt that, both among Europeans and natives, but especially the latter, a very strong feeling exists against the undue severity of this imposition.

There is not the same reason now, as there was in former times, for preventing unnecessary litigation by means of a tax. The subordinate Courts are far stronger than they used to be, and fully able to deal summarily with unfounded claims; and I should hope that the very questionable policy of denying justice to the poor, for the purpose of restraining generally a spirit of litigation, would not find much favour at the present day.

But there is another reason, and a strong reason too, why this tax is peculiarly unjust to the suitors of Bengal; and that is, that whilst Executive officers are almost invariably provided with good and suitable offices and dwellings, the Courts of Justice are in too many cases a disgrace to the government; whilst the habitations which Mofussil Judges are often forced to occupy are utterly unfit for gentlemen in their position. The contrast between the accommodation provided for Judicial and Executive officers is very marked, and tends, I need hardly say, very materially to lower the judiciary in the estimation of the people.

Not long before I left Calcutta, my good friend, Mr. Justice Prinsep, our most experienced Civilian Judge in the High Court, made a tour of inspection in certain of the Bengal districts; and in his Official Report, which bears date in July, 1885, he thus describes the state of things he found there:

"The next matter to which I would draw attention is the insufficient and inappropriate accommodation generally given to Civil Courts. The Moonsiffs' Courts are nearly always most unsuitable structures. In many places they sit in hovels unfit for human habitation; dark, unventilated, and filthy. At some places mat bungalows have been erected on a standard pattern.

"No doubt these are an improvement on the places in which the Courts used to be held; but still they cannot be regarded as suitable Court-houses. The accommodation is generally insufficient, and the retention of valuable papers in a thatched mat house is attended with the greatest risk. Let any one contrast even those improved Court-houses with the Court of a Subdivisional Magistrate, or even the local Post Office or Telegraph Station, and the

inferiority is most striking ; but how much more so in the case of the huts or sheds, in which many Moonsiffs' Courts are still located.

" In Burrisaul I found four Moonsiffs huddled together in a dirty dilapidated house, one of them sitting in an exposed side verandah, indifferently protected by a slanting mat from sun and rain. The unsuitableness of this accommodation was noticed by the Lieutenant-Governor about two years ago, and orders were issued for the preparation of proper Courts. But there matters remain.

" At Subdivisions, the contrast between the accommodation given to Judicial and Executive officials, is especially remarkable in their private arrangements.

" The contrast is not only in the Court-houses, but in the arrangements made for private accommodation. The Deputy Magistrate (a native) lives in comfort in a building belonging to Government; the Moonsiff must be content with the best lodging that he can procure, and often, when his Court is placed in a small village, the only lodging procurable is so unsuitable, that he is forced to send away his wife and family to his own home. Is it surprising that with such disadvantages, the Executive should be regarded as the favoured service, and that, Judicial officers should be regarded as the favoured service, and that Judicial officers should feel that their interests and comforts are neglected ?

" As a separate department, Civil Justice yields a large "income to Government. Why then should the claims of this branch of the public service always be deferred to those of other departments ? It is notorious that a collector, a district magistrate, or even a superintendent of police, finds little difficulty in obtaining funds for any improvement to his offices, or even those of a subordinate. But the obstacles placed in the way of District Judges deter them from asking for the most trifling expenditure even admitted claims are so constantly postponed, that they are apt to be lost sight of.

" I am conscious of my inability to ascertain the real cause of this persistent parsimony in the departments of Civil Justice ; but, whatever be its cause, I trust that in the future its claims may be more recognized and more jealously watched until they are actually satisfied."

I sincerely hope, that since the date of this Report, some steps may have been taken to remedy this unhappy state of things. The attention of Government has been called to it over and over again, and there undoubtedly exist a very strong feeling upon the subject. If the very large surplus, which is now received by Government for Court fees, were (even to any reasonable extent) appropriated to the improvement of the Courts, there might be less ground for complaint.

But when, for the express object of providing for the necessities of the Civil Courts, this large sum of money is taken out of the pockets of the suitors, and then appropriated to other purposes, whilst the Civil Courts are left in so disgraceful a condition, it naturally gives rise to very serious complaint.

MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT WAINFLEET.

After the speech of Dr. Aubery Mr. Bonnerji said :—

" I am afraid, after the speech you have just listened to, it may be thought presumptuous on my part to claim your attention, even for a few moments. But I come from a very distant part of the dominions which together from the great British Empire, and it is my desire to-night to draw your attention to some of the things which take place in that great dependency of yours in the hope that I may be able to arouse some interest in India, and to get some sympathy from you for the 250 millions of your fellow-subjects who are resident in that country. As you are aware the Government of India is in the hands of an officer of the Crown called the Secretary of State for India, who is assisted by a number of gentlemen who form his Council. When the Secretary of State for India gets up in the House of Commons to introduce any measure affecting the welfare of all

this vast number of people, how many of your representatives, do you think, are present to listen to him? I should have thought that the weal or woe of such people would induce all the members of the House to be present on an occasion like that I have described, but when the Secretary of State for India rises, he frequently addresses empty benches, not more than four or five members being present. The largest number that has ever attended or manifested the slightest interest upon such an occasion in recent times was, I believe, thirty. (Cries of "Shame.") The late Professor Fawcett, whom you will remember as being one of the most prominent members who interested themselves in the affairs of India, knew the subject of the great country of India as thoroughly as the Indian people themselves. He used to go on endeavouring to draw the attention of the House of Commons to the affairs of India but even he, with his great talent, used to find it difficult to arrest the attention of honorable members. My object in addressing you to-night is to ask you to use your influence as electors to put a stop to such a state of things. For weal or for woe this great dependency is in your hands. You, the individual electors of Great Britain, have a great responsibility to Providence in connection with that country. If you do not insist upon your representatives in the House of Commons devoting themselves to the affairs of India; if you do not yourselves, when opportunity offers, and when you have leisure at your hands, pay attention to the affairs of my country, you will not, I feel sure, be doing your duty. How do you think the affairs of India are managed, seeing that those who are charged with its government are virtually responsible to no one? The controlling body is the House of Commons, and that body pays no attention whatever to the affairs of India. The master pays no attention to the work, and the servant quietly sits in the kitchen doing no work whatever. At the present moment there is great poverty in India, and by reason of the poverty the vast majority of the people of India do not often get two meals per day, and the meals they get consist of a little boiled rice with a little salt, without any meat or vegetables. One would have supposed that salt, which is almost the chief necessity of life, would be untaxed. But the Government wanted money, and they raised the tax on salt—the necessity of the people. ("Shame.") Why did the Government want money? Because they are frightened that Russia will some day come down on India and deprive Great Britain of her rule. This has been a great scare for the last half century. When Russia was thousands of miles away from India, and was gradually civilising Central Asia, it used to be the cry, that as soon as Russia came to a place called Merv, she would seize India. Russia reached Merv many years ago, and India still remains an English possession; and I am in a position to say on behalf of my countrymen—I am a Native of India and belong to one of the various castes, which caste is the caste of Brahmin—in a position to tell you that they would no more allow Russia, notwithstanding the neglect with which they have been treated, to take India, than they would allow the Hottentots to do so. (Applause.) My countrymen are loyal to England to the backbone. (Renewed applause.) They will, when necessity arises, fight shoulder to shoulder with Englishmen for the purpose of retaining English rule and —— do not understand that; they

wish to keep everybody down with a firm hand. Your Tory does not believe it is possible to rule by affection, and to claim the good will and the willing service of the people. He only believes in his big army, with its big guns, some of which, as you have heard to-night, cost £200 to fire one shot. I do not believe that Russia has the slightest inimical intention towards India. For the purpose of preventing Russia going to India money is being wanted in the way Dr. Aubrey has referred to, and in order to provide money for this purpose the Government of India has actually risen the tax upon salt, which, as I have before said, is one of the necessities of life of the people. We say, we understand our country a little; but the Tories say that we, the Natives of the country, do not understand it at all, and that they, Tories, can govern us much better by themselves, and without the slightest help from the people of the country. The Liberals have given us education, they have taught us the principles of civil and religious liberty, and we have learned from the Liberal party that taxation without representation is tyranny—we have learned that thoroughly. (Applause) At the present moment we have Councils in India, which Councils consist entirely of members appointed by the Government. Sometimes the Government put upon the Councils Natives of India who do not understand one word of the English language, and yet all the proceedings are conducted in English. People who understand the English language are not appointed on these Councils, because if they were, the Government would not be able to do just what they please. They have got a constant majority and with the exception of these members, who are called non-official members, the Council consists of official members, that is to say, the members who are in the service of the Government, and one of the conditions of service which the Government require from them is that they should always vote in a body, right or wrong, with the Government. The non-official members are always in a standing minority. The result is that nothing but what the officials want carrying out is carried out, notwithstanding the protest of the people at large. This is a state of things injurious to the best interest of the country. There has been for many years in India a great deal of education imparted to the people, and the people now understand thoroughly the affairs of their country. Before railway communication was completed throughout the country, the people met in their own Districts for the purpose of bringing their grievances to the knowledge of the Government and asking for redress but for the last three years organisations have grown up amongst us, from which representatives meet together once a year from every part of India—representatives of two hundred and fifty millions of people gather together to discuss the position of the country, to see what is required for the Government of the country, and to pass resolutions upon those subjects and sent those resolutions to the Government. We call these meetings the National Indian Congress. The third meeting of this body took place in Madras in December last, and at this meeting we, for the third time, repeated a resolution asking that the Councils in India which make the laws should be so broadened as to introduce the representative principle. That is to say, allow the people to select their own representatives for the purpose of taking part in the making of laws, which governed the country. (Loud applause.) This we have been crying for a long time, and there is not

a person in the country that is not anxious that representative institutions should be introduced into India. The officials say to us "you are not fit for the representative Government." That has always been the excuse of those who did not wish to extend freedom. You are not fit for the Reform Bill of 1832 Colonel Shibthorpe said if that Bill were passed England would go to the bottom of the sea. It is the Tories who always tell you they can govern you better than you can govern yourselves. They remind me of the parent who would not allow his son to go to the water because he could not swim. How can a person learn to swim if he never enters water? (Laughter.) How can we learn to be fit for representative Government: how can we prove we are fit for it, if they do not give us representative rights? (Cheers.) Give us representative Government, and if we are not fit for it, then take it way again. (Cheers.) If there had been one representative on the Council of the Viceroy, he would not have allowed, without a stern protest, a rise in the duty on salt. The whole country is up in arms against the iniquitous proposal, but the Government would not pay the slightest attention. It is from the Government of India that we appeal to the people of England, and we ask the Liberal party to take a little interest in the affairs of this great country, and in the words of your motto, "Honor, Justice, and Liberty," I call upon you to instruct your representatives who go to the House of Commons, to act towards my country with honor, with justice, and show to my country the same principles of liberty, and to act towards my country in the same spirits of liberty as you would expect them to act towards you." (Loud cheers.)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON AND MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT BENSHAM GROVE GATESHEAD.

On Saturday afternoon a garden party was held in the grounds of Dr. R. Spence Watson, at Bensham Grove Gateshead, to which the members of the Newcastle Liberal Association, the Newcastle and Gateshead Women's Liberal Association, and other friends were invited. The weather was beautifully fine, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen availed themselves of the invitations. Amongst those present were Dr. and Mrs. Spence Watson, Misses Spence Watson; Mr. J. W. Pattinson and Miss Pattinson; Rev. W. Moore Ede, Rector, and Mrs. Ede; Rev. J. Ellis, Loughrae Ireland; Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, President of the first Indian National Congress; Mr. Eardley Norton of Madras; Mr. G. Luckley, J. P., Mr. John Havelock, Councillor Ridley; Lord and Mrs. Lord, Councillor Hepburn; Mr. W. I. Watson, Rev. A. F. Riley (Gateshead) and Mrs. Riley, Rev. John Thompson; Mr. N. Temperley; Mr. F. W. Dendy and Mrs. Dendy; Mr. J. Shepherdson; Councillor Cuiley, Alderman Cain; Councillor Birkett; Councillor T. Waller; Mr. J. H. Rodgers; Mr. W. M. Patterson; Mr. A. Howson; Mr. A. K. Durham; Councillor Laird; Mr. O. G. Binks; Mr. Percy; Corder; and others. One of the principal objects of the gathering was to hear addresses from the two visitors from India upon subjects connected with Indian Government. The speaking did not commence till about an hour after assembling, and the intervening time was pleasantly occupied. Tea and light refreshments were served on the green, on the picturesque grounds presented an animated spectacle, everyone appearing to enjoy themselves thoroughly. Mr. Amer's Royal Exhibition Band was present, and, under the leadership of Mr. Smith, "discoursed sweet music," and the guests, who were dispersed in groups about the place, passed the time in pleasant converse, there being a most refreshing absence of stiffness and formality.

At about five o'clock a move was made to a portion of the grounds where a platform had been extemporised, and the company having comfort-

ably ensconced themselves, Dr. Watson, who was heartily received, introduced the two distinguished visitors. After expressing the hearty pleasure it gave Mrs. Watson and himself to welcome them there that day, he went on to say that many of them had for years taken a keen interest in Indian affairs, but during the last two or three years their immediate interest had been absorbed by the condition of Ireland. There were few of them who had not felt keen sympathy with Mrs. Mendeville in her great affliction. (Hear, hear.) It was not saying too much to say that as they had read that plain and unvarnished tale, their blood had boiled with indignation that at this time of day such things could be done in the name of the English people. And John Dillon! How one thought of him in that fine weather—therein his little soone cell and he in that weak, delicate state. They must take great care of John Dillon in his prison or the English people would call them to a severe account. But the immediate object was to consider the state of affairs in India. They had with them two gentlemen who were peculiarly well qualified to deal with the subject. Mr. Bonnerji was president of the first National Congress in India, and Mr. Eardley Norton had by his eloquence supported the Indian cause in the national Congresses and elsewhere, and they thought it would be well to have them down to the North, which they were glad to believe was the home of free causes. (Cheers.) The question of India was one that would come very closely home to the English people. Then the demands of the Indian people were moderate. It was the very same demand that Ireland was making, and they had even more to ask than Ireland, for they had infinitely less Self-Government than the Irish. Happily the just and moderate demands of the Indian people had not yet been made the subject of party strife, and all parties might join in trying to grant them if they were wise. If they could only be wise as a people! if they could only get rid of that pestilent heresy that they could govern people and understand people's affairs better than they did themselves. If they could only get rid of the love of having authority over other people—only believe that it was better that people should learn self-reliance and independence, and have the freedom that God willed them to have, it would be better for them and better for us. If they could only join in doing that in the case of India they might still have hopes of redeeming the country before it ever became a matter of party struggle and international hatred, and it was because earnestly they believed in the great future that India, had before it, because earnestly they realised the responsibility that the English people had assumed in endeavouring to lead the Indian people in that way, that they welcomed the two champions of the cause there that day, and that they should listen with greatest pleasure to Mr. Bonnerji and Mr. Norton. (Cheers.)

Mr. Eardley Norton, who was the first speaker was heartily received. He said the question upon which they had been asked to speak was already a great and burning question in India. The great barrier to their object in India was the strong bureaucratic element there, where they had 250,000,000 of people governed by something like 1,500 Europeans, all of them Civil Servants, and this was a barrier that they, who were non-officials, could not break down. They turned in their distress of the English people and asked them to ask their members of Parliament, in their

places in Parliament, to give them nothing more nor nothing less than that which they were entitled to ask as British citizens. They must have some common platform on which to talk. If they believed that because India was won and conquered by the sword India was to be held and governed by the sword, then there was no such common platform. But if they accepted the much higher moral responsibility of allowing the Natives of India their own independence, to work out their own development, and to follow in those lines which had made England the country that she was, then there was between them a platform which was common ground for both. The population of India was, roughly speaking, something like 250,000,000, and they were absolutely without representation of any sort. There was not the simplest, humblest, man in England who had not got more direct influence over Indian affairs than he had. It was a state of things which they in England ought to rise up in very shame and insist upon an alteration of. (Cheers.) He had said they were governed by 1,500 Europeans. These were all of one class, and were sent out to India under a system of competitive examination held in London. This, he quite admitted, was perhaps good in the old days, and he alleged nothing against their moral character or understanding, but he did say that the condition of things existing when India first became attached to England was a condition of things that had changed in that year of 1888, and they no longer needed a system of paternal Government. England was carrying throughout India a very magnificent system of education. There were now something like 30,000 schools throughout the country, whereas a few years ago there were only 1,500. But if they educated a people they must at the same time give their legitimate ambitions, a legitimate outlet, and if with the proverbial generosity and liberality of the English nation, they were wise in time, they turn to their own benefit and the perpetual well being of the English power in India that enormous amount of Indian loyalty which only needed that for its perpetual consolidation. Speaking of the reforms they claimed, he complained that all legitimate avenues of promotion were closed to the Natives. No Indian Barrister, for example, could attain to the dignity of a Judgeship. He did not want it himself (laughter)—but they should let those people who had got the largest interest in the soil see that they were properly governed, and let those people govern themselves. Not all at once. No one asked that all the Englishmen should be swept out of India, and the Natives be allowed to take it over. In their wildest dreams they never aspired to such a thing. If there was one thing the Natives were proud of and grateful for it was the inestimable good which England as a country had done to India, but among other things the English had taught them was the inestimable value of classing themselves under the category of British citizens, and they only asked, since they had enabled them to qualify themselves for the various pursuits in life, that no legitimate avenue of promotion should be closed to them. He believed he was right in saying that between £16,000,000 and £20,000,000 left India for England every year, and never came back. The country was originally poor, and this frightful annual drain by England was making India every year more poor. But this amount with additional charges, made £10,000,000 sterling that annually left the country, and he did not think they could term it an outburst of disloyalty if they asked that

Some of this money should be circulated in India to relieve the Natives in their frightful distress. (Hear, hear.) Since 1860 there had been thirteen or sixteen famines, causing a loss of life amounting to eleven millions of souls, and why? Because there was no provision in the land to meet such contingencies, and why? Because there was no money, and why? Because it was sent to England. The money was spent in wicked annexations and wars, as in the case of Burmah, with which they had no concern, and which was done not only against their will, but without one single word of reference to them or their wishes. He did not care if England conquered all the world—and as an Englishman he should be delighted to see it—(laughter)—from one point of view, provided they paid for it themselves—(laughter)—and he asked them as honorable men what right had they, without consulting them, or without reference to their well-being, to declare war against a power who had never done them any harm at all, to waste a lot of valuable lives, and set the cost of the expedition against the Indian Exchequer? (Hear, hear.) It was the sort of thing that would not be tolerated, if the Indians had representation, and English members of Parliament would uphold their liberties and explain their wants. Speaking of the judiciary, he said it was usual for the Judicial Officers to be absolutely separated from the Executive but was not the case in India. He would suggest that Judges in India should be made as in England, from those persons who had devoted time, and intellect, and money to the acquisition of judicial knowledge, but that state of things did not obtain there. As he had said, India was entirely governed by a small clique of Europeans. The great object of the Civil Service was to collect revenue. They were, in fact, the tax gatherers of the English people, and those who collected most money had the highest reputation. But if anyone proved himself absolutely useless in that department what happened to him? He was made a Judge. (Loud laughter.) If they protested against this state of things they were subjected to social ostracism, and he regretted to have to say it, but the atmosphere there was surcharged with personal animosity, to persons who, like himself, ventured to stand up in public and denounce, as he did that day, many things they thought to be changed. He instanced many most scandalous cases of maladministration of justice, owing to the autocratic power of the governor, and he said that it was to the eternal honor of Lord Ripon that he insisted on the release and restoration to their families of a large number of people who had been transported by Mr. Grant Duff, for no other offence than that they were present at, or did not quell, a riot. He alluded to the howl of execration and indignation that the Ilbert Bill evoked from the European residents, and said it was simply owing to the caste prejudice and dislike which still existed in India, and which prevented that interchange of courtesies which he was glad to say in England a man like Mr. Bonnerji received from gentlemen like Dr. Watson. (Cheers.) They must not accept as true the statement that there was any disloyalty in India amongst the Natives. It was absolutely untrue. They had no more loyal subjects than those magnificent nations who constituted the 250 millions of India. How could they reconcile the charge of disloyalty with the fact that the Nizam of Hyderabad offered the English Government £600,000 to strengthen the frontiers of Afghanistan?

He characterised as shameful the fact that a gentleman like Mr. Bonnerji was not permitted to carry arms without a licence from his collector. The Natives were burning to join the volunteer forces which should make them a bulwark against Russian invasion but the English people no, not the English people, but the governor of Madras, said "No" to those who were as ready to fight for the English hearths and homes in India as for their own. India recognised that no other country in the world would have treated her in the same generous, straightforward, statesman-like manner as England had done, and she also was determined to have at all costs the reforms for which she was pleading now the right to govern herself in that limited manner the right to discuss, to object, before her efforts were diverted for warlike purposes, and generally those rights and privileges which made England the country that it was. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, who had a hearty reception next addressed the meeting. He said that the Government of India was in the position of Mahomed's coffin—somewhere between heaven and earth—(laughter)—but no one knew where it was. There was nobody to whom the Government of India was responsible. The Viceroy was responsible to the Secretary for India and his Council, and the Secretary of State was supposed to be responsible to the House of Commons, but then he was a member of the Cabinet of the day, who had a majority in the House, so that in point of fact there was no responsibility whatever. Besides the Secretary of State for India only received such news as was transmitted to him by the Viceroy himself and they might imagine that, as a person in the position of a Viceroy would do nothing which he himself believed to be wrong, the Secretary of State could never interfere with the Viceroy in these statements. It was, he contended, absolutely necessary that there should be not only responsibility to somebody, but responsibility of a serious character, and what they had urged for a long time was that there ought to be a direct responsibility by the rulers of India to the people of India whom they ruled. (Cheers.) The Government were wasting vast sums of money raised by taxing the Natives on what they designated the scientific frontier of the North-West. They were wasting it, because he was informed by a competent military man that if Russia really wished to invade India, their scientific frontier would fall like a pack of cards. And, with regard to Russia, let him tell them that so far as the people of India were concerned, there was no possibility of the Russians coming in, unless they came in over the heads of them, because, from one end of the country to the other an invasion by Russia would be resisted—and resisted with their bare arms, because they could not bear arms of any other description. (Loud laughter and cheers.) They would present a solid mass of 250,000,000 of people against the advance of Russia into India. One of the reasons why there should be responsibility to the people by the rulers was this:—They would remember the great famine in India in 1877, 78, and 79. Many lives were lost, and it took the utmost efforts of the Government to provide food for the survivors. It was then resolved that there should be a famine fund established, and a tax was imposed and a large sum collected for the purpose. And what had they done with it? Spent it upon the scientific frontier. (Laughter.) They went on in an unblushing manner, collected that tax, which

was granted only for providing against famine, and spending it for the purpose of strengthening that scientific frontier. He supposed that now they had acquired Burmah they would have very large sums spent for the purpose of strengthening a frontier to prevent China from taking India. (Laughter.) All this was intended, no doubt, for the benefit of the people of India, but notwithstanding the character his friend, Mr. Norton, had given the people of India he was sorry to say they were not yet sufficiently well educated to see the benefit of it. Large sums of money were being wasted in Burmah, and where was the money coming from? They had got an income-tax, but they dare not raise it because it would be opposed by the bureaucratic gentlemen—because it would fall heavily upon the officials. This class was very powerful, and the Government did not wish to interfere with them, because the many ugly spot in the Government of India could be pointed out by these people. Therefore they were left alone, but the Natives happened to have one article of luxury namely, salt. Ninety per cent. of the people had nothing but boiled rice for their food, and the only condiment they could use to make it palatable was salt, and the Government for the purpose of pacifying Burmah and raising a strong frontier against Russia, had actually raised the tax on salt. But there was no one to speak. The other day the Viceroy had a discussion with his Council on the subject, and the Native gentlemen who were members, chosen by the Viceroy himself, got up one by one and praised the proposal to increase the tax, saying it was the best tax that, under the circumstances could have been levied. But they were very rich men, and they could have told a very different tale if their land had been taxed (Cheers.) There was not a paper in the country, however, which did not denounce the conduct of these four or five gentlemen. He could give many instances of the kind to show that what the Natives asked was not unreasonable. They had in India a civilisation of their own for thousands of years. England went to India, established a different order of things, and the civilisation which had existed up to that time came to a standstill. They gave them their own civilisation, and after a hundred years the people had been trained to look upon that civilisation, as the only proper one to be followed. They had given—and by "they" he meant the Liberal party and not the Tory party—they had given them education, trained them to public life, and they could not go through India without seeing that the people took a vast interest in their Municipal affairs, and conducted them to the satisfaction of the ruling authorities, and with great advantage to themselves. If then these people had conducted their local affairs with success, they were capable of watching the action of the Government with regard to imperial affairs. (Hear, hear.) After all, what were imperial affairs? If they went to anyone who had been in office—and he could not exclude from this condemnation the Liberal leaders—they were told in a pompous way—"Oh, but this is an imperial question." What was an imperial question but one that was connected with a still larger number of people than a local one, and if people were able to understand what was good for their country they were able to take an intelligent interest in imperial question. They could not, in any country, tell a people that they were wiser than they, and better

able to govern them than they were themselves. In conclusion he urged on them to induce their Parliament representatives to aid them in their efforts. If they instructed them to interest themselves now and again in the affairs of India, simply to see that the great principles which they professed to have carried out in England were carried out in India, they would not see their House of Commons so deserted when Indian affairs were being discussed, and they would unite in bonds of indissoluble love and affection the two peoples—they would have done their duty by God and by their own country. (Cheers.)

The Rev. W. Moore Ede moved the following resolution :—

That we accord a hearty welcome to Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and Mr. Eardley Norton, warmly thank them for their interesting addresses, and trust that the efforts of the peoples of India to obtain a proper share in the management of their own affairs will meet with the sympathy and encouragement of the people of England.

He said that the great political feature of England was the capacity for self-Government, and the movement that was taking place amongst the people of India was a very hopeful and healthy sign, just the kind of thing which our influence amongst them ought to have produced. (Cheers.)

Mr. Joseph Shepherdson acceded the motion, which was carried unanimously and by acclamation.

Mr. Norton responded and called for cheers for Dr. and Mrs. Waston, which were heartily given.

Mrs. Waston, who had an enthusiastic reception, extended a hearty welcome to all Liberals there, and, especially, to the women's Liberal Association. (Cheers.) She hoped they would gain more members to their ranks.

The portion of the proceedings then terminated and the guests partook of tea and otherwise enjoyed themselves. About seven o'clock the Right Hon. John Morley, M. P. accompanied by the Mayor of Newcastle, Mr. W. D. Stephens, and Mr. Stephens arrived, and had a hearty reception.

There were calls for a speech from Mr. Morley, but he declined, having already done a fatiguing day's work. He was heartily welcomed by his old supporters and friends, and was always the centre of an interested group. Mr. Bonnerji and Mr. Norton, too, attracted large numbers of the guest around them, eager to discuss, and be informed on the subject of Indian matters. At about eight o'clock, the band which had resumed at the conclusion of the speeches played the National Anthem, and the party dispersed after a somewhat novel but interesting, and exceedingly enjoyable gathering.

THE SUGGESTED APPOINTMENT OF A ROYAL COMMISSION TO ENQUIRE INTO THE GRIEVANCES OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA.

[The following is the full text of the statement prepared by our London Agency for the information of the members of Parliament. This statement was submitted to every member of Parliament in June last two months before the Indian Budget came for discussion before the House.]

On the motion being made that the Speaker do leave the chair and the House, resolve itself into Committee to consider the Indian Budget,

Mr. Bradlaugh, M. P., intended, as an amendment, to move as follows :—

“ That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, proving that she may be graciously pleased to appoint a Commission consisting of members representing the United Kingdom and the native population of British India, to enquire into the administration of India generally, both here and in India, with a view to ascertain what, if any, amendments and improvements may be made in respect thereto ; and directing that evidence be taken both in India and in England.”

Under the new Rules of the House, however, the hon. member is precluded from adopting this course. The Rule stopping the proposed action is one passed on February 28th last, and is as follows :—“ That, whenever an Order of the Day is read for the House to resolve itself into Committee (not being a Committee to consider a Message from the Crown, or the Committee of Supply, or of Ways and Means), Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any Question, and the House shall thereupon resolve itself into such Committee, unless Notice of an Instruction thereto has been given, when such Instruction shall first be disposed of.” It is, however, open to an hon. member, in speaking upon the Budget, to expatiate upon the desirability of appointing a Royal Commission, and Mr. Bradlaugh intends so doing. The Leader of the House has promised that three days’ notice of the introduction of the Indian Budget shall be given.

It is respectfully urged that the subject is one which imperatively calls for the consideration, and, it is submitted, the support, of all members of Parliament, for many reasons. A few of these reasons are here appended.

I.—NO THOROUGH ENQUIRY INTO INDIAN AFFAIRS HAS TAKEN PLACE FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS.

India, governed by the Crown is, in this respect, in a worse position than was India under the rule of the East India Company. The Charter under which the Company held control in India was renewable every twenty-years. Towards the end of each twenty-year period, and before a renewal was sanctioned, a most searching enquiry into the manner in which the affairs of the country had been conducted was made ; with renewal such reforms were instituted as, in the wisdom of Parliament, seemed desirable. Reform followed every enquiry.

Enquiries of an exhaustive and highly valuable character were held in 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853. Since 1853 no wide-reaching Enquiry has been instituted. Parliamentary Committees, Departmental Committees, and Commissions, limited to particular proposes in each instance, have been appointed ; more or less advantage has resulted from their investigations and from the conclusions based upon the investigations. But no Enquiry on the whole administration of our Indian Empire, and the fitness or otherwise of the existing modes of rule to the confessedly altered conditions of the country, has been held.

A Royal Commission rather than a *Parliamentary Committee* is desired for a variety of reasons. Among these reasons may be mentioned the following : (1) a Royal Commission is independent of the duration or decease of particular Parliament ; (2) the area from which the selection of Commissioners may be made is wider, being not confined to the two

branches of the Legislature ; and (3) a Royal Commission would be able to take evidence in India as well as in England : it is of the very essence of such an Enquiry as is now required that *evidence should be taken in India.*

II.—THE CONDITION OF INDIA, ALIKE IN IMPROVEMENT AND IN DETERIORATION, CALLS FOR ENQUIRY.

[a.]—*Education*, which was put on a permanent and worthy footing in 1854, largely as the consequence of the Enquiry of 1853, has spread widely, has changed the whole current of Indian society, politically and socially. There are now 1,41,137 institutions and schools and 3,437,552 scholars in British India. Owing, among other things, to the wide diffusion of education, a great and intelligent interest is exhibited in public affairs, and with it a desire has been evoked in the minds of a vast number of loyal subjects of the Queen Empress to take a part in the administration of the business of their country. India has no lack of able statesmen and skilled administrators among her peoples. All that is wanted is the provision of scope for the exercise of ability in the British Provinces to make this as clearly discernible of British India as it is of the Native States.

[b.]—*Extension of Local Government Institutions.* The late Lord Lawrence has said : “The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs ; the Municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The Village Communities, each of which is a little Republic, are the most abiding of Indian Institutions. *Holding the position we do in India every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people.*” The event has justified the wise action of several Viceroys in extending the area of self-government in local affairs. Municipal institutions have been established in all parts of the empire, and under the impetus given during 1881-1884, have proved highly successful, and have given point to Lord Lawrence’s words quoted above.

In Bengal in 1881 the elective system was in force in three Municipalities out of 185. It has now been established in 170 towns. In 1881 the chief executive officer of the District was always Chairman of the Municipality ; under the new law 159 Municipalities out of the total of 185 have the right to elect their own Chairman.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh under the old system election was in force in 72 Municipalities out of 107 ; it has been established in 97 out of 108. Of these 97, 91 elect their own Chairman. Under the old system the ratio of elected to appointed members was 47 to 53, it is now 83 to 17.

In the Punjab in 1881 only three Municipalities were in possession of the elective system ; it has now been extended to 122. Each Committee elects its own Chairman. The late Lieutenant-Governor wrote as follows with respect to the first elections :—“On the whole, the municipal elections have succeeded admirably, better than those for the Local Boards. There

is every reason to hope that the quality of the members is as good as the various localities which they represent could afford. The old non-official members have been freely returned, and no undesirable discontinuity in municipal business is anticipated." Elections for Local and District Boards have taken place in Districts.

In Madras in 1881 the elective system was in operation in only four out of 47 Municipalities. It has now been extended to 24. The Act of 1884 provides that, unless the Governor in Council appoints one of the Municipal Councillors to be Chairman, the Members of the Council may appoint their Chairman by election from among their own number. Thirty-three towns elect their Vice-President.

Election has been in force in the Municipalities of the Central Provinces for many years with marked success ; the people are accustomed to it and it is obviously thoroughly congenial to their feelings. In 1881 the system of election had been established in 60 out of 61 Municipalities ; it was therefore practically incapable of extension, but it is now in operation in every Municipal town. In 50 of these Municipalities the election of the Chairman is in the hands of the Members of the Committee. There are now 15 District Councils, 1 Independent Board, and 48 Local Boards in full operation in the Central Provinces. At least two-thirds of each Council and Board are chosen by election by the carefully organised constituency provided by the Act.

The late Sir Charles Trevelyan fittingly told the Select Committee of 1873 of "the preparedness of the people of India," "both by ancient habitude and recent cultivation" for "representation by election."

What Sir John Strachey has said of the India of railways, telegraphs, post offices, and the like—namely, "The England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon"—is even more true of the country politically and socially. Yet, the governing institutions of India are hardly a foot's-pace ahead of those of Ellenborough's times. The Municipal institutions have worked with such success that superior interference has been exercised occasionally only, and for reasons similar to that where the Municipal Commissioners in a particular town insisted upon levying an *octroi* duty.

Fitness for the exercise of a franchise in Municipal matters having been proved, it follows that a modified measure of election of Representatives for a Legislature may be adopted.

[c.] *Economic Difficulties.*

(1) One alarming feature of recent years has been the frequency and the terrible mortality of famines in all parts of the Empire. The following statement is abstracted from the "Report of the Indian Famine Commission, Part III, Famine Histories [c. 3086] 1885": it nowhere appears in the

Blue Book in this form, but a reference to the pages mentioned will indicate the authority for each statement:—

Page.	Year.	Territory affected.	Mortality.
37	1860-61	N.-Wn. P. and Punjab	Estimates vary; certainly not less than 500,000
45	1865-66	Orissa	In six districts alone.. 1,300,000
70	—	Behar & North Bengal	Returns not very accurate, but stated at 135,000
74	—	Madras.....	..... 450,000
80	1868-69	Rajputana.....	..... 1,500,000
88	—	N.-Wn. Provinces .....	..... 600,000
99	—	Punjab.....	..... 600,000
100	—	Central Provinces .....	..... 250,000
103	—	Bombay	Loss of life not stated, immigration very extensive.
104	1873-74	Bengal and Behar.....	No mortality.
149	—	N.-W. P. and Oudh	Do. do.
184	1876-77	Bombay .....	..... *800,000
		Hyderabad .....	..... 70,000
203	1877-78	N.-Wn. P. and Oudh ...	..... 1,266,420
211	1876-78	Madras.....	..... 3,500,000
264	—	Mysore.....	..... 1,050,000
16 Famines: Total Famine Mortality in Eighteen years			..... 12,021,420

In the preceding fifty years of this century there are records of thirteen famines only with a probable life-loss of 5,000,000. The increased life-destructiveness of later famines is held to be due to the greater poverty of the people, and their growing inability to withstand a single bad season, much less a succession of bad seasons; consequently, what, in other times, would have been a severe scarcity, accompanied by much suffering, now becomes a terribly-destructive famine. In 1871, Mr. Geddes, of the Bengal Civil Service, told the Select Committee that "the food reserve of Orissa was unduly depleted . . . When a short monsoon came it resulted in very severe famine..... . . . The food reserve of one year—the proceeds of the crop of one year—being sold off to pay the taxes, insufficient was left for the following year in which the rains might fall short."

The late monsoon of the present year and the meteorological and cyclical conditions of Indian weather indicate that we are on the eve of a new era of defective rainfall and consequently famine.

(2.) *The Exceeding Great Poverty of the People.*

As to the poverty most authorities are agreed: it is as to the cause or causes only that they differ.

*Another estimate, based on the Statistical Abstract for British India, puts the mortality at 1,100,000

1. The late Lord LAWRENCE, when before the Select Committee in 1873, said : "There is a tendency for only a certain class of the town population to increase in wealth. I think the mass of the people in the towns are excessively poor, and have great difficulty in earning their livelihood." "The mass of the people in India are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence. It is as much as a man can do to feed his family, or half feed them, let alone spending money in what you would call luxuries or conveniences."

2. Sir W. W. Hunter, K. C. S. I., says ("Imperial Gazetteer of India," first edition, vol. iv, p. 168) : "Thousands of lives depend each autumn on a few inches, more or less, of rainfall. The Government may, by great efforts, feed the starving in time of actual famine; but it cannot stop the yearly work of disease and death among *a steadily underfed people.*"

The same: ("England's Work in India," p. 80.)

3. Sir Charles A. Elliott, K. C. S. I., Public Works Minister of the Governor General's Council, has written: "I do not hesitate to say that *half of our agricultural population never know, from year's end to year's end, what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied.*" "Half the agricultural population" of India means nearly seventy millions!

4. Report of Orissa Famine Commission, 1865: There is, we believe, reason to expect a gradual increase in the classes who may hardly withstand a scarcity not amounting to that extreme famine which involves the whole population."

5. Mr. W. R. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says the Indian agricultural laborer's condition "is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilized. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed 3d. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable."

6. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (*Contemporary Review*, † August, November, 1887): "Sir M. E. Grant Duff on India"), says:

"Coming down at once to the latest times: Sir E. Baring said, in his finance speech in 1882:—

"It has been calculated that the average income per head of population" in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year; and, though I am not prepared to pledge myself to the absolute accuracy of a calculation of this sort, it is sufficiently accurate to justify the conclusion that the tax-paying community is *exceedingly poor*. To derive any very large increase of revenue from so poor a population as this is obviously impossible, and if it were possible would be unjustifiable."

"Again, in the course of the debate he repeated the statement about the income being Rs. 27 per head per annum, and said in connection with salt revenue: 'But he thought it was quite sufficient to show the *extreme poverty of the mass of the people.*' Then, after stating the income of some of the European countries, as I have stated them before, he proceeded: 'He would ask honorable members to think what Rs. 27 per annum was to support a person, and then he would ask whether a few annas was nothing to such poor people.' I asked Sir E. Baring to give me his calculations to check with mine; he declined.. But it does not matter much, as even 'not more than Rs. 27' is *extreme poverty of the mass of the people.* Later still, the present Finance Minister, in his speech on the Income Tax, in January 1886, described the mass of the

* "The Famine Commissioners estimate that 90 per cent, of the rural population tillage of the soil.—" Hunter's Gazetteer of India," vol. vi, p. 482, 2nd ed.

† Copies are available at the address given at the end of this paper, and will be forwarded on application.

people as 'men whose income at the best is barely sufficient to afford them the sustenance necessary to support life, living, as they do, upon the barest necessities of life.'

"In my paper on 'The Poverty of India,' I worked out from official figures that the total income of British India is only Rs. 20 (40s., or, at present exchange, nearer 30s.) per head per annum. It must be remembered that the mass of the people cannot get this average of Rs. 20, as the upper classes have a larger share than the average; also that this Rs. 20 per head includes the income or produce of foreign planters or producers, in which the interest of the natives does not go further than being mostly common laborers at competitive wages. All the profits of such produce are enjoyed by, and carried away from the country by, the foreigners. Subsequently, in my correspondence with the Secretary of State for India in 1889, I placed before his lordship, in detailed calculations based upon official returns, the income of the most favoured province of the Punjab and the cost of absolute necessities of life there for a common agricultural laborer. The income is, at the outside, Rs. 20 per head per annum, and the cost of living Rs. 34. No wonder then that forty or eighty millions or more people of British India should 'go through life on insufficient food.' My calculations, both in 'The Poverty of India' and 'The Condition of India' (the correspondence with the Secretary of State), have not yet been shown by anybody to be wrong or requiring correction."

The admission is the same on all hands; as to the dire poverty of the people of India there is no question. The causes for such a sad state of things are not equally unquestioned. Owing to the want of a basis of well-ascertained facts on which to found well-reasoned conclusions, the widest difference of opinion exists. Such a basis the India Office is not prepared to provide; indeed, that institution, which, if it has any reason for existence at all, exists for such a purpose as this, has not merely neglected its duty; it has gone farther—it has vehemently resisted the collection of such facts as would form a trustworthy basis. Sir Louis Mallet, when permanent Under-Secretary for India, said: "If there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. There is hardly a subject upon which the best authorities do not absolutely disagree as to the fundamental facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. Now I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles. The only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehement opposition of some Members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposals for an industrial survey."* This passage alone, being the weighty deliverance of one of the most able and accomplished public servants of this or of any generation, is justification enough for the appointment of a Commission which shall be impartial and above all departmental influence.

(3.) *The annually increasing drain from India to this Country.*

In Sir John Gorst's Explanatory Memorandum respecting the Indian Budget, bearing date, India Office, 20th June last, the Under Secretary puts the "Balance of Trade (approximate)" in a form which may be thus summarised:—

* East India (Report of Famine Commission) App. i., p. 135.

	1885-86 Rx.	1886-87. Rx.	1887-88. Rx.
Exports of merchandise and bullion	84,990,000	90,191,000	92,148,000
Imports	" " 71,134,000	72,831,000	78,817,000
Net exports of merchandise.....	28,225,000	26,693,000	25,539,000
,, imports of gold.....	27,63,000	2,177,000	2,989,000
,, " silver	11,606,000	7,156,000	9,219,000
Excess of exports	13,856,000	17,360,000	13,331,000
Rupee paper encashed for payment of interest in England	-1,100,000	-500,000	x 1,774,000
	<u>12,756,000</u>	<u>16,860,000</u>	<u>15,075,000</u>

Remittances by the Government:

Payments in India for Bills (including telegraphic trans- fers) drawn to defray home charges.....	14,403,000	16,738,000	20,818,000
Bills drawn in India for interest on encashed paper	830,000	796,000	806,000
	<u>15,233,000</u>	<u>17,534,000</u>	<u>21,624,000</u>
Excess of remittances by Govern- ment over surplus exports.....	<u>2,477,000</u>	<u>674,000</u>	<u>6,549,000</u>

Thus baldly stated, the figures have no real significance. There is but one man among living publicists who has fully dealt with the annual drain from India. That man is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In his articles in the *Contemporary Review* for August and November last, Mr. Naoroji has thus set forth the facts and the meaning of the facts :—

" What is the true trade of British India ? The trade returns of British India, as published in Blue-books, both in England and India, are misleading to those who do not study them with certain necessary information to guide them. What are given as trade returns of British India are not such really, as I explain below. The exports of the produce of a country from the basis of its trade. It is in return for such exports, together with ordinary commercial profits, that the country receives its imports. I shall first analyze the so-called exports of British India. A large portion of them, together with their profits, never return to British India in any shape, either of merchandise or treasure ; though in every true trade all exports with their profits ought so to return. The present exports of British India consist of—

" 1. The exports of produce belonging to the Native States.
" 2. The exports of produce belonging to the territories beyond the land frontiers.

" 3. The exports of the produce belonging to European or other foreign planters or manufacturers, the profit of which are enjoyed in and carried away out of the country by these foreigners, and do not belong to nor become a portion of the capital of the people of British India. The only interest the people have in these exports is, that

they are the labourers, by whose labour, at poor wages, the resources of their own country are to be brought out for the profit of the foreigners, such profit not to remain in the country.

"4. Remittances for 'home charges,' including interest on public debt held in England, and loss in exchange, and excluding interest on debt which is incurred for railways and other productive works.

"5. Remittances for interest on foreign debt incurred for railways and other productive public works. What in this case the lenders get as interest is all right; there is nothing to complain of in that. In other countries, beyond the interest to be paid to the lenders, the rest of the whole benefit of such loans remains to the people of the country. This, however, is not the case with British India.

"6. Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners to their own countries for their families, and on account of their savings and profits. These remittances, together with item four, and what the foreigners enjoy in the country itself, are so much deprivation of the people, and cause the exhausting annual drain out of the very poor produce or income of British India. This is India's chief evil.

"7. The remainder are the only *true* trade exports of the produce belonging to the people of British India.

"Let us now examine the actual figures of the so-called exports of British India, say for 1885. For easier understanding I give the figures in sterling, take the conventional £1—Rs. 10. The amount of merchandise exported is £83,205,528. This however, consists of not only domestic produce and manufactures of all India but also foreign merchandise re-exported. I do not include treasure in these exports, for the simple reason that the gold or silver is not produced in India, but is simply a re-exportation out of what is imported from foreign parts. I take all my figures from the statistical abstracts published among parliamentary returns, except when I mention any other source. I take, then, exports of merchandise to be £83,205,528. We must first know how much of this belongs to the Native States. The official trade returns give us no information on this important point, as they should. I shall therefore make a rough estimate for the present. The population of all India is nearly 254,000,000, out of which that of the Native States, is 55 millions or about 21½ per cent. or say, roundly, one-fifth. But the proportion of their exports will, I think, be found to be larger than one-fifth. All the opium exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. A large portion of the cotton exported from Bombay comes from the Native States. According to Hunter's 'Imperial Indian Gazetteer,' one-sixth of such cotton comes from Kathiawar alone. To be on the safe side I take the total of exports of the Native States to be one-fifth only—*i.e.*, £16,600,00. Next the export of merchandise from the frontier countries is about £5,00,000. I may roughly take only one-quarter of this as exported out of India. That will be £11,300,000.

"The exports of coffee, indigo, jute manufactures, silk, tea, &c., which are mostly those belonging to foreign planters and manufacturers, amount to about £11,500,000. I cannot say how much of this belongs to native planters, and not to foreigners. I may take these exports as £10,000,000.

"Remittances made for 'home charges' (excluding interest on railway and productive works loans), including interest on public debt and loss in exchange, come to about £11,500,000.

"Remittances for interest on foreign loans for railways and other public works are about £4,827,000. I cannot say how much interest on the capital of State railways and other productive works is paid in England as part of the interest paid on 'debt' (£2,612,000). If I take debt as £162,000,000, and capital laid out on productive works £74 millions the proportion of interest on £274,000,000, out of £2,612,000 will be about £1,189,000. If so, then the amount of interest on all railways and public works will be about £6, millions, leaving all other home charges, including exchange and interest on public debt, as £11,500,000, as I have assumed above.

"Private remittances of Europeans and other foreigners for their families, and of savings and profits, and for importing merchandise suitable for their consumption, may be roughly estimated at £10 millions, though I think it is much more.

"The account, then, of the *true trade exports of British India* stand thus :—

Total exports of all India and Frontier States	£83,200,000
Native States	£16,600,000
Frontier Territory	1,800,000
European planters	10,000,000
Home charges	11,600,000
Interest on all railways and public works loans	6,000,000
Private Remittances...	10,000,000
	<hr/>
	55,400,000

The true trade exports of the people of British India... ... £27,800,000

Or say, roundly, £30 millions for a population of nearly 200,000,000, giving 3s. per head per annum. If proper information could be obtained, I believe this amount would turn out to be nearer £20 millions than £30 millions for the *true trade exports of the people of British India*. To be on the safe side, I keep to £30 millions. It must be remembered that this item includes all the re-exports of foreign merchandise, which have to be deducted to get at the true exports of domestic produce.

"Is this a satisfactory result of a century of management by British administrators ? Let us compare this result with the trade exports of other parts of the British Empire. As I have no information about the foreign debt of those parts, for the interest of which they may have to export some of their produce, I make allowance for their *whole* public debt as so much foreign debt. This of course is a too large allowance. I take interest at 5 per cent., and deduct the amount from the exports. I am, therefore, evidently under-estimating the exports of the other parts of the British Empire. As the exports of British India include re-exports of foreign Merchandise, I have taken the exports of all other countries, in a similar way, for a fair comparison. No deduction for any payment of interest on foreign debt is made for the United Kingdom, as it is more a lender than a borrower. I cannot give here the whole calculation, but only the results, and they are these :—

Countries.	True trade exports per head (1885) s. d.	Countries.	True trade exports per head (1885) s. d.
The United Kingdom.....	149 4	Cape of Good Hope (exclusive of diamonds)	35 5
Australia (including bullion and specie which it produces).....	271 0	North American Colonels.....	70 5
Natal.....	28 8	West India Islands.....	75 4
		British India, only.....	3 0

"After seeing how poor the *true trade exports* are of the people of British India from the point of view British India's interests, let us next examine the matter from the point of view of *England's* interests. What benefit has England's trade derived, after possessing and administering British India for more than a hundred years, under a most expensive administration, with complete despotic control over it, the people having no voice and no control of any kind ? Has British India so improved as to become an important customer for British goods ? There was no protection, no heavy duties to hamper British imports, as in other parts of the British Empire itself, or in foreign countries. And yet we find that British India is by far the most wretched customer for British products or manufactures. Here are the facts: The total of the exports of British produce from the United Kingdom to India is, for the year 1885, £29,300,000. As I have explained before about exports from India, that they are not all from British India, so also these exports from the United Kingdom to India are not all for British India, though they enter India by British Indian ports. These British exports have to be distributed among—(1) Native States ; (2) frontier territories; (3) consumption of Europeans ; (4) railway and Government stores; and (5) the remainder for the natives of British India. Let Government give us correct information about these particulars, and then we shall be able to know how insignificant is the commercial benefit England derives from her dominion over British India. I shall not be surprised if it is found that the real share of the people of British India in the British exports is not half of the £29,300,000 imported into India. It must be remembered that whatever is received by the Native States and the frontier territories in the *full* return, with the ordinary profits of 15 per cent., for their exports to the United Kingdom. Their case is not like that of British India. They have no such exhausting drain

as that of British India, beyond paying the small tribute of about £700,000. If I take £15,000,000 as British produce received for the consumption of the native subjects of British India, I think I am on the safe side. What is this amount for a population of 200,000,000? Only 1s 6d. per head. Take it even at 2s. per head if you like, or even £25,000,000, which will be only 2s. 6d. per head. What a wretched result for four-fifths of the whole British Empire! The population of British India is 200,000,000, and that of the rest of the British Empire outside India, including the United Kingdom, about 52,000,000.

Reference has been made to the date of the last great Inquisition into Indian affairs. A comparison may, therefore, be made of the balance of trade in 1853 with 1887-88.

1853.	1887-88 .
Total exports.....£21,200,000	Total exports.....Rs.92,148,000
" imports 16,600,000	" imports..... 78,817,000
Difference £4,620,000	Difference.....Rs.13,331,000

In both cases the practice of the India Office has been followed and Treasure included. These statements do not, however, represent the true circumstances, as is apparent from the arguments quoted above; they serve, however, in a measure, to show how greatly the drain is increasing. Further, not only does the tribute grow heavier year by year, but it costs India, now, more in proportion to make up the value of a sovereign in the agricultural produce exported. As witness the following official figures:

	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
	Cotton.	Wheat.	Jute.	Rice.	Tea.	Indigo.
Average cost in agricultural produce of remitting £1 to England in the past 25 years	34	168	128	192	13	3½
Cost in agricultural produce of remitting £1 to England in 1886.....	44	224	185	283	20	4½

When the next widespread famine comes there will not only be a scarcity of means to purchase but also of food to be purchased.

An analysis which has recently been made in India, clearly shows that the increasing bulk of our Indian export trade is no measure of the prosperity of the people, but the reverse. India, having such huge payments to make annually to a gold-currency country and its own currency being continually decreasing in value, has to pay more for her increased imports without any corresponding benefit. Taking the average of the five years ended in 1881-82 and 1886-87 for England, and for India, it is shown that "while the United Kingdom increased its foreign trade at the rate of 7 and 11 per cent. in imports and exports respectively, India, which it must be remembered, is a *debtor* country, was able during the same period to increase her imports by 14 per cent. and her exports by 8 per cent." The writer adds: "And yet there is a school of statisticians who glory in India's expanding trade. Yes, the trade is expanding, but it is at the same time diminishing India's wealth."

III.—THE NATIVE-INDIAN STATES AND THE TREATMENT OF NATIVE-INDIAN PRINCES.

It is impossible to over-estimate the value to British supremacy in India of the Native States. In all the crisis which have occurred since the beginning of British rule the Princes have proved loyal and have largely aided the supreme Power. Recent indications of their unbounded loyalty in the proffer of money and men, and, in some cases, the pledging of the

entire resources of their respective States for the defence of the Empire, will be within the recollection of all. Nevertheless they are subject to the most odious interference in the conduct of the affairs of their dominions owing to the pernicious Residency system, which places Prince and people alike at the caprice of the Resident. The effects of this system in many cases are of such a character as hardly to be credited. So wide-reaching is the influence exerted and so baneful is the action often taken that the liberty of the subject is interfered with, prominent and influential men are deported to British territory, sometimes in the name of the Prince whose sanction has not been asked and who is entirely opposed to such action. Three instances of this kind are in the minds of the writers, and many acts of wrong are to be recounted.

The moral effect of the Residency system, backed by the Calcutta Foreign Office, is exceedingly bad, the Prince being often mocked with the shadow of authority but deprived of all real influence. Espionage and intrigue flourish, and the will or wish of Prince and people is often studiously ignored. At the present moment there exists wide and deep disaffection as a consequence of Residency action. The recent enquiry by the Parliamentary Select Committee into the Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Scandal furnishes an instance—of a mild character as compared with some others—of the consequences mentioned. Only a Royal Commission could obtain the evidence proving the charges alleged.

IV.—GENERAL GRIEVANCES.

1. *Coolie Immigration to Assam.*—For provision of labour to be employed on the Tea Estates a system of only partly-disguised slavery has grown up under the legislative aegis of the Supreme Council. A memorial from the Indian Association (Calcutta) to the Government of India, gives, among other instances, the following:—

"The position of the coolie labourers in the Assam tea-gardens, and the system, by which they were to be recruited were definitely fixed by the Inland Emigration Act of 1882 which however left un-repealed the previous enactment of 1859. The Act of 1882, was passed in the face of strong opposition on the part of the native community.....The system of recruiting is a fruitful sort of opposition,.....is liable to grave abuses arising from the ignorance of the labourers and their utter helplessness and inability to protect their interest against the arts of unprincipled recruiters who deceived them by false hopes and delusive promises to enter into contracts the real nature of which they did not often sufficiently understand.....In Berhampur three recruiters were punished with imprisonment for having kidnapped a young girl for service in Assam.

"The next case to which the Committee would refer is still more painful.....Although the facts were set forthwith every circumstance of detail which might lead to the correction of any error, if in any respect such correction was possible, the statement of facts has not been contradicted, and the Indian public have read with horror that by reason of the system of recruiting which affords ample facilities for the practice of fraud, three women were decoyed into Assam for service in the tea-gardens—all losing their caste, and one dying the miserable death of a maniac.....

"Since the passing of the new Emigration Act in 1882, the mortality in the tea-gardens has largely and steadily increased. The death-rate which followed a downward course from 1878 to 1881 began to rise in 1882, when it was 37·8 per thousand. In 1883 there was a further rise to 41·3; and in 1884 it rose to 43·2, notwithstanding the assurance given to the Government of India in 1883 by Mr. Elliott, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, "that no exertions will be wanting on the part of the civil and medical staff of the Assam Commission to wipe out the blot on the administration of which this terrible mortality is the cause." As regards sickness and mortality among labourers in tea-gardens in 1885, the Sanitary Commissioner observes that "nothing has occurred during the year to modify the conclusion published in the closing paragraphs of appendix A of the Sanitary Report for 1884." While adult life is thus exposed to unusual risks and a heavy rate of mortality prevails among adult

labourers, it may readily be assumed that child-life which under ordinary circumstances requires tender care and nursing would be exposed to even greater risks. That such is the case will appear from the frightful tale of infant mortality which the records of sanitary officers disclose. We thus find that in 1884 the death-rate among children in tea-gardens had risen from 39·7 to 44 per thousand. While the death-rate increased, the birth-rate gradually fell; in 1892 it was 39·7 per thousand; in 1889 it was 34·3; and in 1884 it further decreased to 32·7 per thousand.

"Cases of hard treatment of coolies by planters, to call them by no severer name, have been frequently reported in the newspapers, and facts have come to light which warrant the assumption that these unfortunate people do not meet with the measure of protection to which they may be said to be entitled. In cases between planters and coolies, the Committee regret to have to observe, that too often the interests of justice and the interests of the weaker party are not sufficiently cared for."

After effectually destroying slavery in other British dominions, it is not anticipated—once the facts are known—that a system of *quasi-slavery* will be allowed to establish itself in British India.

2. *The Calcutta Municipal Bill.*—This is a measure which has been passed in opposition to the unanimous opinion of the Indian members of the Bengal Legislative Council, and in defiance of repeatedly expressed public opinion. Fancy franchises have been introduced, and a portion of the Municipal privileges conferred upon other large Indian cities withheld. Further, under the plea of improved sanitary arrangements interference with the religious feelings of the people is legalised. In a memorial to the Viceroy praying that he will vote the Bill, it is stated:—

"Section 324 of the Bill, your Memorialists submit, offers even a deeper affront to the religious feelings of the Hindus. The Section provides for the compulsory removal to hospital of male persons suffering from epidemic. A Hindu, let him be the poorest of his race, has a horror of dying in hospital. The injunctions of his religion have taught him that the bank of the river is the most sacred spot where he can breathe his last, and no form of death is more acceptable than that he should expire on the river-bank surrounded by friends and relations and amid the performance of those sacred rights for the dead which his religion enjoins. If a Hindu now goes to hospital, it is with him a matter of choice, and if he unfortunately die there his friends have none to blame but the man himself. But the position is completely altered if the man being forced to the hospital by the Municipality under these provisions dies there. The Municipality and the Government will be held responsible for his death unattended by those circumstances which according to Hindoo ideas secure the spiritual well-being of the dead. The British Government has been nobly distinguished by the scrupulous regard which it has always shown for the religious feelings of the people. But here in the name of sanitation a measure is sought to be enforced which in its practical operation—a measure is sought to be enforced which in its practical operation—will not fail to be exceedingly offensive to the religious instincts of the people."

When Lord Northbrook was Viceroy, the general assent of the people to proposed legislation was required before such legislation was sanctioned. His Excellency vetoed Sir George Campbell's Mysore Municipalities Bill saying; "It is unwise to push too far sanitary and other regulations which may effect some future good at the cost of great individual vexation, and introducing such regulations we must recollect that not only our knowledge of these subjects is yet imperfect, but that also much regard must be had to the habits and feelings of the people which even in Europe and still more in this country are opposed to great innovations in matters affecting their daily lives, their homes, and neighbourhood."

V.—SOME OF ENGLAND'S UNREDEEMED PLEDGES TO INDIA.

1. *Act of Parliament of 1833.*—"That no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under

the said Government" (Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 87, 1833).

2. *Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858.*—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian Territories by the same obligations, of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our Service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. . . . In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

3. *Lord Northbrook, at Birmingham, on Indian Affairs.*—"There is one simple test which may apply to all Indian questions: let us never forget that it is our duty to govern India, not for our own profit and advantage, but for the benefit of the natives of India."

4. *Lord Lytton's Speech, at the Delhi Assemblage, on 1st January, 1877.*—"But you, the natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen, and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy."

5. *Lord Ripon, in the Viceregal Council.*—"The document (Her Majesty's Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument, it is a declaration of principles of government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honor of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence. Because that power and that influence rest upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers, and the reputation of our arms."

6. *Lord Dufferin's Speech, on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, in 1887.*—"Glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn among them (the people of India), circumstances permitted me to extend, and to place upon a wider and more logical footing, political status which was so wisely given, a generation ago, by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils."

These pledges have not been fulfilled. Of one of the most important, the Duke of Argyll has said:—"With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the Government of their country, in the Covenanted Service

formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, *I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made.*" Power was then given to the Governor-General to appoint a certain number of Indians to the Civil Service by nomination. That system it is now proposed to withdraw and to substitute another in its place, which will leave the Indians in no better, but in a rather worse, position. In effect the words of the Duke of Argyll are as true in 1888 as they were in 1869.

Among the important questions affecting the Indian people there is none of greater importance than this of the Public Service. In January, 1860, a Departmental Committee of the India Office, reported, among other things, as follows :—

" 2. We are in the first place unanimously of opinion, that it is not only just, but expedient that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

" 3. It is true that, even at present, no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4 Wm. & C. 85, S. 87, it is enacted 'that no Native of the said territories nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.' It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted, it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

" 4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native leaving India and residing in England for a time, are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a Native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

" 5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident of India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with principles of a general competition for a common object."

Twenty-eight years and a half have passed, education has become widespread in India, the people have cultivated a public spirit and a patriotism of the highest order, and yet nothing has been done to remove the inequality referred to in Paragraphs 4 and 5. Were this promise really fulfilled it would do more to bind our Indian fellow-subjects more closely to England than almost anything else which can be conceived. If the point be put, as Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley) put it in 1853, its importance to Indians will be recognized. Lord Derby said :—" Let them suppose, for instance, that instead of holding those examinations here in London, that they were to be held in Calcutta. Well, how many Englishmen would go out there—or how many would send out their sons, perhaps to spend two or three years in the country on the chance of obtaining an appointment? Nevertheless, that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards the natives of India."

One of the chief reasons why a ROYAL COMMISSION is asked for is that due inquisition may be made into these promises and the causes ascertained why they have not been kept.

The hope, the trust, the confidence, of the people of India, that the

House of Commons will yet decree to them that justice which has hitherto been denied, finds expression in the concluding passage in a paper prepared by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the Civil Service Commission. "The question now to be considered," says Mr. Dadabhai, "is, whether those gracious and solemn promises of 1833 and 1858 were made with the honest intention of being faithfully fulfilled or not? I do not think that any person, acquainted with the English character, traditions, and history, will for a moment hesitate to say that there was honest intention. My own conviction's now deeper than ever, that the British People and Parliament do mean to act justly by us, and to fulfil the gracious words which they have given to India before the God and the world, by the mouth of our August Sovereign and by an Act of Parliament". It rests with the House of Commons to give or to withhold the redemption of pledges the most solemn in the world.

2. The Disarmament of the People.

One of the resolutions considered at the Third National Congress referred to the existing Arms Act, under which "no native of India may possess or carry arms without special license, whereas Europeans, Eurasians, Negroes, Hottentots, Fiji Islanders, or any scum of the earth that the ocean casts on India's shores, may bear arms unquestioned. This is a law which does not commend itself to the Indian public. Thousands and tens of thousands of men and cattle are killed by dacoits and wild beasts, and the crops of millions are ravaged by wild animals, owing to the defenceless state in which the community is thus left; but even this, bad as it is, is nowhere felt so deeply as is the insult which the Indians consider is involved in the Act to every single one of themselves. Every delegate present was of one mind as to the intolerable character of the existing arrangements, and the resolution in regard to them gave rise to the most energetic debate of the whole session."* It was resolved, "that in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardship, which it causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV., and, if necessary, any other portions of Act XI. of 1878, as will enable all persons to bear arms, unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or as members of particular communities or classes, by the order of the Government of India, (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India, in that behalf) for reasons to be recorded in writing, and duly published."

3. Abkari and Outstill Arrangements.

The evils wrought among a people who are being enticed into drinking habits hitherto unknown to their race and community generally have recently been brought before the House by Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., and other members. In every Presidency and Province the Indian press, both in English and in the vernacular, protest against the facilities provided by the authority for increased consumption of intoxicating liquors.

IV.—THE APPEAL FROM INDIA.

Owing to the infusion and rapid growth of the British constitutional idea among the people of India, the revolution which is progressing is wholly

* Report of Third Indian National Congress p. 57.

peaceful and takes a reasonable form. In representative National Congress during the past three years Indians from all parts of the Empire have met to discuss their grievances, and to represent them in a peaceable and loyal spirit to the Viceroy, and through him to the people of this country. Lord Dufferin, in his speech at the Queen's Jubilee Demonstration, said:—"Wide and broad indeed are the new fields in which the Government of India is called upon to labour—but no longer, as of aforetime, need it labour alone. Within the period we are reviewing, education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal, and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. In fact, to an administration so peculiarly situated as ours their advice, assistance, and solidarity are essential to the successful exercise of its functions. Nor do I regard with any other feelings than those of approval and goodwill their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs."

Briefly summarised, the people (in unofficial parliament assembled) have passed resolutions to the following effect :

1. *At the First National Congress, Bombay, December, 1885 :*
 - a. A Royal Commission to be appointed, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.
 - b. The abolition of the Indian Council.
 - c. Reform of Supreme and Local Legislative Councils.
 - d. Reform of Civil Service.
 - e. Protest against increased military expenditure as unnecessary.
 - f. Increased military expenditure (if insisted upon) to be met by retrenchment: a guarantee of the Indian debt by Britain also asked for; and
 - g. Annexation of Upper Burma deprecated.
2. *At the Second National Congress, Calcutta, December, 1886.*
 - a. Congratulations to the Queen-Empress on "the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent, and glorious reign."
 - b. The increasing poverty of Indian people deplored.
 - c. Resolution respecting Reform of Legislative Councils re-affirmed, and scheme of reform submitted.
 - d. Commission desired "to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing a tentative form of Representative Institution into India."
 - e. Needed Reforms in Civil Service indicated.
 - f. Extension of Trial by Jury.
 - g. Certain Judicial Reforms.
 - h. Separation of judicial and executive functions vested in one and the same person; and
 - i. System of Volunteering desired.
3. *At the Third National Congress, Madras, December, 1887.*
 - a. Resolution respecting Reform of Legislative Councils re-affirmed.
 - b. Do.. do., as to the complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

c. A request that the Military Service in its higher grades be opened to Indians.
d. Resolution as to Volunteering re-affirmed.
e. Protested against the unfair incidence of the Income Tax.
f. Technical Education to encourage indigenous manufactures desired.
g. Protest against the Disarmament Act of 1878; and asked.
h. Consideration by Viceroy and Secretary of State of Congress Resolutions asked.

From among these Resolutions two stand out from the others as prominent in importance. They are Civil Service Reform and Legislative Reform.

Civil Service Reform.—The prayer of the Congress was:—

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified list be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for the admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than nineteen, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than twenty-three years.
- 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service, be closed for first appointment.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
- 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of Her Majesty only as are residents thereof.

A Commission has been sitting in India, and has taken evidence and reported. Its report is now before the House of Commons. Grave dissatisfaction has been caused by its recommendations, and honourable members are besought not to approve the Report, or to sanction the adoption of its recommendations, until the opinion of the Indian people has been sought thereupon and obtained.

Legislative Reforms.—To prove that they are not "beating the air," they have practical projects alone in view, the members of the Congress have put on record what in their opinion is the measure of Legislative Reforms for which India is ripe; the object of thus defining their position also was to show that there is nothing of Revolution or disloyalty in their demands, and that there is nothing intended to, or likely to, lead to the separation of India from England. The suggestions—at once moderate and likely to be effective—are as follows:—

" That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—

- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members, of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials, having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.)—The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie* capable of exercising

it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational or pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, and the University, or by Electoral Colleges, composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College, composed of members elected by Municipal and District Boards and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

- (3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such Member already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all Members to be entitled to reimburse any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.
- (5.)—All persons resident in India to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
- (6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all Budgets, whether these involve new enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to, and dealt with by, these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned), and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject; and, on this reply, the Council be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary shall be published within one month, and, in the case of local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain to the Secretary of State; and, in any such case, on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committees of the House of Commons (recommended in the third Resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any, and all, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

VII.—THE SPIRIT IN WHICH THE REFORMS ARE URGED.

Honorable Members are requested to examine the *verbatim* Report of the proceedings at Madras, a copy of which was, a month or six weeks ago, sent to every Member of both Houses of the Legislature. The speeches in which the various Reforms were advocated were all characterised by sincerity and loyalty. "Men vindicated their rights, or what they conceived to be such,

with an outspoken energy which could not have been surpassed in England." Nothing but an attentive persual of the whole proceedings can convey an adequate idea of the wholesome spirit in which the Indian struggles for Reform are being carried on. Indian Reformers come to the British Parliament, and do not require that what they ask for should be granted merely on their request. On the contrary, they say, "Here are the changes which we think to be vitally necessary for India. We ask that you should investigate these claims of ours, and decide whether they are or are not reasonable. Appoint a Royal Commission. Let it do its work in India as well as in England, and, we have such confidence in the good-will and justice of the English people by the decision of such a body, labouring in such a way, we will abide."

An appeal of this character, from such numbers, made under such circumstances, is unexampled in history. That reforms should be so sought, and asked for in such a spirit of reasonableness, is the highest imaginable testimony to the estimate cherished of the general fairness of British rule in India, and to the evident desire of the English people to act honestly towards subject races. It is hardly conceivable that the House of Commons will treat such an appeal as is addressed to its members with disdain. Rather, may it be anticipated that the trust and sympathy displayed by Indians of all races and all creeds and castes being responded to with justice, with liberality, and with sincere good will, the Royal Commission of Enquiry asked for will be granted in a spirit of equal sympathy and trust.

INDIAN BUDGET IN THE PARLIAMENT.

On the 9th August Indian Budget was laid before the Committee of the House of Commons. After the usual statement of the Secretary of State for India Mr. Bradlaugh said that he had to ask the attention of the House to some of the grievances of the natives of India, and he was sorry that the Under Secretary did not say that he regretted rather than was pleased at the improvement in the income of India; for, if he was rightly informed, one of the grievances was that that improvement had been solely arrived at by imposing a tax most onerous and burdensome to a people who were almost, if not quite, in a starving condition, and that the salt tax, which formed so rose-colored a picture in the Under Secretary's statement, formed in the view of the natives of India a shocking illustration of oppression. The forms of the House would not permit him now to move for a Royal Commission to inquire into the present state of their administration of Indian affairs, with natives upon it, and with power to take evidence in India as well as here. He had put a notice on the paper and obtained first place for it on July 17th, but had been deprived of this opportunity when the Government took the time of the House. He proposed now to state so much of the case of the natives of India in favor of inquiry as he should be in order in doing. And though doing this from the Radical benches he desired, and the natives for whom he spoke desired, that this should not be regarded as a party question. The natives came to the High Court of Parliament claiming audience for the statement of their grievances, and asking that a Royal Commission might be appointed. The natives of India thought they had some right to ask this at the hands of Parliament. They pointed

out that time after time the necessity had been shown for such inquiry. They had been asking for it in Congresses for three years in succession in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The natives were not gathered together in any spirit of disloyalty to Imperial rule. The Congresses declared that their education had been improved under British rule, and they said that in giving them a higher education England had given them the ability for self-help in alleviation of grievances as well as a keener sense of the grievances under which they were suffering. They wanted to remove those grievances by institutions in which they thought they were fitted to take part, and they trusted Parliament would not be slow, as far as inquiry was concerned, to initiate such inquiry. He had seen in the *Times* that morning a letter by one signing himself. "A Native of India," objecting these Congresses, and alleging that the language used that of disloyalty. He begged leave to say in the strongest fashion this was not true. The son of Joseph Hume, Mr. Allan Hume, in a speech at Allahabad on the 30th of April last, had told them what the people were taught by this movement. "The people," said Mr. Hume, "are taught to recognise the many benefits that they owe to British rule, as also the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country. They are taught that the many hardships and disabilities of which they complain are, after all, though real enough, small in comparison with the blessings they enjoy, but that all these grievances may be and will be redressed if they all join to press their views and wishes unanimously, but temperately, on the Government here and on the Government and people of England." Speaking in the first Congress at Bombay, Mr. Subramania Iyer told the assembled natives that "the rule of Great Britain has given India peace and security, and, on the whole, has been better in its results and direction than any former rule." Men who could take this tone ought not to be charged with disloyalty. Mr. Iyer asked for Parliamentary inquiry. "It is," he said, "a matter of deepest concern to us that the affairs of our country should be periodically, if not continuously, brought to the notice of the Parliament and people of England, and be subjected to the healthy influences of a free and open inquiry conducted by the best of English politicians." While admitting that there was discontent, and as he claimed justifiable discontent, at the continuance of grievances remediable and removable, he denied, therefore, that there was disloyalty. They wanted their grievances redressed by constitutional means, and under the authority of that House. They only wanted—200,000,000 of them—that they should have more opportunity than once a year, with benches almost empty, of placing their case and their wants before the Parliament and the people of England. (Hear.) The Government of India ought during the recess gravely to consider how they would have met the application which he placed upon the paper of the House many weeks ago for which he obtained first place, and how they would meet it when the time came that it was made again, as it would be by him in the next Session of Parliament. The natives of India did not expect any hasty cure for all their grievances, but they did expect some reasonable attention from this House when a substantial grievance was brought forward; they did hope that Parliament would not

continue wilfully deaf or blind, and that we should not drive into a movement of discontent 200 millions of human beings who were now well affected, and who only came as they had a right to come to supplicate the High Court of Parliament for redress of grievances. The natives allege, and he supported the allegation, that since India came under the direct dominion of the Crown, it has been subject to less control than when governed by the East India Company, Parliament then being jealous of that great Company. Prior to 1858, on each renewal of the Charter, an investigation into the government of the country took place : this was once in twenty years. Thirty years have now passed without any inquiry. With abolition of Board of Control which checked acts of the Company and with creation of Secretaryship of State, Indian rule has become practically irresponsible, the control of the House of Commons being necessarily inefficient. It might, however, be said. Why should the natives want inquiry ? They have a splendid Government in the Secretary of State in Council always watching over them. Yes, but even his small experience of the Secretary of State for India had shown him that, with every desire to rule well, he was sometimes deprived of the opportunity of doing well because he was kept utterly ignorant of what was passing. (Hear, hear.) Last year for example when he put a series of simple questions to the Under Secretary it was his misfortune to be better informed than the hon. gentleman ; his succeeding answers completely differing from the answer he made before ; this was because the Government in India mis-informed the Government in London. More recently he had put questions about the Irrawaddy Flotilla having an important bearing on the point whether Burmah was wisely and cheaply governed, but the information had come in dribs and drabs. He agreed that Governments must be costly, but they need not be quite so costly that they should pay for the hire of flat for twelve months twice the sum it would have cost to build it altogether. (Hear.) The natives asked that there should be an abolition of the Secretary of State in Council for India. For his own part he rather sympathised with that request, because he should like to see instead of the present arrangement English officials paid by the vote and under the control of this House. At present the House was powerless to deal with them. Why should the Secretary for India be in a different position from the Secretary for War or the Secretary for the Colonies ? Why should he not be under the control of Parliament so that at any rate once a year they might be sure they had got him ? (A laugh.) The native Indians complained, he thought justly, that the Indian Council in London was utterly inefficient, that it made no effort to be acquainted with or to understand native Indian opinion, and that the members of the Council were not in sympathy with native opinion. That it even has hindered inquiry into Indian affairs, though such enquiry has been recommended by Indian officials. They asked that they should have some kind of representation on the Executive Council of the Viceroy in India and some better representation on the various provincial councils ; and, further, that they should have an opportunity of communicating some of their opinions direct to this Parliament. They asked that a Standing Committee of this House should be appointed Session by Session, charged with the duty of receiving and considering such communications, and, if necessary, reporting on them to this House. The natives ask that selec-

tion of members for the Legislative Councils may, to the extent of not less than half, be by election, and they are willing that the mode of election shall be safe-guarded as this House may think fit, and they pray that at least some expression of native opinion may be possible on the Executive Council. Surely this was not too much to ask on behalf of 200 millions of human beings? It had been said that Lord Mayo himself had contemplated the possibility of a legal member of the Council being elected from among the high native judges. It might be asked what was the need for all these demands. He would endeavour briefly to give some reasons. The mass of the people were miserably poor; at the best, they were only just outside starvation. The average income of the population was declared to be some £2 per head per year. The hon. and gallant member for Kirkcaldy, in his paper on tenure of land in India, says, from an official report of 1869, about the Madras Presidency, that "the bulk of the people are paupers." Mr. W. R. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says of the agricultural laborer: "His condition is a disgrace to any country calling itself civilised. In the best seasons the gross income of himself and his family does not exceed 3d. per day throughout the year, and in a bad season their circumstances are most deplorable." That would give them an idea of what an increase in the salt tax meant. But for the period of the Session and fear of wearying the Committee, quotations might be multiplied in corroboration. The poverty of the people was almost indescribable. Those who read the official statements issued each year to members exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India would find detailed corroboration. Last year amongst the splendid maps was one showing the famines in India. Since 1860 there had been sixteen famines, in which no fewer than 12,021,000 unfortunate creatures had died of starvation. One thing the natives complained of—and as he thought justly complained—was that Europeans were paid high salaries to do work which might be efficiently and more economically done by the natives. They were told that good government must be costly, but what he complained of was the system of putting square pegs into round holes. An Englishman who was hardly acquainted with the language of the natives, and whose health could not stand the climate, was put into a place which a dozen natives would fill much better and cheaper. With regard to the salt tax, how did the natives regard it? In a leading article in a prominent Indian paper the writer said: "The increase of 25 per cent. in the wholesale price will bring about an increase of 50 per cent. in the retail price, so that if the yearly average consumption be eleven pounds the outlay on salt per head will be now about nine annas instead of six. Now any man who has any knowledge of India knows that millions of our people eke out their wretched existence with a scanty meal of three or four pices a day only. This increase in the price of salt means therefore in their case, that they should either do without so much salt or lose four days' meals. We cannot understand how, knowing these simple things, any man, whose heart is not altogether dead to the sufferings of the poor, can approve of this increase of the salt tax, by which the poorest of the poor will be deprived of their four days' meals." This was the fashion in which famine was multiplied and provoked. As it was pointed out, by increasing the salt tax, while, on the one hand, they filled the

Treasury of the Indian Government, on the other hand they created real discontent, effective disloyalty, and enduring mischief. The natives justly complained that all the highly paid offices were given to men who could not possibly stay in the country, and that therefore a large amount of money was taken out of the country entirely, which, if paid to natives, would be spent within it, and this, natives contended, was done in direct breach of the proclamation made when the Crown took over the government of India from the East India Company, in which they had been told that "as far as may be," Her Majesty's subjects, of whatever race and creed, would be freely and impartially admitted to offices in Her Majesty's service, for the duties of which they might be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity. The solemn proclamation of Her Majesty in 1858 said : " And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." And these wise and pregnant words were added in Her Majesty's name—this proclamation only re-echoed the Act of 1833 : " In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." Lord Lytton, in a despatch which he believed had come under the notice of the Secretary of State for India, had admitted that this obligation on the part of the Government was evaded. These were Earl Lytton's words : " The Act of Parliament is so undefined, and indefinite obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its native subjects are so obviously dangerous, that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated natives whose development the Government encourages, without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course." He asked this House at any rate to be no longer any party to the cheating. They boasted of the offers of arms and money from native Princes for the defence of India, but it would be far better if they could boast of having knit together the huge mass of the people and taught them by experience that our government was better than any other in such a way that they would resist any foreign encroachment. (Hear, hear) They had no right to rule by the sword alone. The strongest Government would one day become feeble ; the strongest wrist would become paralyzed ; and then in the hour of danger those men would turn against them whom they might have knit to them by affection. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J Maclean said that the hon. member (Mr. Bradlaugh) thought that representative government was the one potent remedy for all the grievances under which India suffered. Representative government had always seem to him to be a system of government of purely Western growth, and the only countries in which it worked freely and successfully were those in

which English speaking people had a distinct and decided predominance. Did any body believe that a system of government of that kind could now be worked in India? The hon. member had said that this demand was put forward by 200,000,000 people, but it was the first time that the (Mr. Maclean) had ever heard that there was a "people of India." There were, it is true, a great number of races in India—distinct nations, if they liked—but to say that there was an Indian people was to anticipate events by at least 1,000 years. The Native population of India had never enjoyed anything in the way of representative institutions. England had not taken away any of the privileges which the Native enjoyed at the time of the first British settlement there; and he did not think, if power were placed in the hands of the chief speakers at the National Congress, that we could possibly retain our hold upon India for five years. He would like some information as to when the special defence works would be completed. Indian finance was improving, the revenue was showing some elasticity, although there had been large expenses, such as the Afghan war, the increase of the army, and the fortification of the North-West frontier? The strategical points round the coast should also be fortified. When would these works be completed? The extraordinary expenditure in Burmah was another great cause or leakage in Indian finance; some light should be thrown on that subject, for there should be some return from that part of the empire. Another great cause of the excess of expenditure over revenue was the depreciation of the rupee. There seemed no prospect of silver rising, and the figures in the statement were striking. The imports were largely increasing; that was a proof that the prosperity of the country was increasing. Paltry criticisms of expenditure here and there, and paltry economies on salaries were no good in the large accounts of the Indian Empire, but he must say the amount of pensions was appalling, the non-effective charges amounting to £6,000,000, or nearly one-eighth of the total revenue! He hoped that would be a lesson on the House, not to take up grievances such as those of retired Indian officers, which it did not understand.

Sir R. Lethbridge, said, that at the present moment every class in India declared that some inquiry into Indian affairs and administrations was really and urgently demanded. Even the India Office was inclined to look with a certain amount of favor on proposals to check extravagance. The present time was particularly favorable for such inquiry from the point of view of those timid persons like the Under Secretary for India who saw revolution in every reform or inquiry of this kind. The Under Secretary had a convenient way of disposing of Indian questions. He tempered hostile criticism to the shorn lambs of the Office, first, by stating that the India Office was anxious for inquiry, next by saying that it was impossible to grant it, and finally by declaring that the inquiry had been held over and over again. (Laughter.) Under these circumstances, the inquiry now asked for might readily be granted without doing harm to any person. He suggested that Lord Randolph Churchill would be an ideal head of a Commission such as had been proposed. Recent events called trumpet-tongued for some such investigation. Could any one read the report of the Select Committee on the Deccan Mining Company, without feeling that, as a nation, we were really criminally neglecting our duties to the

Princes and peoples of India. Every man from India contained charges, against our national honor, hardly less creditable than those recently brought to light. He believed that many of the cases brought forward were unfounded; but he argued, that was a reason why the inquiry asked for should be granted. He referred to the cynical fiscal policy which was imposed upon India, which was forced to admit Lancashire cottons free, whilst her tea and her tobacco were heavily taxed—when they sought entrance at our ports—(hear, hear,) and, in conclusion, appealed to the Under Secretary not to look at this demand for an inquiry as if it were put forward in any spirit hostile to the hon. gentleman's proteges at the India Office.

Sir W. Plowden testified from personal experience to the good results which had accrued from the intercourse of English and Native officials in the administration of India. He moved as an amendment. "That this Committee is of opinion that the economies proposed by the Army Commission in India should be enforced, especially those which would do away with the commands in chief in Madras and Bombay, and that the civil administrations of these presidencies might be more economically conducted and with equal if not greater, efficiency by making those presidencies Lieutenant-Governorships."

Sir Richard Temple after defending the financial position of the Government of India said they had heard that the main point about India was her alleged poverty. That argument had been adduced before, and which he had whipped to death with the scourge of argument. (Laughter.) He would merely mention two undeniable facts, namely, that there were no unemployed in India, and that there never had been and never would be any poor law in that country, because there was no need for it. (Hear, hear.) He heartily concurred in the view that we had no right to rule India by the sword, and we did not do so. There were battalions in the background, but in the foreground of our administration there were benevolence, thoroughness, trustworthiness and the general acquiescence—he would not say loyalty—of the people, and in that acquiescence consisted the main element of our strength, financial and otherwise. The Congress movement was undoubtedly advancing, but what was its object? Despite all their high falutin language, the objects of the members were strictly financial.

The Natives wanted better pay, higher posts, improved prospects more generous concessions in respect of furlough and leave, a larger share in the administration of their country and in the control of its finance—(hear, hear)—and to escape from some of the fiscal burdens which had pressed upon their shoulders and which had pressed still more heavily on the shoulders of their forefathers. Those were not unreasonable objects of ambition, although they were hidden in a mass of verbiage, but if carried out to their extreme or even logical conclusion, they would require the abandonment of our imperial position in India. Although they were not exactly disloyal, treasonable, or seditious, they were, nevertheless, inconsistent with the idea of British rule in India. Up to a certain point I heartily agree with them, but we must insist upon certain limitations being imposed. We could not only excuse the people of India from fiscal burdens. Already the Legislative Council, on which the people were largely represented,

had some financial control, but however, anxious we might be to improve the material condition of the Natives, we must secure for our countrymen those posts in which British energy, loyalty, and endurance must tell. It was a gross statistical fallacy to say that the delegates at the Congresses represented 2,000,000 of people, for they were educated Natives, who represented nobody but themselves. While he agreed that all moderate demands ought to be considered, he protested against anything that was put forward in an extravagant manner.

Mr. S. Macneill said no Committee had been appointed to examine into Indian affairs generally since 1858, when this country took over India wherein previously the financial condition of the country was closely examined every twenty years. In India the negligence of the Imperial Parliament was bitterly complained of. A Committee would say what was required in the interests of British and Natives, officials and others. The Natives, in spite of the many promises made to them, were practically excluded from the Civil Service. He deplored the increase of the salt tax, because he believed that every penny obtained from that tax was drawn from the vitals of a starving people. The Government of India in this respect were like harpies, for they were preying on the vitals of the poor. (Hear, hear.) The British rulers of India had destroyed every industry in that vast Empire, except that of agriculture, and now they were taxing the food of the people. If the people of India had the management of their own affairs, things would not be in the miserable condition that they were now. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. Stuart reminded the House that a very large portion of the taxation of India arose from and was a consequence of our own foreign policy. Therefore they should look with a spirit of generosity upon any demands that were made on behalf of the people of India for some share in the government of the country. One great cause of dissatisfaction there was the enormous drain into this country in respect of pensions, another was the non-employment of Natives.

Sir J. Gorst, replying to the various points raised in the course of the debate said with reference to the amendment before the Committee that separate presidency commands was no longer a financial question. Our object in India to be decentralised as much as possible. The hon. member for Northampton had suggested an inquiry; but he would remind the hon. member two very extensive and exhaustive inquiries had been made in India with regard to finance and to the employment of Natives in the public service. The claim for inquiry was made for the purpose of discrediting the Government and stirring up things—in fact, to bring about that revolution which the hon. member for Donegal (Mr. S. Macneill) was so anxious to see. ("No, no.") As to the India Council, the complaints against it were so vague that there was nothing tangible in them which could be answered. That body was extremely valuable and conducted largely to the good government of India. The people of great Britain could not hand over their responsibilities to the other people; they were responsible for the good Government of India; and could not shake that responsibility off in favor of the semi-Venetian oligarchy of Bengalees, which the amendment would propose to set up. As to the use in the Covenanted Civil Service, it amounted only to two, and of

these civil servants fifty-eight were Natives—of the inferior Magistrates, numbering 2624, 2473 were Natives; there were many town Council Boards and on which in most cases all, and in others most of the members were Natives. (Hear, hear.) Doubtless the people of India were poor, yet every sign went to show that they were better off than they were thirty years ago. Population had increased, the standard of living had risen the number of carts, and draught animals had increased, and among the indigenous population sugar, butter, umbrellas, and such articles of luxury had come into use. With regard to the salt tax, although there had been a small increase this year, the price of salt in all parts of India, except Bombay and Madras, was positively lower than it was some years ago. (Hear, hear.) He thought there was nothing of which the Sovereign and people of this Empire might be so justly proud as their administration of India. During the last thirty years the whole of India, including the Native States, with the single exception of Upper Burmah, had been completely surveyed. The result had been to show that rents had been reduced all over India. The result had been to enormously increase the cultivated area of India. It might safely be estimated that the cultivated area of India had been increased by 25 per cent. during the last thirty years, whilst the population had increased only from 15 to 18 per cent. Tenant-right had been recognised in Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces. The Government had abolished entirely the *ad valorem* import duties of 5 or 10 per cent., with the exception of those on arms and salt, and all the export duties with the exception of those on rice and opium. He admitted that the export duty on rice was one great blot on our administration of India, and that it ought to be repealed the moment it was possible to repeal it. (Hear, hear.) During the last thirty years the number of post offices had increased from 700 to 17,000, and the number of letters delivered, from 28,000 to 259,000. A letter could now be sent from Quetta, a distance of 3,000 miles, to the frontier of China a half-penny. (Hear, hear.) There were now 32,000 miles of telegraphs and 1837 telegraph offices, whilst 2,500,000 messages were sent annually, exclusive of Railway messages. According to the latest returns there had been $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. profit on the capital invested in telegraphs. With regard to legislation, codes had been passed for the criminal law, the civil law, the law of evidence and procedure. Among the Judges of the advanced provinces corruption was now almost unknown, and even the inferior Judges had attained to a much higher standard of rectitude than was dreamt of some time ago. Number of Natives had been appointed as Honorary Magistrates and administered justice without pay. The number of civil hospitals and dispensaries had increased from 142 thirty years ago to 1,411 now, and the number of patients treated from 700,000 to 10,300,000. Vaccination had extended greatly. There were twenty-five towns that now had supply of pure water, and many others in which the supply had been greatly improved the work being carried out by local bodies, many of which were composed entirely of Natives. There were 110 colleges in India, and 122,257 schools with 3,314,000 scholars. It was claimed that about 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the boys of school age now attended school. Railways had increased during the last thirty years from 400 miles to 14,383 miles passengers from 895,000 to 95,000,000, and the goods conveyed from 77,000 tons to 20,000,000. The area of irrigation had

practically been doubled, roads had been made, and turnpikes and tolls abolished. There were now in India 462 Municipal towns, which spent 3,480,000 tens of rupees and controlled the sanitary and local interests of 14,500,000 people. It was no doubt the case that some of the manufactures of India had been displaced by cheaper English productions, but many Indian industries had been created and fostered such as the railway and steam-boats, the indigo manufacture, the cotton manufacture and the jute manufacture. The exports in 1887 amounted to 4,250,000 tens of rupees, and India had now obtained Chinese, Japanese and Burman markets for her rough and coarser fabrics. When such a record as that after thirty years Government of India could be shown, he thought there was no reason to complain. There was no national achievement which afforded more cause for satisfaction to the Sovereign and the people of the United Kingdom than the just and noble administration of the affairs of India.

GREAT MEETING IN NORTHAMPTON.

[A great public meeting was held at the Town Hall on Tuesday evening the 21st August to consider "India's wrongs and English Remedies," the chief speakers being the junior member for the borough, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. Mr. Bradlaugh was in his finest oratorical form. His speech was in parts loftily eloquent, glowing with the fervour of intense earnestness, and was throughout a splendid plea for the just demands of the Indian Congress. The hon. member has never spoken more powerfully in his constituency for many years than on this occasion. The Hall was filled to excess, and certainly quite as many as were in the hall found it impossible to obtain admission. A few chairs had been placed in the front of the hall for the accommodation of ladies and others. Many of the fair sex graced the hall by their presence, the Mayor's gallery being exclusively devoted to their use. The chair was taken by the MAYOR, who was supported on the platform by Mr. Alderman Gurney, J.P., Mr. Alderman Adams, J.P., Councillor W. Rainbow, Councillor T. Purser, Councillor Sam S. Campion, Mr. J. Rennie Wilkinson, J.P. (Addington), the Rev. A. James, B. A. (Thrapston), the Rev. J. C. Roberts the Rev. F. W. Pollard, the Rev. T. (Martin formerly missionary to India), the Rev. H. P. Bull, Mr. J. Pugh, Mr. J. Ballay, Mr. S. M. Fraser, T. Elson, Mr. J. Darlow, Mr. J. Taffinder, Mr. F. O Adams, Mr. T. Spencer (Kingsthorpe), Mr. J. S. Shepard, Mr. T. Ashdowne (Secretary Liberal and Radical Union), Mr. J. Ward, Mr. J. Oakley Mr. T. Lucas, Mr. F. Stimpson, Tonsley Mr. Sheffield, Mr. T. Rickard, Mr. T. P. Stroulger, Mr. R. Roe, Mr. W. Bilingham, Mr. G. Gibbs, Mr. C. Lea, Mr. S. Westley, Mr. J. Barber, Mr. D. Robinson, Mr. M. York, Mr. W. Hand, &c., &c.]

The MAYOR said: It would very ill become me to occupy your time to-night, when you have such a distinguished deputation to listen to. I may say that I am exceedingly pleased to be here at what I deem to be the initial meeting to plead the cause of the representation of India. I do not know that Northampton has been honoured before by any gentleman from India itself, or that the cause I have mentioned has been advocated publicly in this hall in any way as largely as it will be to-night.

I MOST THOROUGHLY SYMPATHISE WITH THE OBJECT

therefore, of this meeting, I am exceedingly pleased to have around me the advocates that are going to plead the cause of India to-night. There are three gentlemen, one of whom is well known to you, and does not need any words of introduction from me. (Laughter and loud applause.) The other two gentlemen are strangers to me, but I presume they have the love of their country at heart, and I have no doubt it will be shown by the eloquence of their tongues and

THE COGENCY OF THEIR ARGUMENTS

that they have a grievance and know what the remedy will be, and will ask us to help them in that respect. Personally I am exceedingly pleased that this movement is a national movement. (Cheers.) I take it as one of the signs indicative of a regenerated India, and I hope the time is not far distant when India will rise in its might, shake off that despotism which it now lies under, and have that representative Government which we delight in, and which is the honour and glory of this country (cheers), and, I may say, of almost all its dependencies. (Renewed cheers.) I have, therefore, with these few words, much pleasure in introducing Mr.—Mr. (laughter)—the gentleman whose name is first on the bill. (Renewed laughter and cheers.)

Mr. BRADLAUGH rose and said: I may mention that Mr. Naoroji has just been selected as the candidate for Central Finsbury by the Liberal and Radical Union of that district. (Cheers.)

Mr. NAOROJI, who was loudly applauded on rising, said: Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen. I can assure you it gives us great encouragement to see this large assembly before us showing such interest in the fate and the condition of India and their fellow subjects there, forming five-sixths of the British Empire. I thank you for your interest, I thank Mr. Bradlaugh for having taken the trouble of convening this meeting; and I particularly thank you for giving us the opportunity of appealing to a British audience, and putting before the British people what we desire at their hands. I shall not detain you long, because just as I desire, so you will be desirous, of hearing your able representative. (Cheers.) And all the more because he will plead our cause more eloquently than I can pretend to do. I will only touch on one or two important points. The question often put to me by thoughtful Englishmen is this—"How can it be that the Indians can be loyal to the English—that is to a foreign rule." Of course a

FOREIGN RULE WOULD BE HATEFUL TO ANY COUNTRY :

judging from ordinary circumstances you will believe that an alien race will not be loyal to one 5,000 miles distant, and foreign in every respect. But there are circumstances which change the whole aspect of things. Of course, it is true that during the present century the amount of good you have done to us in a variety of ways will demand from us our gratitude. I cannot enter into the details of what you have done, but I will skim over a few important points to give you an idea of how we feel the effect of British rule upon us. The result of it has been to create new life in us; it has quickened us mentally, morally, and socially. I will give you one or two instances. You know there were customs among the Hindus, such as female infanticide, and burning of the women of deceased husbands. You have with tact and firmness, without unduly interfering with the religious feelings of the people, been able to abolish these customs. In this you have earned the gratitude of

HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF FEMALES

for which you have every reason to be proud. (Cheers.) This is a specimen of the kind of good British rule has done for us. I can concentrate the whole of that good by pointing out to you that I now stand before you simply because you have taught me to understand the position of my country, and to appeal to you for what I want. I know that I appeal to a

public that has a sound conscience, and it is only their ignorance that keeps us under our present difficult circumstances. When the British public shall know what our grievances are they will not hesitate for a moment to redress those grievances. (Cheers.) It is this that enables us to go on persevering in explaining to the British public our true position. When you introduced western civilisation among us you raised us politically, you raised intellectually, socially, and educationally. (Cheers.) You have raised us up in humanity. You have raised us to the level of your civilisation. (Cheers.) And you will understand that if the Indians have anything like gratitude in them, they ought to be, and they are, exceedingly grateful, and cannot but be loyal to the good hand that has done us so much good. This, I hope, will satisfy any one that, though foreign rule is a curse to any country, the peculiar relations that have sprung up between us and England make us

LOYALLY ATTACHED TO THE BRITISH RULE

(Cheers.) Now, I will sum up the benefits of all your efforts of this century in one word. What is the National Indian Congress? It is the result of your good work of the present century, a result of which you may be well proud, showing that you have raised a nation of many races to understand their political position, and to tell you in a body what their real wants are. (Cheers.) We feel that, whatever be the difficulties in our way, the heart of the British people is sound (cheers.) and we shall get further that equality of British citizenship which was promised us in a proclamation by her gracious Majesty when she became Empress of India. (Cheers.) You will, therefore, believe us when we say we are thoroughly loyal to British rule, and that this proclamation is an assurance given to us that India should be governed for the good of India, and not for the good of England. (Cheers.) What is it we want, and what are our grievances? I will touch upon two points.

THE QUESTION OF POVERTY

is, I know, a great question in this country. (Cheers.) but the question of poverty in India is ten times more intense. You will have to grapple with it with all your might, and if you do not grapple with it with good statesmanship and proper foresight, the consequences may be very serious. (Cheers.) It is my special subject. It is the one rock, the one thing, the one test, which in its settlement will either make Britain a blessing to India, or Heaven knows what distress it may bring forth. (Cheers.) It is a question you will have to grapple with sooner or latter in England (Cheers); and you must bear in mind what this poverty means. It is a question not so much of production as of distribution. (Cheers.) You must have such distribution that every man labouring will have a fair share in the good things of the earth. (Cheers.) This is the question of questions for the future in India. For whereas, while you are paying something like 50s per head for government purposes only, we do not produce more than 30s. or 40s. per head. ("Shame") You will have to set yourselves to remove this evil. (Cheers.) The

OTHER QUESTION IS THAT OF REPRESENTATION.

What our Congress asks is so ridiculously moderate, that what we are asking is something quite different from government by our own Parliament. We are not asking for a Parliament where we should have two

parties, and when one is defeated the other comes into power. (Cheers.) We have Legislative Councils. There is a supreme Legislative Council, presided over by the Viceroy and then there are different Presidencies. You have certain non-official members, but these members are nominated by the Governors, and the result is they have no feeling of responsibility whatever to the people. I was one of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council, but no man could ask me whether I did my duty or not. If the people had sent me there I should have been obliged to have given an account of my stewardship. (Cheers.) You call upon your representative every year to give to you an account of what he has done. (A Voice: "Rather!" Laughter, and applause.) That is your political life. That is what lifts you up in civilisation. But in a State in which we cannot think, cannot have any share in the government of the country we

LIVE MERELY THE LIFE OF ANIMALS.

("Shame.") We ask that instead of these members being nominated members, and therefore simply bowing to the powers that be, they shall be elected by the people. (Cheers.) Why I tell you there are some members on the Council who cannot speak English. All the business is done in English. (Laughter.) They have to look at the Viceroy or the Governor, according to the Province he is in, and see when the Viceroy or Governor holds up his hand, and then they hold up their hands too. (Laughter and . "Shame.") We wish that the nominated members shall be representative members. (Cheers.) We leave it to the Government to decide on what basis the representation shall be. We do not mean to say we have suddenly grown into a position so that every poor half-starved labourer is able to understand the principle of representation; but then there is a large number of others who are educated and competent, and the very fact of the members being elected will make them responsible for what they do. What we ask is, therefore, originally that these two points shall be attended to the British public. You will ask, what is the remedy? I cannot enter into the details of the remedy, but I can tell to it you in three words—"Fulfil your pledges." (Cheers.) If you do that, if you will fulfil the pledges you have made over and over again, we in India shall be pleased and you also will be pleased and benefited. (Loud cheers.)

MR. BONNERJEE, who was cordially welcomed, said ; Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen,—You have come here to-night to hear Indian grievances discussed before you, and I shall not therefore follow my friend Mr. Naoroji in stating to you the great benefits which most undoubtedly you have conferred upon my country. My task is to lay before you the grievances of that country in order that you may consider them and see for yourselves whether there are no means by which to redress them

NOW THE FIRST GRIEVANCE

that we labour under is that there is no responsible Government for India at all. ("Hear, hear" from Mr. Bradlaugh.) The government of India is in the hands of one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State called the Secretary of State for India, who is assisted by a Council, but would you believe it, that this gentleman, the Secretary of State and his Council, are sometimes ignorant of things which private members of Parliament are in possession of fully? (Cries of "Shame" and laughter.) The other day I had the great privilege of listening to your respected representative in

the House of Commons—(loud cheers)—and in the course of his speech he was able to tell the Under Secretary of State that he knew a good deal more of what was going on in connection with the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company than the Secretary and his advisers did in this country. (Cheers.) When any question is asked in the House of Commons of the Under Secretary the answer invariably is—"The Secretary of State has no official knowledge of the matter"—(laughter)—and unless the hon. member putting the question is persistent, and after a short time again puts the question, it seems to me that the Secretary of State never has any official knowledge of anything under the sun in India. (Laughter and cheers.) Then the Secretary of State is entirely dependent upon the advice he receives from India and he does not seem to have in his possession any machinery by which it is possible for him to check what the officials in India send to him as a true account of what is taking place ("Shame.") I need not go further than just across St. George's Channel to remind you that the official information sent over is very different from the information which from other sources you are getting daily. (Cheers.) I don't for one moment mean to say that the condition of India is like the condition of Ireland. Thank goodness, we are ever so much better off there than the people in Ireland (hear, hear,) but I bring forward the case of Ireland for the purpose of showing you that

OFFICIAL INFORMATION

is not in every instance true information. (Cheers.) In India the supreme rule is in the hands of the Viceroy and his Council. They act from the information which they receive from the district officials. However clever, however able, however well-meaning, however inclined to do justice the Viceroy may be, he is more or less in the hands of those who have to administer the country in the districts, in the places where the people congregate, where the people lead their daily lives, and it is the officials who are entrusted with the charge of these districts who have the weal or woe of the country in their hands, and when you appeal against any action of theirs to the Viceroy you do not get any reply for months, and months, and as a matter of fact the only reply vouchsafed is that the Viceroy sees no reason to interfere. (Cries of "Shame.") To a certain extent this state of things must be so, but it need not be so in the hard and fast way in which it is being carried out, and if we had some voice in the Government of our country there is no doubt we should be able to put questions of administrative details to the officers responsible in the Council for the Government, and we should be able to stir the members of the Government up to do, what I have no doubt they conscientiously wish to do—namely, good to the people of India. (Cheers.) Now, I will give you two instances to show how the present system of Government has

INSTEAD OF ADVANCING THE COUNTRY

done very much to retard it to a certain time. The Legislative Councils, as my friend Mr. Naoroji has told you, pass laws—the local Councils for the provinces represented by them, the Supreme Council for the whole of India. Now, these Councils, particularly in Viceroy's Council, seem to be a sort of hothouse for English gentlemen going out there to carry out their own views. They try their theories in this country, and absolutely fail, but somehow they manage to get seats in the Indian Council

in Calcutta, and the things that have been scouted in this country are carried out there, notwithstanding the opposition and clamour and protest of the people. ("Shame.") From 1861 to 1872 we had in India a criminal procedure code which had been drafted by no less an authority than illustrious Thomas Babington Macaulay. It had been looked over very carefully by no less an authority than Sir Barnes Peacock, whose name you may have heard as being Chief Justice in Bengal for many years, and as now being one of the members of her Majesty's Privy Council. Several other persons well acquainted with the law had perfected this code. Under this code we were allowed trial by jury in such districts where the Local Government considered we were fit to have trial by jury. (Cheers.) I may mention there is no single district where trial by jury may not be safely introduced at the present time (cheers) but that is, by the way. The verdicts of juries were final.

THE PRISONER HAD THE RIGHT

of carrying his case, if convicted, to higher courts if there were any points of law to be urged on his behalf. That remained the law, and worked very well indeed to a very considerable extent. In the year 1870, to our very great misfortune, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was appointed law member of Viceroy's Council. He went out to India and the first thing he took in hand was called. "The Amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code." That amendment consisted in this that he took away the finality from the verdict of the jury; he gave the power which no judge in India had ever possessed before, of enhancing sentences on appeal; and he made the Criminal Procedure Code almost Draconian in its severity. (Loud cries of "Shame.") You have, I have no doubt, heard that the people of India are as law-abiding as any people on the earth—(cheers)—and yet in a country like that the criminal procedure code has been made the severest of any in the civilised world. ("Shame" and sensation.) I will tell you what happened under this law. This is an instance, you may call it an extreme instance, but it took place, and there are others which take place every day, to the great oppression of the people of the country, who protest, but nobody listens to their protest. ("Shame.") A man was tried in one of the districts in Bengal for murder. The trial took place, not before a jury, but before what are called assessors—two assessors and a judge. The judge concurring with the two assessors, found the man

NOT GUILTY OF MURDER

but found him guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced him to hard labour for five years. He appealed against his conviction—he had the right of appeal, the trial having been held with the aid of assessors and not with the aid of a jury. The case came before the High Court of Calcutta. He was a poor man and could not be properly represented. The judges upset the conviction as regards manslaughter, found this man guilty of murder, sentenced him to be hanged, and notwithstanding petitions for mercy from nearly the whole country that man was hanged. [Great sensation, and loud cries of shame] he had in the meantime undergone nearly two months of that imprisonment, so that he was kept in rigorous imprisonment for two months, and at the end of that was hanged. ("Shame.") Now this created such a shock in the minds of the people that it is impossible to describe the sensation in the country at the time

every body wept aloud almost, but there is nobody to take any notice of that. Our district officers thought that the prestige of the High Court would be lost if the Government interfered and allowed that man to live. The High Court had the power and could have sentenced him to transportation for life; but no—the man was

SENTENCED TO BE HANGED

and hanged he was accordingly. ("Shame, shame.") There are many instances where a man has been fined; after Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's law he has appealed, and the result has been that the judges, instead of affirming the fine, have sent him to hard labour for many months. ("Shame.") Now I saw the scenes created in this country when it was reported, and truly reported, that some Country Court judges in Ireland had enhanced the sentences on appeal. There was a tremendous outburst (cheers), and the result was that even Mr. Balfour was obliged to send instructions to his County Court judges not to enhance sentences on appeal. (Cheers.) But a thing like this goes on in India almost every day. The people cry aloud against it, but there is nobody to pay heed to their cry. ("Shame.") The way in which legislation is conducted in India is such that if I gave you instances you would cry "Shame." This very Sir James Fitzjames Stephen passed what is called the Evidence Act for India. It is the substance of Pitt Taylor's book boiled down considerably. Well, one clause he has introduced is that at a criminal trial the previous conviction of any prisoner may be given in evidence at any stage. That is to say in the year of grace 1888 a man is charged with picking another person's pocket

YOU MAY GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST HIM

that in 1830 he was guilty of bigamy. (Laughter.) And what do you think is the reason given for this? Sir James Fitzjames Stephen says in his report to the Legislative Council; "It is said that evidence of this description may prejudice the prisoner. My answer is that if the prisoner is guilty"—mark the logic—"If the prisoner is guilty I do not see why he should not be prejudiced, the object of giving evidence against a man being to show whether he is guilty or not. And laws of this description have been passed, people have protested but there is no heed paid to these protests. Representative institutions and other things which go to make up a civilised country only exist for the happiness and well-being of the people. If without giving us representative institutions you can discover something by which the people will be able to lead a happy and contented life, have all their aspirations, humanly speaking satisfied, I am perfectly certain that my countrymen would rejoice at the idea, but at present no one has been able to discover anything better than such institutions as are possessed more or less by other countries in the civilised world. But it is

NOT EVEN REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

in the form that exist in this country that we want. We say whether you admit it or whether you do not admit it, you are dependent for the good government of our country upon the advice you must necessarily seek from the people themselves. (Cheers.) Officials in India do not admit it, but they do it. If they have a difficult question to deal with, they call together this man and that man, and they call together a third man, being natives of the country, with whom they discuss the matter. These persons, as has been pointed out to you, are not responsible to any body, and they may

give such answers as may chime in with the views known to be held by the district officer; and instead of getting good advice from responsible persons, the district officer generally gets advice that leads him to take action not in accord with the will of the country. The subject of India, like the country itself, is a very vast one, and I am afraid, if I were to detain you from now till the morning, I should not be able to exhaust it. (Cheers and a Voice, "Go on.") You will have, I am glad to say, the opportunity of hearing my friend Mr. Bradlaugh (loud cheers), and he will make that clear to you which I, probably, have not been able to do.

FOR GOOD OR FOR EVIL

India has become bound up with you. (Cheers.) You cannot, having carried her so far, turn her adrift, and of her own will India will never ask to be allowed to go adrift. (Loud cheering.) It is necessary for the peace of both countries—this great country as well as her great dependency—that some method should be devised by which the people will be more contented, the people will get more to eat (Cheers), the people will be able to discharge the duties of citizenship. (Cheers.) You are a superior nation, you are governing the country, and it behoves you, one and all, to take pride in measures which will be a blessing not only to India, but to this country. (Renewed cheering.)

MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., who met with a most enthusiastic reception, said : I address you to-night with a deep sense of responsibility, for I am about to ask you—as long as you choose to trust me with your mandate—I am about to ask you to permit me in the House of Commons, year by year, until I gain what I want, to bring the grievances of India before that House. (Applause.) And I want you, in deciding to-night as I trust you will decide with unanimity, on a resolution which will be submitted to you, I want you to do with a full sense of what it is you are undertaking. (Cheers.) I speak to-night in the presence of two men who here are

THE VOICES OF 200,000,000

of your fellow citizens. It was said in the House of Commons, and said truly, that these men had been chosen by no election. It is impossible to get a vote from these 200,000,000. It was said, and said truly, that the men for whom I spoke only represented the educated portion of India. (Hear, hear.) But what would have been said if it could have been alleged that I spoke in the name of the ignorant and mis-guided. (Cheers.) It is because I speak, as Mr. Naoroji has said, for those whom we have either blessed or cursed with our civilization, it is because I speak for those whom we have taught aims and objects which were outside their sphere, it is because in some senses we have made them more sensitive of suffering, as well as more appreciative of happiness, that I plead to you who have stood with me through a doubtful struggle for the right (tremendous and continued cheering) in English Parliament that I appeal to you to stand with me in a struggle which cannot be doubtful, that 200,000,000 whom we have won by the sword, shall be held by their hopes (cheers), shall be held by their sympathies (cheers), shall be held by their desires (cheers), and shall be held by

THE EVERDRAWING PROMISE

ay by day, of some self-redemption put before them. (Great cheering.) And if I might venture to-night, I would appeal not alone to the consti-

ents who elected me, I would venture to appeal to the constituents whom I represent, either with or without their desire. (Applause.) For this is no party question. (Loud applause.) The man is the most wicked enemy of the natives of India who tries to make it into a party question. (Cheers.) I am party man enough (laughter), but I do not deny that there are men in the parties opposed to me, of broad humanity, of high intellect, of great statesmanship, men who by the chance of party strife in this country, whether we will or no, must often have the reins of Indian Government in their hands. (Hear hear.) And I take it that the happiness of these 200,000,000 should not depend on whether I sit on this side of the House or that; but that we should make common cause for the men we have conquered, not to hold them as slaves but hold them as brethren of us all. (Loud cheers.) I ventured the other night, for some 50 minutes to occupy the attention of the House of Commons on this question. (Hear, hear.) It was late in the Session, the House was naturally nearly empty, and the forms of the House did not permit me to submit to it the question upon which

I WANTED THEIR DECISION

but unless you forbid me, and I trust you will not (hear, hear), I propose as early next year as the ballot will afford me the opportunity, to move in the House of Commons that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of natives of India as of British subjects born here to enquire into the grievances of India, with a view to their redressal, and with the power to take evidence alike in England and in India. (Great applause.) That is no mad proposition: Conservatives ought to endorse it. They would have supported it a few short months ago when Lord Randolph Churchill (hisses and groans) made a similar proposition. No, do not hiss him. (Laughter and hear, hear.) I have on doubt that in the brief moment, when others prompted him to look with good eye upon this Indian question, he saw that it was one in which there was room for justice to be done. (Hear, hear.) And we should be doing worst of all if by foolish hiss or hoot to-night against men with whom we happened to have no personal sympathy in our English party strife, if we hardened one heart or turned away one ear from the consideration of the cause I shall have to put before you. I am sorry to read in a weekly journal of growing circulation, which appeals to Radicalism in the North of England, that I am

"PREMATURE AND ROMANTIC."

(Laughter.) They admit that I am "usually hard-headed." (Loud laughter.) Yes, I trust I am hard-headed (cheers), because you want for a man you send to the council of the nation, one who does not allow his judgment to be carried away by every waft of passion or every wave of emotion. (Loud cheers.) And if for a moment my two friends, if they will permit me so to call them, will not listen too keenly, I will tell you why I make this appeal. If we cannot hold India by love we must hold India by force (hear, hear), and if we hold India by force and not by love, you the taxpayers of England you the men of England, must pay for it out of your earnings day by day, out of your sweat, out of your muscle, out of your sinew. (Cheers.) If you hold India by love, the love is costly in nothing to those who give it, and costless to those who receive it from us. (Great applause.) Mr. Naoroji put to you

THE POVERTY OF INDIA ;

echoing it Mr. Bonnerjee spoke of "more to eat" as being a possibility of this agitation. (Hear, hear.) What do you think is the poverty of India now? I will not quote either of these men, although both of them are men of weight amongst those of whom they were born, and not only men of weight amongst those of whom they were born, but recognised as men of weight by the Government of England, which has availed itself of their abilities in each case. (Cheers.) Mr. Bonnerjee, who spoke last, was the President of the first of the great Indian National Congresses of which you have heard to-night. (Hear, hear.) But I will not quote these men, I will take an English official. I will take rather, for a moment, before I quote the official, an Englishman occupying official position, who has put before England one of the best statements of our Indian Government. I mean Sir W. W. Hunter. (Hear, hear.) Sir W. W. Hunter, tells us that out of the 200,000,000 of whom I spoke, in the best of times 40,000,000 are always on

THE VERGE OF STARVATION

(Loud cries of "Shame.") But the official whom I intended to quote, and I waited to quote Dr. Hunter first, because I could then put to you what that meant in plainer words, the official reported in Madras—and what is true of Madras here is as true of the bulk of Hindostan—that the agricultural labourer, and there agriculture, as unfortunately is the case in Ireland, is the chief resource; and if you do not on this feel disposed to give credence to my words, you may take the first of the reports which was laid before Parliament Material and Moral Condition of India, and you will find the wage is given district by district; but taking Madras, Mr. Robertson, Agricultural Reporter to the Government of Madras, says "in the best seasons the gross income—that is the total income" of the agricultural labourer and his family, does not exceed three pence per day. ("Shame.") Not the man alone, not the chief bread winner alone, but the man and his family "in the best seasons." ("Shame.") Do you wonder that 40,000,000 are always on the verge of starvation ("No")—on the verge—but they go over the verge often

I TOLD THE HOUSE

of Commons the other night, and it was not possible to contradict it, because the figures were taken from Parliamentary Returns that in 18 years—between the years 1860 and 1878—12,000,000 people in Hindustan died of starvation. ("Horrible.") Can you wonder that these men speak of the poverty of the natives of India. ("No.") It might be that this poverty is unavoidable. It might be that there could be no cure for it. But there must be sometimes the possibility of avoidance. (Cheers.) What have we done in this very year. Why, Sir John Gorst, in the House of Commons, made the boast the other night of increased revenue in India by the imposition of extra tax on salt ("Shame")—paid by these people with only 3d. per day—to pay more salt tax that we may steal Burmah, and to make war on Thibet, or to take the Viceroy to Simla, where he may live in great grandeur. (Loud cheers and hisses.) These men are loyal (hear, hear); these men (Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Bonnerji) say they are loyal; they speak for men who desire to be loyal (cheers); but there are hundreds of men in India who, if we will not listen to them,

WILL PREACH DISLOYALTY AND DISCONTENT

(Hear, hear.) And you cannot wonder, for it is not good to die oneself, nor see others die. (Loud applause.) What does India ask? India asks by these National Congresses held in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Madras, Congresses attended by the *élite* of India—that was contradicted in the House of Commons, but I have been furnished with a little pamphlet written by a man whom I happen to know, and whom when I knew him I did not know favourably (laughter); a hard man, a lawyer (laughter), with whom it was my duty to hold some unpleasant converse many years ago (laughter), an English gentleman, a Conservative (laughter), a lawyer of great ability, of such great ability that he has sat and sat with credit to himself as Chief Justice of Bengal. Now what does he say. He says, speaking of these Congresses, that they were attended by 600 to 700 delegates, representing the talent, influence, and education of the native population, and collected from all parts of India. (Cheers.) He says whatever may be said to the contrary, “it is undoubtedly the fact that the gentlemen who attended these Congresses are for the most part in high social position,

THE RECOGNIZED LEADERS

of native thought and opinion.” And Chief Justice Garth, Sir Richard Garth, asks us to listen to these men whilst they plead for justice, so that those who are not so calm and thoughtful as these are, may not have the right to plead with words of discontent and hatred against us. (Loud applause.) And Sir Richard Garth says—and that is all I will trouble you with reference to the Congresses—

“For myself I have been long persuaded that many of the abuses complained of are real and serious, and that some of the proposed reforms would not only be of advantage to India, but would materially strengthen the hands of the Government.”

[Loud cheers.] What do the Congresses ask? They ask that the Indian Council in London shall be abolished [hear, hear]. and they rightly ask it. [Cheers.] If Lord Randolph Churchill were here, he would tell you that the Indian Council in London are a set of fossils. [Laughter and cheers]. Unfortunately not dead ones. [Renewed laughter and cheers.]

SALARY RECEIVING FOSSILS

[Laughter.] Fossils who act as non-conductors of all that is good, and as rapid conductors of everything that is mischievous. [Loud and prolonged laughter and applause.] This Council is so absolutely ignorant of what is passing in India that, as Mr. Bonnerjee has reminded you, I was to tell the Under Secretary of State for India that last year my information was more correct than that which he gave to the House; and this year it is again the same. [Cheers and “Shame.”] And there can be no doubt now upon that because the matters which the Under Secretary at first denied the Secretary afterwards admitted. [Laughter and applause.]

It is not a question of my allegation against the Government of India, it is a question of the Government of India’s allegation against itself. I do not know what view the natives of India have as to preserving the office of Secretary of State at all. I should like to have one; I should like occasionally to worry him. I think it a good thing to be able to have a go at him. [Laughter.] Unfortunately we cannot go at him now, for while

every other official is subject to the control of Parliament—his salary is voted by Parliament—the salaries of the Indian officials are taken out of the Indian Budget, never voted here, and never properly voted there, for there is no discussion upon them. Neither in England nor in India is there any control over the expenditure of India, although it amounts to seventy millions a year. I say

IT IS MONSTROUS

that that should be permitted, and I ask you to help them. [Cheers.] Some of the papers have written as though I wanted to make for India a representative Parliament with household suffrage. I neither ask it, nor do the natives. I do not know why they do not. [Hear, hear.] I can understand, looking at India, that they might say, and say truly, "There are scores of millions of our brethren who have yet to be taught and we are content to creep rather than to jump; we are content to walk slowly towards liberty if you will only hold out the gleam of possibility in the distance to which we may glide." [Cheers.] If they are content for that I am content to ask you to help them to do it. They ask that the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; they ask that the Councils of the Governors of the Provinces; they ask that the Councils of the North West Provinces, and of Oude, should have on them at least half non-official members elected by some process of election; and they are content to leave the method of election to be settled. I was much struck by what Sir Richard Garth said upon that subject, because of my knowing him to be a Conservative knowing him to be a Protectionist, knowing him to be an extremely hard-headed person, and I thought it very likely I should find him not agreeing with

THE INDIAN CONGRESS.

On the contrary this is what he says—he is speaking of some resolutions passed by the Madras and other Chambers of Commerce—the Congress goes a step further than others. They desire discussion on the Budget in the Legislative Council; they ask for extension of that Council on the principle of representative election; and they ask for the right of interpellation, which I understand to mean the right of asking questions of the Government, which is exercising control to be allowed to the Legislative Council. And Sir Richard Garth says, after much care and consideration,

"Before any decision can be arrived at as the numbers or composition of the extended Council, I cannot help thinking that it ought to provide for the fair representation of the three great religious sects in India, Christians, Hindoos, and Mahomedans; and that the official as well as the non-official members should be selected from different provinces so as to represent as far as possible the feelings and opinions of every portion of the empire."

[Cheers.] I will not trouble you further upon this point; but the Congress asked that there might be a Standing Committee of the House of Commons, appointed session by session, so that when those elected members of the Council have some matter of grievance which they cannot get redressed in India, or think they have a matter of grievance, that they can submit it to this Standing Committee of the House of Commons, who shall have the right or duty, if they think it material, to bring it before Parliament. [Applause.] This is no immoderate demand. They ask that there shall be such

A REFORM OF THE CIVIL SERVICES

ns will enable that pledge which Mr. Naoroji reminded you of, to be kept. At present the Indians say, the educated of these two hundred millions say, "While you promised us fair play in our Civil Service, while we have trained ourselves to win the opportunity, while we are willing to serve you, you give it to others who can do it less well, and the money goes out of the country, which might be kept here, while we are half starved" There is no doubt about it. The Secretary of State did not contradict me upon it, although I challenged him upon it, when I quoted the words of a confidential report, the words of Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, who said, "We have to choose between prohibiting and cheating, and we have taken the least straightforward course"; an Act of Parliament was passed, and we have cheated. The words of a solemn pledge we put into the mouth of Her Majesty when we assumed Imperial authority; and we have cheated the natives, and in confidential reports we boast of having cheated them. I appeal to you, the men of Northampton; I appeal to you, the town, the electorate, the constituency, which by your aid to my unworthy self have written yourselves indelibly in the pages of this country's history, to make me to be the advocate of these cheated men in the British House of Commons. (Loud cheers, and cries of "We will.") Her Majesty was made to say to the natives of India.

"In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." Prosperity! and

TWELVE MILLIONS DIED BY FAMINE

in sixteen years! ("Hypocrisy.") Prosperity! and we are putting an extra salt duty on because we have stolen Burmah, and are proposing to steal Thibet! ("Shame.") Gratitude! when have educated them up enough to feel wrong more, and make the wrong more bitter! ("Shame.") It was said by Mr. MacLean, the member Oldham, that when I spoke for the Indian people, there was no Indian people. No Indian people! But there are two Hundred million people in India, and for them I speak. No Indian people! What would you have said when the Norman was trampling here, if those who asked for justice, as many of them did even then, if the Norman had answered "There are no English people?" It was true, we were a mixture of Saxon and Kelt and a variety of races, but we were born here; and the people of India were born there. (Hear, hear.) They are the people to whom we have gone, they are the people to whom we have taken our sceptre, they are the people whom we have taken under our rule. You say they are not Indian people! Let us make them a new people, an educated people; let us permeate them with the civilisation with which we have cursed them, and let us make it a blessing to them as the new people of India. (Loud cheering.) Sir John Gorst, who did not deny any of my figures, quoted to show that they had more railways, and that more opium was sold, and a number of other things more was sold. But it is no use quoting them, it does not bring the twelve million people to life. I do not ask you to

BRING THESE PEOPLE TO LIFE,

but I ask you that when these men (Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Bonnerjee) go back to India they may say, and that they may send to India, that, at any rate, so far as one constituency, and so far as one voice may, we will try

to make England stand between them and the grave if good legislation may do it in the future. (Loud cheering.) They are not downright bad people. [Laughter.] Of course they are not so good as we [renewed laughter]; but I was reading the criminal statistics of the present year, and I find that in the gaols in Madras there is one in 274 of the Europeans—that is us [laughter]; one in 509 of the Eurasians—that is the mixture; and one in 3,787 of the Hindoos. [Loud cheering.] Of course I am very proud of my superiority as an Englishman. [Laughter.] If I were in Madras, I should go to gaol on the average at least 18 times oftener than the Hindoo. [Renewed laughter.] I do not say that to jest upon it, but point this out to you, that is, they are not a hard people to rule unless we drive them wild. They are a patient people, and Western civilization can have the best of them in every struggle. But Western civilization should have heart as well as sword. We went to them 200 years ago. Between that time we begged the right to trade and now, we have stolen, we have burned, we have ravished. ["Shame."] They do not bring our past crimes against us. It is useless to dig the dead bad out, but we ought to know it. [Applause.] And now when they meet in Congress, not in revolt, for the kind of things that have been said here to-night were said 5,000 miles away. One of the speakers spoke to his fellows—not to Northampton Radicals whom he wanted to please, but speaking to Indians collected from all parts of India he said;

"The rule of great Britain has given India peace and security, and on the whole, has been better in its results and direction than any former rule."

The princes we have overthrown have not been princes for any people to be proud of. Let us make them proud of us. [Loud cheers.]

WE BOAST LIBERTY

in our traditions, we appeal to great names, and great thoughts; in the past in India we have written our names with blood and fire, we have trampled into hearts and homes: let us now write our rule with earnest union, knitting together the men of England and the men of India for our common redemption, struggling with the misery which toucheth us all. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Alderman Gurney, J. P., rose to heartily propose a resolution, and was warmly applauded. He said: I have very great pleasure in proposing a resolution at this meeting. My sympathies for a long time past have gone a deal beyond what has been asked to-night. I can only express my surprise that our Indian friends are so moderate in what they desire. I have never been able to see why India should not have a representative form of Government, just as we have one. It seems a very strange thing they have never been allowed a representative in our Parliament. If they were allowed to elect one member to our House of Commons, he would have a very considerable influence there, and be able to teach the English people more of what goes on in India than we know under present circumstances. (Cheers.) My sympathies with India are not new. A few years ago we sent a petition in favour of a measure that Lord Ripon (cheers) was then promoting—we sent a petition from the Town Council with the corporation seal affixed. It was a measure giving the Indians similar powers and privileges to what we have. I don't see why they should not have the same rights and privileges as any other civilised nation. It has been unfortunately the case

for many years past that India has been a sort of happy hunting ground for the underlings of our aristocracy. (Cheers and "Bravo.") It is quite time that ended. (Cheers.) The resolution I have to move I will ask Mr. Bradlaugh to be kind enough to read to you. Mr. Bradlaugh then read as follows :—

That this meeting of the inhabitants of Northampton and its neighbourhood, having heard the grievances of the Indian people stated by representative Indians and by others, and having had laid before it the reforms put forward by the Indian National Congress, declares that in its opinion the grievances from which our Indian fellow-subjects are suffering should be removed, and believes that the reforms advocated by the Congress will be greatly helpful to this end;

This meeting therefore expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the good-will and help of the British people;

And the persons present pledge themselves, by every means in their power, to move the British Parliament to grant the reforms so temperately and so forcibly advocated (Loud cheers).

Alderman Gurney, resuming, said : My remarks are fully justified by the moderation of the resolution. That resolution is far short of what I should like for India. (Cheers.) I, however, quite agree with the resolution, and hope it will pass unanimously (hear, hear); because I am sure there is not one audience in the United Kingdom that would wish to deal more friendly with the people of India than our own people here. (Loud cheers.)

Councilor Campion said : Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen—I am proud to stand here to-night to second this resolution. (Cheers.) I am proud because it connects Northampton and Northamptonshire with what I believe will turn out to be not only a new and noble crusade, but a very successful crusade on behalf of the rights of our fellow subjects in India. (Cheers.) We have heard to-night the voice of India, and it is for us to say whether we will turn a deaf ear to that voice, or take to heart the message that has been delivered, and determine, in so far as lies in our power, to carry the wishes of our Indian fellow-subjects to a triumphant realisation. (Cheers.) The tie that binds Northampton and Northamptonshire to India is not of to-day's weaving. We are proud to think that

THE CONSECRATED COBBLER

was a Northamptonshire man, and although our Indian friends may not all of them appreciate or sympathise with the consecrated cobbler's creed, I am sure they will sympathise with and appreciate the lofty motives and the noble aims which consecrated the life of Carey to what he believed to be for the highest good of India. (Cheers, and "Hear, hear" from Mr. Bonnerjee and Mr. Naoroji) But the standard is raised, the flag is unfurled of a new movement—the political regeneration of 200,000,000 of people under our control. I believe that we in Northampton shall respond most heartily to the call that has been made upon our sympathies and convictions, that we shall most enthusiastically endorse the words that have been so eloquently uttered by our junior member, Mr. Bradlaugh. (Loud cheers.) I have often felt proud on former occasions that Mr. Bradlaugh represented us in

Parliament, but I do not think that I was ever prouder of him than to-night.
 [Loud cheers.] He has spoken with

A FORCE THAT WILL BE IRRESISTIBLE

words of peace and good will to the people of India that will find hearty response across the 5,000 miles that separate us from that country. We are asked to respond to this invitation to support a movement for the redress of Indian grievances, and I am sure we shall all say we shall be honoured in Mr. Bradlaugh devoting all the time and energy he can to the regeneration of India. Our idea of "British interest" is based on no miserably narrow, selfish conception of duty, but on the conviction that it is to our interest that India shall be well and justly governed, and nothing less will satisfy our aspirations than the gratification of the aspirations of our Indian fellow-subjects. [Cheers.] We have heard the voice of India to-night, and we shall respond most heartily to its cry. The liberty and justice we claim to enjoy ourselves we will demand shall be accorded to its people. We stretch out our hands to our brethren in India across the seas that divide us, and clasp hands with them in a hearty and earnest grip. Our sympathies are with them, our convictions chime in with theirs, and we trust that they and we may labour side by side for the triumphs of liberty and justice there as here, until at last we may find the flag of freedom flying triumphantly over a federation of free, self-contained, self-governing communities under British sway, as one grand step towards that "Parliament of man," that "federation of the world," of which our Poet Laureate sings. [Loud cheers.] I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. [Cheers.]

Mr. J. Rennie Wilkinson spoke in support of the resolution. He said: Mr. Mayor,—When I received an invitation to speak at this meeting in support of the resolution that has been moved I at once and most willingly acceded to the request, because I was very glad to have an opportunity of taking a part, however humble it might be, in trying to urge on my fellow countrymen the very great importance of listening to the voice from India. Ever since Professor Fawcett [loud cheers] received that honourable title of "member for India" I have taken a very deep interest in that part of our great Empire, and both by writing and speaking have done my little best to awaken an interest in the condition of the people there. [Cheers.] Miss Martineau, in an article she wrote, said, "We don't care for the people of India." What she said is unfortunately the truth. I think our neglectful attitude towards our great Empire can be explained, but cannot be justified. [Cheers.] India is a long way from England. We have very little communication with her. Her habits, thoughts, and customs are very different from ours, and if we find ourselves somewhat ignorant on this great question, it is not altogether surprising. But we must not put too much confidence in the opinion of our Anglo-Indian Governors. They will often cry, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." They will often profess smooth things, when things are not at all in a very satisfactory condition. We cannot shrink from the duty of governing India. We are the masters of the Anglo-Indian Government of India. The officials are our servants—[Cheers]—and it is our duty to make our servants do their duty. These Anglo-Indian officials look with supreme scorn on a meeting like the present. They regard the Democracy of England

with a great deal of contempt. But we are masters of the Indian Government. [Cheers.] And when we speak out as clearly as we did in regard to the abominable Cantonment Act they will have to submit. [Cheers.] The Indians cannot do much by themselves, but with the help of the English people they can do everything. [Cheers.] One Anglo-Indian official has said that "A cry for Home Rule may be raised before many years are over, and if raised at an inconvenient crisis may be exceedingly embarrassing." [Cheers.] May we not

LEARN SOMETHING FROM OUR EXPERIENCES IN IRELAND ?

[Cheers.] Thirty years ago Ireland was almost as far off as India is now, and we were quite as indifferent to the grievances of the Irish as we are now to those of India. But we have had a rude awakening out of our sleep. [Cheers.] For the last decade Ireland has dominated English affairs. We may say that Mr. Parnell, like Nebuchadnezzar, has put up whom he will, and put down whom he will. [Cheers.] His power has been great, and danger to England might have been terrible but for the changed attitude of the Liberal party. [Cheers.] Thanks to that change, the critical danger is averted. [Cheers.] We should learn a lesson from Ireland in our relations with India. If we do not there is a danger lest we should have to read on the walls of history that we had been "weighed in the balance and found wanting." [Cheers.]

THIS MEETING IS FULL OF HOPE

[Loud and continued cheering.] I am thankful that the cause of India has been taken up by you, sir [turning to Mr. Bradlaugh.] [Loud cheering.] I am glad her cause is in your hand. [Cheers.] Your indomitable will, the fertility of your resources, that have enabled you* to accomplish so very much already, gives us hope. You have overcome enormous difficulties before—you have removed mountains of difficulty [loud cheers] and I have every hope that you will be successful in initiating such a movement that will not slacken till India gets what she wants. [Loud eheers.] You will be a splendid leader [cheers.], but you must be backed up by the British people. [Hear, hear.] With the people of England, aye, and Scotland, Wales, and especially Ireland at your back—for those who have felt the iron in their flesh are the best to interfere in the cause of other oppressed nations [cheers]—with these at your back you will be able to accomplish much. [Cheers.] I am glad we have representatives from India here to-night. I am glad that you, sir [turning to Mr. Naoroji], have been selected Liberal candidate for Central Finsbury. Nothing is more calculated to stir up the ire of

ANGLO-INDIANS OF THE BASER SORTS

than the adoption of a native Indian by an English constituency. I will read you what an Anglo-Indian Journal said when Mr. Lalmohun Ghose was chosen a candidate for Deptford. It is too horrible to read it all, but here is a bit:—"Could a chimpanzee be trained to stand for a Borough, doubtless he would be found to have an excellent chance with a country constituency. And perhaps a chimpanzee would be a cleverer animal than this Ghose Baboo, whose publicly uttered sentiments in Dacca obtained for him the distinguishing title of pole cat." That is a specimen of the feeling the Anglo-Indian officials entertain towards the native Indians. ["Shame."] There is one more cause for satisfaction, and that is that we

have such a splendid meeting here. Let England only know what is going on in India, and

ENGLAND WILL SPEAK

[Loud cheers.] You shall not appeal to England in vain. [Loud cheering.] The Neapolitans appealed against the iron hand that crushed them. Poland appealed to the hearts of the English people, the Greeks, the Bulgarians, appealed and the English hearts listened to the cry. (Cheers.) They are slaves who fear to speak for the fallen and the weak. As the poet says:—

He's true to God who's true to man, wherever wrong is done ?
To the humblest and the weakest'neath the all beholding sun.
That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves most base.
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all the race.

[Loud and prolonged cheering.]

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously, amidst loud and long continued cheers.

Mr. NAOROJI then rose and said: The chairman has given the keynote to the objects of this meeting, and his tone to-night shows that we have come among real and sincere friends ; and I, therefore, on behalf of my countrymen and my friend here, tender to Mr. Mayor, and also to Mr. Bradlaugh, our sincere thanks for the interest they have taken, for the impetus they have given to the movement, which I hope God will prosper. (Cheers.) And you must remember that, no matter what may be the difficulties of any great cause, whenever that cause is true and is just, it will ultimately triumph. It may be regarded as the greatest triumph, the greatest fortune, the greatest privilege to him to whom the lot falls to initiate a great movement, and if it be your good fortune to represent the British public, I regard this as the voice of United Kingdom, showing your good will to your fellow-subjects, the 200 millions of India. I propose that the best thanks of this meeting be offered to the Mayor for undertaking the duty of presiding. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. BRADLAUGH seconded. He said : Friends I take leave to second the vote of thanks to the Mayor because I want to thank, without exception, the people of Northampton for the hearty vote given this evening. But I trust you will not regard it as a mere evening's pleasure ; I trust you will regard it as an entrance to serious work. In that light I accept it, and in that light I personally thank the Mayor for presiding at this meeting, and second the motion that your thanks be given to him. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bradlaugh then put the proposition, which was carried unanimously, and amid great cheering.

The MAYOR, in reply, said : Gentlemen, I usually thank you with a few words, and no more ; but to-night we are starting out on a new errand, and I must fully respond to the statement of Mr. Councillor Campion that Northampton has a history in connection with India. We have a warm heart towards India, and as he said that he never felt prouder of Mr. Bradlaugh, I share his feeling most fully. (Applause) I am sure the heart of Northampton will pulse with the heart of India, for the throb of humanity is common to all. (Loud cheers.)

The meeting then dispersed, the universal feeling being one of hearty sympathy with the objects sought to be attained.

THE PRESENT PROBLEM IN INDIA.*

Mr. Jowett, in the felicitous speech in which, on behalf of his Balliol brethren, he bade the new Viceroy God-speed, laid his finger on the root difficulty of Anglo-Indian rule. India, he said, is an Asiatic country which cannot be altogether governed by Asiatic methods. The Master's fine touch was felt in the word *altogether*. English statesmen have long recognized the main difficulty, and it has never been more trenchantly set forth than in the June number of this Review. Every careful observer perceives that India cannot be held down by British Viceroys as it was held down by the Moghul emperors. It is equally apparent that any sudden change to English forms of Government would be attended with the gravest dangers. We ourselves have set forces in motion in India which render it impossible for us to stand still. The old native props of empire are undermined or have fallen away. How far is it practicable to utilize the new forces in their place? This is the perennial problem which, in varying forms, each ruler of British India from Clive downwards has had to solve at his peril. At one period it presented itself as a military necessity at another period as a diplomatic necessity; at a third period as an administrative necessity; but at all times as a necessity so imperative, that any attempt to shrink from it has been a sure sign of weakness on the part of a Governor-General. It is a difficulty that underlies our whole position in India, a difficulty to be encountered not by heroic remedies, but by timely precautions; a problem not of reconstruction or substitutions, but of transition and development.

Twice during the present century this problem has received a memorable solution. It is now presenting itself a third time with an insistence which will admit of no long delay. . . . Alike to the princes and the people of India, it has been a counsel of self-preparation. Fit yourselves for the fulfilment of the Sovereign's promise, says one Viceroy after another to the people of British India, and that promise shall be fulfilled. Be strong, they say to the princes, strong with the strength of a righteous rule, and of wealth, and of knowledge. The princes and people now answer in effect that they have done their part. The princes are become strong. A new generation of feudatories has grown up in the Indian Etons which Lord Mayo and other Viceroys established for chiefs, or under the tuition of the picked English officers appointed to train them to noble standards of public responsibility and of personal duty. They now ask to be allowed to use their strength for the defence of the empire. The people of the British provinces point to the three qualifications of "education, ability and integrity," prescribed by the Queen's proclamation. As regards integrity, they affirm that in the branches of administration to which they have been freely admitted, in the dispensation of justice, in the conduct of public instruction, in the department of finance, their integrity is now publicly established and authoritatively acknowledged. As regards ability, they claim that in the administration of justice they have proved themselves superior, and in the general conduct of public instruction equal to European officials of the same class; while they have given promise of high efficiency, so far as scope has been allowed them, in the department of finance. In these branches of the unconvenanted service

*Contributed by Sir William Hunter to the September number of the *Contemporary Review*.

to which they have been admitted, they desire that the evidence of their integrity and ability may be laid before a body appointed by the Queen or by Parliament. With reference to the Covenanted Civil Service, to which they have not yet been practically (although nominally) admitted, they ask that their fitness may be determined by precisely the same tests, conducted in their own country, as the examination by which candidates for that service are selected in England. As regards the third qualification mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation—namely, education—they point to the three-and-a-third millions of pupil in schools directed or recognized by the State ; to the thirty thousand young men who, during the last ten years, have passed the entrance examination of the Universities; to the six thousand who have obtained degrees in the three older ones alone, besides the vast numbers who have stopped short at lower diplomas or certificates. They maintain that as far as education goes, the classes from whom the upper grades of public servants under our English rule are drawn, have complied with the test prescribed by the Queen's Proclamation with a cordiality and success unexampled in history. The princes and people alike claim that, in their different way they have done their parts. They now ask in their different ways, that the ruling power shall do its part. This is the great problem, which lies before the new Viceroy of India.

But it is not the whole problem. For we have not only given pledges which we are asked to fulfil, we have also nurtured aspirations which we are expected to satisfy. We have chosen as our school books for India the splendid narratives of English freedom we have compelled the university youth to study the great masters of English national eloquence. The list of works officially prescribed for the colleges of India is in itself an education in political rights. And we could not have done otherwise. For the English language, if expurgated of the language of liberty, would be no vehicle for the education of a people. During a full generation, according to the Asiatic span of life, we have forced upon the educated classes of India the political ideas of England. Is it any wonder they should now demand some of the political institutions of Englishmen ? It is no sufficient answer that those political institutions were in England of slow growth. So also were the political ideas of England of slow growth ; so also was the science of England of slow growth ; her economic doctrines, her free trade, her popular education, her system of sanitation, her railways, her telegraphs, her penny post, were all of slow growth. But we, in our ripe age, have taken all these slow growths of England, and have forced them in their maturity upon India. We have pressed the political ideas of England on India, we have compelled India to learn England's science, to accept our economic doctrines, our free trade, our popular education, our sanitary theories, our railways, our telegraphs our cheap post. We congratulate ourselves, and rightly congratulate ourselves; at the rapidity with which these slow growths of England have sprung up into vigorous life upon their new Asiatic soil. We call the result progress, and proudly point to that progress as England's work in India.

But when the tree of knowledge which we ourselves have planted begins to bear its fruit, when the instincts of nationality which we ourselves have awakened begin to throb in the Indian heart, when the progress of

We are so proud in all other directions begins to take a political turn, then some of us fancy it a sufficient answer to point out that the political institutions of England are of slow growth. That, assuredly, will not be the answer of the English Nation. I am not one of those who think that we can safely accept the logical consequences of our position, and grant political institutions to India at as rapid a pace as we have forced political ideas upon her. I prefer the simpler and more honest course of admitting that the speed in the propagation of ideas and in their political realization must be different. And I am glad to find, from the moderate resolutions of the Indian National Congress, that the responsible leaders of educated India take the same view. We must candidly acknowledge that we have not allowed the Indian races to work out for themselves their new civilization. We have forced upon them our Western ideas *per saltum*. Our aim should be, by a steady and well-considered advance, to prevent our Western Institutions coming also in on them at a rush. This impossibility of accepting with safety the logical consequences of our own action and tracing—this inherent, but, I trust and believe, temporary, falseness in our position, is the first great complication in the present problem in India.

The second complication proceeds from a different cause. In our haste to educate British India on Western methods, we have modernized the intellectual classes, without allowing our system time to leaven the Asiatic mass. We have, therefore, two populations in India to govern—a population, comparatively small in numbers, but powerful in energy, wealth and intelligence, who have accepted the political views, and are now asking for some of the political institutions of the West; and another population, far more numerous, but silent and inert with the silence and inertia of the East. To Englishmen of our day, accustomed to universal popular education and to almost universal suffrage, such a state of things seem unnatural and anomalous. But we are apt to forget that popular education and an extensive suffrage are, even in England, essentially products of our own time. The England which won for herself a foremost place in Europe in the last century was a country in which a great gulf separated the intellectual and ruling classes from the unenfranchised and uneducated mass of people. While our system in India has during thirty years been increasing the distance between these sections of the population, our whole efforts in England during the same thirty years have been to diminish it. To our grandfathers, with their firm belief in a governing class and a governed mass, and their quasi-religious sanction for contentment in the position of life to which men are called, the spectacle of a small, but intelligent and political active body standing forth as the leaders of a politically inactive population, would have seemed by no means natural. Until our own days distinctions of this sort formed alike in the East and West, the accepted basis of social order. In England, the present programme is to efface to political effects of such distinctions. In India, the result of British rule has tended to substitute distinctions of intelligence, wealth, and political activity for the old distinctions of race and of taste.

There will always be leaders of a people. I believe that it is infinitely safer for England that the basis of leadership in India should be an intelligent political activity, which we can understand and reckon with rather than caste prejudices, which refuse to listen to reason. Popular leaders of

any sort may, to the bureaucratic mind, seem a nuisance. But, as there must be popular leaders of some sort, even such thinkers will admit it is better that they should be of a class inconvenient rather than dangerous. In this, as in many other matters of Indian government, the policy adopted since the Mutiny has substituted a system of daily friction for a system of disastrous surprises. In a truly conservative country like India, with powerful aristocracy and with masses of small proprietors and tenure-holders firmly rooted in the land, the natural development of that policy will raise up, and is at this moment raising up, safeguards against excessive demands of any particular class. Meanwhile the wide difference between the educated section of the Indian races and the great body of the people undoubtedly intensifies the difficulty of the situation. I do not think it an adequate answer, to bid the intelligent and politically active class wait till the masses come to something like their own level. Such an answer would, in all countries and in all times, whether in ancient Greece and Rome, or in modern Europe, or in England down to within the last twenty years, have been no answer at all. The safe and honest course is to acknowledge how seriously political progress is complicated in India by the wide difference between the politically active section and the masses, and to resolutely accept the problem with all its difficulties rather than to leave its solution to less cautious workers.

I have called this problem the present problem in India, for I believe that several influences are now gathering strength which will compel its consideration. The Indian political leaders have attentively studied the methods by which the great colonies of Britain enforce attention to their wants. They have established, on representative basis, an annual Congress, which powerfully expresses their views. It is easy to point out defects in the electoral constitution of that body, and it is perfectly true that a section of the Mahomedans have held back from it. But an assemblage of six hundred deputies, coming together at a great personal outlay and at much personal self-sacrifice from all the provinces to state their political wants and each one of them claiming to be the duly authorized mouthpiece of a town or district or local electoral body, is a phenomenon never before witnessed in India, and of grave import to all serious men. The assemblage contains representatives of all classes of the Indian community, from the Mahomedan princely houses and Hindoo Rajahs, down to the petty tradesman, the artisan, and the peasant. It is attended by men of all the Indian races and religions, Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsis, native Christians, Eurasians, and permanent European settlers in India. Each year its electoral organisation becomes better developed its sense of responsibility and its consciousness of power increases the Mahomedans taken a more important share in its proceedings, and it justifies more fully its claims to be considered a National Indian Congress.

Having thus created an authoritative organ of political expression in India, the Indian leaders are now establishing an Indian Political Agency in England. In taking this step they have been influenced by the example of the various Colonial Agencies in London. Whether such an Indian Agency will have useful results or any permanent existence cannot yet be foreseen. For while the yearly National Congress in India has become an accomplished fact, the Indian Political Agency in England

is in the first experimental stage. The Agency will have to encounter two dangers from which the Indian Congress is exempt. The success of the Congress has been largely due to the strong conservative element in its organization and control. But that conservative element has still a distaste for the voyage to Europe, and, however able the direction under which the Indian Political Agency has now started, a difficulty may arise in keeping it under the personal guidance of the cautious and responsible leaders in India. The success of the Indian Congress is also due to the fact that it has confined itself to stating its own case and to minding its own business. The second danger of the Indian Political Agency in England is that, in its desire to make friends, it may be led into alliances with extreme parliamentary parties. I sincerely trust that its managers will take a higher view alike of their own duty and of the English nation : that they will realize that this joint question of justice to India and of the stability of our rule in India, is not a question for any knot of politicians, but, please God, for the whole British people. Apart from speculations as to the future, we now actually see the two strange phenomena of a spontaneous native Parliament in India, and an Indian Political Agency in London.

There are also two other influences vigorously at work which tend to compell action : the English and the Indian Press. Until recent years, the Press in England exercised scarcely any influence on Indian affairs. At certain great crisis, or on the renewals of the East India Company's Charter at intervals of twenty years, there was a faction fight of pamphleteers. But in the Press, as in Parliament, Indian questions were regarded as the most dreary department of party polemics. There was no authoritative body of facts before the public ; Indian affairs were an art and mystery for experts who never agreed ; Indian debates were wont to lose themselves in a welter of contradiction and uncertainty. Soon after the management of India passed from a close corporation to Parliament and the nation, the Queen's Government determined that the data should be supplied to enable the control to be intelligently exercised. The measures taken under six successive Viceroys have now placed the facts regarding every province, district, and town of India before Parliament and the English public, with a completeness and in an accessible form, such as has not been yet accomplished for any country of Europe. Indian questions have ceased to be almost necessarily questions *a priori* polemics : they can be dealt with by the deductive methods of honest discussion, and criticized on the basis of verified facts. This change will not disclose its full results until the next great Parliamentary inquest on Indian affairs.

Meanwhile the Press in England brings to every salient event of Indian administration, whether a threatened scarcity, or a tribal disturbance, or a town riot, or a frontier raid, or a native State crisis, or a preventable outbreak of disease, a well-informed, criticism before unknown. The increased interest of Englishmen in Indian affairs is shown, not only by a flow of articles in the monthly, weekly, and daily Press; but also by the efforts of the purveyors of news. Scarcely a morning passes without a newspaper telegram from India. The special Monday telegram in the *Times* form one of the most striking feature of English journalism in our age. I take the *Times* of the day on which I write these pages, and find

that its Indian telegrams aggregate 2,414 words, which, if paid for at the ordinary rate, and not under its own arrangements, would represent £482. This vast and costly body of information endeavours to present a picture of Indian affairs from week to week. The picture may be strongly coloured by the Anglo-Indian surroundings and sympathies of the correspondents. That is, perhaps, inevitable. But it is a picture such as was never before presented of the daily events of an empire six thousand miles distant. The English public are growing accustomed to regard Indian affairs as one of the many subjects of interest brought before them each morning. And any morning the wire may flash news of some measure, or some disaster, or some event, which will rivet the attention of the nation, and, for the time being make India the great public question of the day.

While the Press in England is thus becoming a more active factor in Indian affairs, the native Press in India has sprung up into vigorous, some indeed think dangerously vigorous, life. The native Press in India suffers under two disadvantages. In the first place it has grown suddenly into a power, without passing through that early period of discipline to which our own English Press was subjected. Such discipline may be too harsh or too long continued. But experience has shown that it is salutary to healthy youthful growth. It would be impracticable, however, to so far put back the dial-plate in any British dominion as to subject the Press to effective political restraints. In India, at any rate the attempt has been made, and has been deliberately abandoned. The result is that while the higher class of the native newspapers are generally moderate and loyal, and while the native Press, as a whole, is a distinct aid to good government in India, there are native journalists whose tone and utterances give deep grief to all true friends of India. Such utterances are vigilantly watched for by the Anglo-Indian Press, and are brought prominently before the public in England by newspaper correspondents and by telegrams. While, therefore, many of the lower native journals are foolish and violent, their folly and violence are made to appear even greater and more widely spread than they really are. It is as if a hostile German correspondent had telegraphed to Berlin the most foolish and violent things that were said in the least responsible English journals against Mr. Disraeli, or against Mr. Gladstone, as fair samples of the tone and character of the English Press. The whole of the Native Press suffers in the eyes of English critics from the misdeeds of its most unworthy members.

The responsible political leaders in India feel this as actually as their well-wishers do in England. A native member of the last Congress went, however beyond the sense of that assemblage, when he declared that the articles in some of the vernacular papers "would qualify, and should qualify, the writers for prison diet." The President of the Congress more wisely counselled moderation of tone and fairness in criticism. The truth is that, while we justly complain of a section of the Native Press, the Native Press complain with equal justice of certain of the Anglo-Indian journals. There is a constant process of mutual exacerbation and recrimination going on, of which we in England only hear the Anglo-Indian version.

It is of the utmost importance that the truth should be known in England about the Native Press. For it is rapidly growing into a political power in India. An attempt has for some time been made to impartially

collect the opinions of the native journals into a monthly summary of about 50 pages. This serial gives, under the title of *The Voice of India*, a fair and complete presentment of native opinion on all the principal questions dealt with by the Press during the preceding four weeks. I have carefully perused each number since its first issue and I know of no other means by which an Englishman can gain so clear or so interesting an insight into that strange new world which we call British India. He will be chiefly struck, I think, by the fairness and justice of the criticisms in general, and by the wide diversity of views among the native journalists themselves on the larger questions. It is a magazine which should lie on every English club table, and be filed in every English public library. All Englishmen interested in Indian affairs—alike the missionary, the merchant, and the statesman—would do well each month to glance through its pages.

The present problem in India is, therefore, to gradually but honestly fulfil the pledges given by the Sovereign to the people, and safely to satisfy the aspirations deliberately encouraged by her representatives. The problem is complicated by the rapidity and efficiency with which we have forced our political ideas and our Western modes of thought on India, and by the widened gulf thus placed between the active and powerful classes who have come under our influence and the more inert mass of the people. The solution of the problem is rendered pressing by the political organization which has, during the past three years, sprung into power in India, and by the growing influence of the Native press. The exact terms of the problem have of late been placed before the English Government and the English nation with perfect precision. For it must be remembered that we are dealing with no Laputa sages meditating *in vacuo*, but with a vigorous, practical and strongly organized movement, which understands clearly what it aims at, and which shows great skill in its methods enforcing its requests.

These requests, as embodied in the resolutions of the National Indian Congress, have been so fully explained in the *Times*, in this Review for July, in the *Westminster Review* for August and in many other journals, that I need only summarize them here. The Congress ask for the complete separation of the executive and judicial functions, so that in no case should a man be prosecuted and tried by the same officer. Much has been already done by the Indian Government to remedy this state of things, and the time is surely come, in all settled provinces of British India, to put an end to it altogether.

I have given prominence to the demands of the Congress in regard to the judicial and financial administration, because they are susceptible of clear and concise statement. Its political programme would require a more elaborate examination than is possible at the end of this paper, and I would refer the reader either to the *Times* articles of last May, or to the admirable exposition in the August issue of the *Westminster Review*. The Indian Congress desires to see the elective principle, which has worked well in the Indian Municipalities, very cautiously extended to the Legislative Councils. It desires that the right of asking questions—a right granted to all our greater colonies, and without which English Parliamentary government would now come to a stand in week—should be accorded in the Indian Legislature, subject to stringent safeguards, and formally exempting

matters connected with military policy from interpellation. It thinks that the time has come to repeal or modify the existing Arms Act. By this measure a population of small farmers, who in 1885 lost 22,907 persons and 50,029 cattle by snakes and wild beasts are to a large extent deprived of the means of self-defence. The time has obviously come to treat disarmament in the settled provinces of India, no longer as a question of policy, but of police. The municipalities and local boards responsible for local order might safely be left to decide as to the persons who may be allowed to use arms, and as to the restrictions to be imposed on carrying them. The Congress also desires that military colleges should be established, with a view to training selected youths for the army; and that a system of native volunteering should be sanctioned. It is understood that H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught is particularly interested in the former project. But both these proposals must be determined by military considerations with regard to which the opinion of a civilian like myself would carry little weight.

As to the demand for a fairer system of selection for the Covenanted Civil Service, the higher Engineering Service, and other well-paid branches of public employment, two things are clear. First, that by confining the examinations to England, we are keeping the Sovereign's promise to the ear, but making it of no effect. As the Earl of Derby said : "Suppose, for instance, that instead of holding these examinations here in London, they were to be held in Calcutta. How many Englishmen would go out there, or how many would send out their sons, perhaps to spend two or three years in the country on the chance of obtaining an appointment?" Secondly, that it is possible, by safe and cautious changes, to meet the fair requests of our Indian fellow-subjects. The age of admission to the Covenanted Civil Service ought to be raised to nearer its former limits. The success of the natives as judicial officers, and their desire that the executive and judicial functions should be completely separated, open the way for holding examinations for the Civil Service in India as well as in England. The judicial branches of that service might be recruited practically from the natives and Anglo Indians, by examinations held in India; while it might be reasonably and definitely declared that the executive branch demands physical and other qualities which can best be secured by examination, open to natives as to all British subjects, in England. The natives, by their fulfilment of the conditions laid down in the Queen's Proclamation, are rendering it really practicable to carry its promises. Thus, at one time it was supposed that while they would cordially qualify themselves for educational or judicial work, they would shrink from the training of the engineer. But a recent return shows that the number of students in Indian engineering colleges has increased by nearly one-half during five years, and now amounts to close on five-hundred. That the time has come to reconsider the method of appointing to this and other superior services in India, the recent inquiry conducted by the Indian Public Service Commission clearly shows.

The Indian Congress does not desire that action should be taken in regard to this or any other matter on its own statement of the case. What it asks is, that the evidence bearing on certain questions of Indian administration should be laid before a Royal Commission. This is the

substance of its first resolution in 1886, and all its later work has been to formulate the questions to be brought before such a body. It must be remembered that India was long accustomed to a searching Parliamentary inquiry every twenty years. The action of Parliament in 1813, in 1833 and in 1853, produced on each occasion salutary and timely reforms in the conduct of Indian affairs. Since India passed to the Queen, thirty years have elapsed without Parliamentary inquiry of this sort. Although, as we shall see, analogy between the two system is not perfect, yet if such an inquiry had been granted, even four years ago, it is probable that the Indian National Congress would not now be in existence. Six hundred representatives, of whom about one-half travelled on an average nearly a thousand miles apiece, while many journeyed over two thousand, do not come together without the conviction that they have very serious requests to urge. By delaying inquiry we are practically forcing the people to take the matter into their own hands. We are foolishly teaching them the use of political agitation.

A further delay, not necessarily to concede, but to fairly consider their requests, will still more disastrously teach them the value of political pressure. Lord Lansdowne has now to face a danger which no previous Viceroy of India had to encounter. He has to deal with an organized political agitation such as never before existed in India. During his tenure of office that agitation will either be rendered innocuous or it will become perilous. For the one thing that England cannot risk in India is an *imperium in imperio*. The cheers which answered the Master of Balliol's sketch of his old pupil's character had, therefore, a depth of meaning which seldom attaches to after-dinner applause. "He is one of those few men," said Mr. Jowett in wishing Lord Lansdowne farewell, "who can understand popular feeling and sympathize without being carried away by it."

I believe that as the East India Company, in the last century, passed from a trading body into a territorial rule; as its balance of power, based on native alliances, passed in the beginning of this century into a British Protectorate as that British Protectorate passed after the Mutiny into the India of the Queen; so the India of the Queen must now pass, in a larger measure, into an India for the people. In each case the change has been the result of forces which we ourselves have set in motion, but which when set in motion gather a momentum that we cannot with safety resist. In each case the change has been a natural development, inevitable in itself, and necessary for the continued success of our rule.

In India, requests are being made calmly and loyally, but firmly and persistently, to which we cannot further delay an answer. In England we have a strong coalition of political parties able to answer those request in the unmistakeable voice of the nation. Conservative Governments have, for several reasons, proved well fitted to deal with Indian affairs. They have not shrunk from carefully considered advance, and their decisions are rather less unpalatable to our own countrymen in India than the same measures, if the work of a Liberal Government, would be. For we must remember that the strong class-traditions of the Anglo-Indian community unfortunately render it opposed to native political progress. From the time when one of its orators proposed to lynch Lord Macaulay to the time when some of its members burned Mr. Isbert in effigy, it has always regarded Indian reform as a menace to its own caste, or to its interests or

prestige. Every humane man who knows how hard is the lot of many of our countrymen in India, would wish to wound their class susceptibilities as little as possible, and every wise man must desire that all changes in India should be introduced with the smallest race-friction. It is because the Conservative party, while refusing to allow these class susceptibilities to stand in the way of justice to the Indian people, had always dealt considerately with them, that it is peculiarly suited for the treatment of Indian affairs.

What is to be gained by delay? In India the question is still in the safe stage of a reasonable but persistent demand for inquiry. In England, we have a Government strong enough to deal with the question on its real merits. Put off, and the subject will pass beyond the calm stage in India; while in England, Indian reform may be rushed upon the nation with the first flood-tide of democracy. Meanwhile misrepresentation is at work, and angry feelings are being stirred up on both sides. From the days of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis downwards, Anglo-Indian discussions have been carried on with a vehemence of personal abuse which has done much to render Indian questions distasteful to sensible, fair-minded people in England. Foolish and irritating misstatements regarding the composition and objects of the Indian National Congress frequently appear in the English and Anglo-Indian newspapers. One day we are informed that the movement is "led by a renegade Englishman, who is now travelling about the country engaged in spreading his gospel of sedition." As a matter of fact, the Englishman who has most conspicuously identified himself with the movement is a retired civilian, who received the C. B., for his gallantry in the Mutiny, and who, after holding high posts under the Supreme Government and in his own province, has been induced by his scientific pursuits to remain in India. He is the only Covenanted Civil Servant of anything like the same distinction who is now a permanent settler in India, and it is a significant fact that he should range himself with the Native Congress in its requests for administrative reform. Yet because in so doing he has to oppose the local feeling among his countrymen, this distinguished and venerable officer, decorated by his Sovereign is "renegade Englishman." Another day we are seriously assured that the movement is the wicked machination of a dismissed native official. As a matter of fact, each year the Congress has been presided over by native gentlemen of high position, who had enjoyed or have since received marks of the confidence and good-will of the British Government. To all such silly misrepresentations the Congress has made one dignified reply. It has simply sent to every member of the House of Lords and of the House of Commons a copy of its verbatim proceedings, with a list of its delegates, showing the race, caste, and employment or social position of each one of the six hundred and seven.

I sincerely trust that the Congress will not allow any misstatements or perversions, however irritating, to tempt it out of its quiet and useful work. It must remember that Government has never expressed one word of disapprobation with its proceedings. So long as those proceedings are strictly legal and cordially loyal, it is mere folly of newspaper correspondents to attempt to attach discredit to British subjects who are temperately and respectfully asking for what they—and good Conservatives

like the late Chief Justice of Bengal—believe to be their rights. The Congress has only to go on respectfully reiterating its requests, in order that those requests shall be fairly considered. It must not only be impulsive under calumny, but it must expect a great deal of perfectly honest opposition, alike from the Europeans in India and from certain classes of the natives. For in the rigidly bureaucratic country like India, the whole official body, whether native or European, naturally tends to support the existing system and legitimately desires to stand well with the powers that be. The same remark applies to the attitude of the native gentry towards a Government which is to them the sole fountain of favours and honours. We must not be surprised, therefore, if certain of the native officials and of the native gentry, from honest conviction or from self-interest, oppose the Congress. Nor should English opinion be misled by occasional meetings in India of Native officials or individuals who think their interest lies in opposing the Congress. The wonder is rather, in a country where official promotion and distinctions are so highly prized, and where official favour still exercises so great an influence, that such a number of native officials and of native gentlemen of position should have boldly come forward to lead and direct the movement.

Nor must the Congress insist on getting what it asks, exactly in its own way. It desires a Royal Commission or a Parliamentary inquiry, and it points out that under the Company such an inquiry took place every twenty years. But the analogy is not perfect. For the periodical inquests of Parliament into the delegated administration of the Company may, perhaps, be held to be superseded by the direct daily control of Parliament under the Queen. I do not think that a Parliamentary inquiry or a Royal Commission would involve a temporary dislocation of the Indian executive or weaken its authority. But if the Congress can only convince Her Majesty's Government of the expediency of granting its requests, those requests will be granted either with or without such an inquiry. The five chief administrative reforms which it urges, in regard to the judicial procedure, the production of the Budget in the Legislative Council, the modification or repeal of the Act prohibiting the possession of arms, fairer system of selection for the superior services, and the raising of the limit of age for candidates for the highest of them—the Covenanted Civil Service—are questions which can be dealt with quietly and unobtrusively on the reports of the various Indian Commissions, and on the memorials from the Indian Chambers of Commerce and of the Indian Congress, which are now before the Government. The more strictly political programme of the Congress may require longer consideration. But meanwhile a substantial instalment of reform might be conceded, and the main administrative defects of the present system might be remedied, by the ordinary mechanism of legislation.

To men like myself, who keenly realize the evils of continued local friction and race animosities in India, but who are convinced that development on certain lines has now become necessary alike in justice to the natives and for the stability of our rule, there seems to be a real danger in delay. What we desire is that the question should be fairly considered on its merits by a Government strong enough to speak with the voice of the nation. What we fear is that the question may be forced upon Parlia-

ment on a side issue, by some mismanagement or misfortune in India, or by the mere recurrence of those scandals which form the natural fungus growth of worn-out systems. It is because we believe that England can now do safely and deliberately what she may hereafter be tempted to do with less calmness and in greater haste, that a cautious Conservative like Sir Richard Garth and men brought up in a quiet Liberal school like myself, urge the wisdom of present action. Meanwhile we are pursuing a shortsighted and perilous course. With one hand we are pushing on education and pressing our political ideas and Western methods of thought upon the people. With the other hand we are repressing the aspirations which we have created, and waiving aside the loyal and moderate representations which we have taught the people to make.

Among the marvels that Pilgrim saw in the house of the Interpreter was a fire, upon which one kept casting oil while another constantly poured water. Yet did the fire maintain its work and continually burn higher and hotter.

MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT WOODHALL SPA.

[On his way to the great county meeting in Nocton Park, Dr. Aubrey, the Liberal candidate for the Horncastle Division, addressed two gatherings at Woodhall Sta and at Telford. He was at the former place on Thursday, the 16th September, and was well received.]

Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, followed Dr. Aubrey, and said he was glad to have that opportunity of meeting the Liberal electors of Woodhall, and hoped they would be successful in returning Dr. Aubrey as member for their division. Toryism, however, its adherents might talk, never forgets and never learns, and the case of India showed this very clearly. Within the last quarter of a century the Tories had been in power four times including their present tenure. Shortly after they were in office in 1866 they declared war against King Theodore of Abyssinia, and charged the whole expenses of it to the Indian taxpayers, though, as was well known, India had little or no concern in the quarrel which led to that war. After coming into office in 1874 they changed the policy heretofore pursued with regard to the ruler of Afghanistan by the British Indian Government, and insisted that that potentate should receive the representative of Her Majesty in his Court. This he declined to do urging that his people were fanatical, that they could not be induced to tolerate a departure from the old policy and that he would not be responsible for the life of such a resident. His remonstrances were of no avail, war was declared against him, and he, poor man, rather than fight, ran away to Russian territory, and there died. His son succeeded him, and a treaty was made with him, and under one of the clauses of this treaty Sir Louis Cavagnari was placed in Cabul as the British resident. They all knew what happened. No sooner had the bulk of our army come back to India than the people rose, mercilessly killed Sir Louis Cavagnari, and the handful of soldiers left as his bodyguard, and our Government had to send another expedition to Afghanistan to punish the people. They were punished, but the idea for which the large sum of money required for these expeditions was spent, and the lives of the brave and valorous men and officers were sacrificed, was ultimately abandoned, and we were now as regards Afghanistan, in the same position as we

occupied before the Tories came into power in 1774, except that the money and the lives were gone beyond recall. Again, the moment the Tories came into power in 1885, they made war against Burmah, and since then the resources of India were being obtained for the purpose of pacifying that country which had been annexed, and had become a part of Her Majesty's territories. India was essentially a poor country. The vast majority of its people were as poor as they could well be, and notwithstanding this fact, which was well known to statesmen of all shades of politics, Indian money was being spent in the way mentioned. And how did they think the money was being raised? Why by increasing the duty on salt, which was an absolute necessity of the poor people, and by other taxation which though not quite exempting the rich fell with crushing weight on the poor. The people of India had no sort of voice in the government of their country. An elector in England had more direct power in the Government of India than the whole of the 250,000,000 of their fellow-subjects in India. The people there had from time to time lifted up their voice against this policy, but their voice had been wholly unheeded. Since 1885 educated Indians had been meeting in Congress to represent their grievances to the Government and to the people of Great Britain. They were loyal to the backbone, and were sincerely attached to the English connection. Their worst enemies would not venture to say that their mode of procedure was not thoroughly constitutional. It was a far cry from India to England, but he sincerely hoped that when the people of this country had satisfactorily dealt with the Irish question, which was now uppermost in men's minds, the Liberal electors would turn their attention to India. When once the questions that were agitating men's minds in that country were understood, he had no doubt the grievances of the Indian people would be speedily redressed by the people of this country. (Loud cheers.)

MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT TETFORD.

[On Friday evening, the 17th September a large and most successful meeting was held at Tetford. The village was *en fete* with flags and banners, and many enthusiastic Liberals came from the surrounding districts for miles. Dr. Aubrey was warmly welcomed on rising to address the meeting.]

Mr. W. C. Bonnerji followed Dr. Aubrey. He reminded the electors that they belonged to an Imperial nation, and that it behoved them to look beyond the four corners of their own country, and pay some attention to their possessions and dependencies. One of these, and that by far the largest and most important, was his country—India, inhabited by 250,000,000 of the human race. Their happiness and well-being were in the hands of the people of Great Britain, and they could not as Christian men and women turn a deaf ear to the petitions that constantly reached them from their fellow-subjects. The people of India had no sort of voice in the Government of their own country, and owing to this fact, many abuses had perhaps without consciousness on the part of the rulers, crept into the administration. The numerous wars, which had been waged with the funds of the country, had impoverished it beyond measures and to get money, wherewith to carry on the administration the Government had heaped tax upon tax on the poor people. And one of the saddest and most mischievous of ways, which had been devised to raise money, was the almost un-

iversal extension of the "out-still" system which threatened before long to convert a people wholly unaccustomed to intoxicating drinks from the beginning of time into a nation of drunkards. They knew what deplorable consequences ensued to their own country from the habit of drinking, and woud they not stretch forth their hand to rescue India from these consequences? The Chairman had asked him what the people of India thought of Lord Ripon. A wiser and more practical Governor-General had never held the reins of power in India, and he left the shores of that country with the blessings of young and old showered on his head. Lord Ripon's name was a household word with the people of India, who always refer to him with affectionate reverence as "Ripon the Just." (Cheers.)

MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT SPALDING.

[W. C. Bonnerji, Esq., delivered a public lecture in the Reading-room of the Liberal Club, Spalding, on "Our Indian Empire." Mr. G. F. Barrell, in the absence of the Chairman of the Club, (Mr. A. Alves) presided, and there was a good attendance, the Reading-Room being well filled.]

Mr. Bonnerji in an able and exhaustive address lasting for upwards of an hour and a half dealt with his subject in a masterly manner, and was listened to with rapt attention. In the course of his preliminary remarks he referred to the subject of the good Government of India as being one next his heart, and said that he felt that in the town which had the honor of returning such a representative as Mr. Halley Stewart, he need hardly plead for sympathy towards their Indian fellow-subjects. But sympathy to be of practical use must be active, and to have active sympathy it was necessary to know something of the country and something of its people. Many learned books had been written on the antiquity of India, on its social customs and its religious proclivities, but they did not, as a rule, touch upon the political situation, and the politics of a nation was the most important for its well-being. Amongst the vast majority of the English people, the knowledge of India was very limited indeed. Mr. Bonnerji then entered upon an exposition of the system of Government existing in India, and dealt with the political questions which engaged the attention of the educated Natives. The lecturer then referred to what the evils of India were. The Government of India practically owed no responsibility to any body. The people themselves have not the slightest voice in the matter, and when Indian questions are debated in the House of Commons the speakers have to address themselves to empty benches because so few English members of Parliament understand them or care to understand them. The consequence was that the *ipse dixit* of Sir Richard Temple, and a few others who have resided in India was taken without question. As for the Indian Budget by which the taxes are raised the Legislative Council never had the opportunity of considering it, and the people knew nothing about it until it is officially announced in the *Gazette*. He maintained that the Government should, in this and other matters, be directly responsible to the people they govern. Mr. Bonnerji then explained at length the various Native political associations that had sprung into existence in different parts of India, and said that these several associations sent delegates to a National Congress, the first Congress being three years ago, and over which he had the honor to preside. Seventy-three Native

gentlemen came together on that occasion, and they discussed the business of the Congress in excellent English and with a fluency and an eloquence which even in England itself could not be surpassed. A passing reference to Lord Ripon and his administration at this point met with hearty cheers. The speaker then dealt with the Afghan war and the scientific frontier which had cost this country so much both in money and blood describing the fears of a Russian invasion as the variest bogey ; the Burmese war which has already cost over six millions of money ; and the latest little war in Thibet which he ascribed to the genius of that profound statesman, Lord Randolph Churchill. Thus money which was urgently needed for peaceful modes of government was being squandered in warfare. Mr. Bonnerji put it to his audience whether Great Britain had not already sufficient Imperial Empire to govern without annexing Burmah and Thibet which would be an additional source of expense and never made to pay. He contended that Great Britain had already more than it governed wisely. In conclusion, Mr. Bonnerji in an earnest peroration assured his hearers that the majority of the educated Indians were in favor of a National Congress, and hoped that in no distant time the English people through their representatives would see to it that India had given to her some voice in the management of those political affairs which directly interested her, and so more firmly cement together the great Empires of India and England in one common bond of brotherhood.

After the cheering had subsided, Mr. Barrell expressed the pleasure it had given him to hear such a lucid exposition of Indian affairs, and said that directly the Irish question was settled, the English Radicals would not fail to turn their attention to India.

Mr. R. Winfrey proposed, and Mr. J. T. Atton seconded the following resolution :—

"That this meeting having heard Mr. Bonnerji's lecture on "Our Indian Empire" begs to tender him its thanks for his kindness in delivering it, and expresses its hearty sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects and its fervent wish that they may speedily obtain a far larger amount of Self-Government than they at present possess."

Mr. Winfrey said the story of the Government of India was the old, old story of the past Government of England. The Government of the few for themselves. The governing class of India were the official Englishmen who went out there, and whose chief aim was to look out for the loaves and fishes for themselves. It had been the same and was even still the same in this country. The Army and Navy and Civil Service were full of the younger sons of the aristocracy holding sinecure appointments, and huge sums of money were voted away every year by the fathers or the brothers or the uncles of these sinecurists who happened to hold seats in Parliament. These governing classes promoted wars from time to time in order to have the opportunity of handling more of the rate-payer's money and by killing or pensioning off to secure promotion in the service. If it was so in England, where the people had partial control what must it be in India, where the Natives had no say in the matter. Reforms moved slowly. It was only three years ago that the great bulk of the people of England obtained a voice in the management of their affairs, but he trusted that what the English people had been slow to obtain for themselves

they would more readily bestow upon India. One thing he assured Mr. Bonnerji that when Indian questions were being discussed in the House of Commons, the member for Spalding would be found at his post, ready with voice and vote to assist the Native aspiration in its struggle for a large measure of Self-Government.

Mr. Bonnerji, in returning thanks for the resolution, said he had already spoken several times in Lincolnshire and everywhere he had received the kindest sympathy. His friends in India would be much cheered by the good report which he could take home of his reception on English platforms. In conclusion, he proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

MR. W. C. BONNERJI AT LINCOLN.

[A lecture on "Our Indian Empire" was given in the Corn-Exchange, Lincoln, by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji. There was a good attendance, and the chair was taken by Mr. W. H. S. Aubrey, L. L. D., the Liberal candidate for the Horncastle Division, there being also on or near the platform Mr. J. G. Williams, Mr. Ald. Cottingham, Mr. H. Wyatt, J. P., the Rev. G. R. D. Austin, Mr. S. Udale, Mr. J. R. Cherry, Mr. Green, &c. Letters of apology for their absence were read by Mr. Cherry from Mr. Crosfield, J. P., Mr. Jos. Bennett, J. P., Mr. J. Richardson J. P., the Sheriff, Mr. Connor, &c.]

Dr. Aubrey, who was loudly cheered, said he had to thank them for the cordiality with which they had greeted him on that his first appearance in their famous and ancient city, an appearance which he hoped, if spared, would be often repeated in years to come. (Hear, hear.) He had come there in order that he might have the gratification of listening to his distinguished friend from Calcutta on a theme on which he was pre-eminently qualified to speak with authority. (Hear, hear.) It was, he felt, somewhat of a reproach that so many people in England knew very little about India. He was grieved to have to add that there were many who seemed to care even less than they knew. In his grand old days glorious John Bright was one of the best friends that India ever had in this country. But, alas! John Bright's work seemed to be done. Even Henry Fawcett, who was called "the member for India," said on a memorable occasion that he was filled with a sense of deep regret when he reflected upon what he had tried to do in connection with this matter, because it seemed to be so small. And since Henry Fawcett passed away to his rest, there did not seem to have been raised up in our country another man qualified and disposed to become the champion of the people of India. He (Dr. Aubrey) trusted that that reproach would soon be rolled away, and that they might come to realise how closely identified they were with their fellow-subjects in that great country. (Applause.) He had been in the House of Commons when what was called the Indian Budget was expounded. It had filled him with a sense of humiliation and shame to see twenty, fifteen, and even fewer honorable members present when the concerns of 250 millions of people were being discussed in the British Parliament. ("Shame.") He wished them to bear in mind in entering upon the engagements of that evening that they really had to speak of several mighty nations. They could scarcely realise what was meant by 250 millions of people—seven times as many as were to be found in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland—and all those were subject to

British rule. They knew that in former times the popular sentiment with regard to India was that it was a kind of Golconda to which the younger sons of the nobility might be sent in order that they might make the best possible fortune in the least possible space of time. (Hear, hear.) A change in some respects had come over the popular mind with regard to that, although there was still great room for improvement. (Hear, hear.) Much of what they heard came from returned Anglo-Indians, like Sir Richard Temple, whose marvellous lucubrations in the House of Commons were occasionally reported in the newspapers. (Laughter.) Now, all those retired Anglo-Indian administrators had returned home with the profound persuasion that the system there prevailing was the best possible system under the sun, and that they who had been administering the system were the most eminently qualified so to do. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) It was very hard to get them to look at it from other than a merely official point of view. Well, perhaps, it was natural that men like Sir Richard Temple and Sir Louis Pelley and others should suppose that the system was the best. Certainly it had done great things for them, for they enjoyed magnificent emoluments while they were there filling the post of Eastern *satraps*, and now that they had come home they enjoy magnificent pensions, and would be doing so until the end of their days. When they considered that there were about six millions of money taken out of the revenues of India in the form of pensions to persons in this country, they would understand how many there were who had come to the satisfactory conclusion that that was the best possible system that human ingenuity could ever have devised. Well, they would change all that before long—(hear, hear)—as he (Dr. Aubrey) hoped and believed they would effect a marvellous change with regard to the numerous leeches, limpets, and barnacles that clung to the ship of State in this country. (Applause.) They could scarcely realise what was absorbed in the way of expense for the special benefit of favored individuals, at the cost of the great mass of the people in India. When he told them that during the last 40 years the public debt of India had increased from £34,000,000 to £157,000,000, they, perhaps, would have some faint conception of the enormous burdens which the people of the country had to bear. Of course, a part of it had gone in the construction of railways, roads and necessary works connected with the storage of rain water and the supply of drinking water, but that was comparatively small when they considered the gross amount of the public debt. Now, how was that enormous taxation raised? Mr. Bonnerji would tell them far more effectively than he could hope to do, or would pretend to do, how the people of India were pressed and ground down under taxation which was almost intolerable. Out of the 250 millions, nearly one-fifth were comparatively living on the very edge of starvation—earning a few pence only a week, barely sufficient to keep body and soul together by means of boiled rice and a little salt, and that constituted the chief food of a very large number of those 50 millions of people. They read about famines, which seemed periodically to take place. Only that morning the newspapers reported that there was another famine which seemed to be impending in India. Why, he blushed as a Christian man and an English citizen, when he remembered that since 1800 thirteen millions of people had died of absolute starvation in India—

13,000,000 of them! and humanly speaking, their lives might have been saved. That was not a thing surely to be proud of in connection with British rule. (Hear, hear.) It appealed to their deepest interests of humanity so that on the broadest, noblest ground he thought they had a right to appeal to the people of England on a subject like that. He supposed there were in that hall not a few good and true Liberals. (Cheers.) Let him say to such of them as belonged to the same political color which he had the pride and privilege to wear that the Liberals should take a special interest in the matter of the taxation of the Indian people. (Applause.) It was a grand old maxim by which they stood, that taxation and representation should go together. (Cheers.) Now they wanted that good old rule applying to India. (Hear, hear.) At present they had it not or to an extremely small degree. The Council of the Viceroy in Calcutta was mainly a paper Council existing chiefly in name. There was reasonable demand that there should be an actual and an adequate representation upon the Council of men who by birth and position and intelligence were entitled to give their views upon matters which affected that enormous number of people. (Hear, hear.) It was also reasonable that the provincial Legislatures should have some kind of popular representation in them, and, therefore, they, English Liberals, went heart and soul with educated, distinguished and illustrious gentlemen like his friend on his right, who spoke with full knowledge and absolute authority on matters in which they were profoundly interested. (Hear, hear.) They had educated a certain class of their fellow-citizens in India, and had raised them to a rank intellectually equal with themselves. There were men second to none in the legal profession, in the medical profession in the walks of commerce and literature, and in science. Surely they were not to give those men high intellectual capacities, and then to deny them scope for their exercise. And that was one of the things which the Indian National Congress most reasonably and pertinently demanded. (Hear, hear.) There had been three of those Congresses. The last was held at Madras in December last year, and there were upwards of 600 delegates from every part of the vast continent of India, who came at great trouble, at much self-sacrifice, at their own expense, hundreds and thousands of miles, in order to attend that Congress, and to give expression to their national aspirations.

Of the first of those Congresses Mr. Bonnerji was President. He had attended the second and third, and taken a prominent and distinguished part in their proceedings. He would doubtless speak upon those matters to them that night; but he (Dr. Aubrey) begged them to remember that at that moment 250 millions of people, their fellow-subjects, were extending mute hands and imploring looks towards the people of this country. They knew that the reign of democracy had set in, and they very naturally and reasonably hoped and believed that the reign of democracy, entrusted to their hands, would be productive of untold and unspeakable blessings to themselves. (Applause.) He had now great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Bonnerji to address the meeting.

Mr. Bonnerji met with an enthusiastic reception on rising to deliver his lecture. He said he did not use the language of convention when he told them that it gave him great pleasure to be amongst them that night,

and he did hope they would carry away with them when that meeting was over some kindly sentiments for their fellow-citizens in India, and that each in his own respective sphere would do all that in him lay for the purpose of enlightening the minds of the people of England with regard to the people of India. Hitherto, as the Chairman had told them, India had not had a fair field at the hands of the British public. She had had her complaints smothered, she had never been allowed a fair hearing, and all because upto within a very short time she did not know how to make her voice heard in this country. All they had hitherto been hearing about India had been from those gentlemen, who, selected by this country to fill the ranks of the Civil Service in India, had written to their friends and relations their own views of the country, and when they had come back they had given in their own persons the views which they had contracted. Their friends and relations had disseminated their views among their friends and relations, and the result had been that if those views had been imminent to the interests of the people of the country they had taken effect, and there had been nothing on the part of the people of India themselves to contradict them. He hoped that in the future there would be an opportunity given to the people to make manifest their views of the questions which were agitating the country in India, and that the English people would give their views that some fair and just consideration which they gave to the views of their own countrymen, and if they were convinced that those views are right and based upon justice, he was sure they would accord to the people a helping hand, such as would enable them to occupy a better position than they at present occupied. (Hear, hear.) England had undoubtedly done great things in India. She had considerably improved the country in many respects, but she had not done that which she ought to have done in many other things. Some of those things it would be his duty to lay before them; but what she had done had been the means of winning the hearts of the people of the country. They were heartily loyal to the British Constitution, and they would consider him as their bitterest enemy who said that that connection should be severed. The dissatisfaction, which undoubtedly obtained in the country, was not dissatisfaction proceeding from disloyalty. It was their desire that the people of England should do them justice; it was as fellow-subjects desiring to have the privilege of calling their Queen their Empress, that they said "Give to us such of the blessings of political life which you enjoy in your country as you may think us fitted to enjoy in India." (Hear, hear.) The great misfortune of India had been that the people had been persistently maligned by those who had been sent over from time to time to govern the country. By that he did not mean all of them. There had been some few amongst them who had done justice to the people of India, and, if he might venture to say so, it was to those few, and to those few only, that they at the present moment owed the fact that the people of India were so supremely loyal. The names could almost be counted on one's finger ends—Sir John Malcolm, Sir John Munro, Mount Stewart Elphinstone, and men of that class—but over and above those names there was one which at the present time was blessed from one end of India to the other as the great saviour of the country, and that was the name of the Marquess of Ripon. (Prolonged applause.)

The Marquess of Ripon went out to India, and found scattered nationalities in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and in the North-West Provinces, and when he came away he had made those scattered nationalities into one homogeneous whole, into one nation. (Applause.) When they said "Let the Government honestly rely upon the help we are able to give"—because it must be borne in mind that the Government never had been able to do any good to the people without the help of the people, when they said. "Don't take our help surreptitiously, don't call us into your Chamber and there ask for our advice without any sense of responsibility, but let us, in the Council Chamber, openly give you the assistance and advice upon which you are to act." they were told they were not fit to give any assistance openly. They were fit to give assistance in private, but not in public. Whichever Governor-General had been ruler in India, when any question affecting the people of India had come before him he had sought the advice and assistance of the people in various parts of the country, but that assistance had been sought in the dark. The men who gave that advice owed no responsibility to any body, only to their own consciences, and as they knew a subject-people were apt—it was one of the things one could not understand, but it was perfectly natural—to season their advice in such a way as to make it not very unpalatable to the Government who asked for the advice and the result was that advice had been given which had not been productive of the good which the Governor-General undoubtedly intended to do to the country. Some of the reasons which were given as to why the Indian people should not be openly called upon to assist their rulers were that in social matters they were so far in the background. And one of the social matters which it was said kept the Indian people backward, and debarred them from enjoying the privileges of Self-Government, was, forsooth, that they had early marriages in their country. What early marriage had to do with Local Self-Government he did not understand. (Hear, hear.) If early marriage made the people irreligious or less intellectual than they should be, or if it interfered with their lives as good citizens, good husbands, or good fathers, undoubtedly they were not fit for Self-Government. One of the gentlemen, who persistently misrepresented the people of India, was the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*. (Groans.) The way in which they had greeted the mention of the *Times*, satisfied him that they in India were perfectly right in not paying a great deal of attention to what the *Times* said. (Hear, hear.) But their great difficulty was that although the leading articles in the *Times* were not considered worth consideration, the correspondence that was published from all parts of the world in that journal was looked upon as the utterances of people, who might be said to be almost inspired, and whose views of the people whom they misrepresented were accepted as gospel truth, the *Times* taking care that when any act of gross abuse was mentioned in its correspondence columns not to publish any contradiction with regard to it ("shame"), and he (Mr. Bonnerji) would not have referred to the *Times* at all had it not been that he accidentally came across an extract from the letter of the *Times* correspondent in that very good paper, called the *Christian*. The extract was to the effect that there had been recently two cases exhibiting the evil of child marriage, and the urgent need for reform. In one case the girl wife, aged 18, was branded with a red hot poker by her mother-in-law. In other a

girl, aged 11, was found by the Police dead, her throat having been cut with a razor. Her husband alleged that she had committed suicide. The correspondent went on to say that if the Native Congress would address itself to the reform of horrible social abuses its efforts would enlist European sympathy, but those barbarous customs were accepted apathetically, without the faintest attempt at amendment. Not being sufficiently acquainted with English social life, he (Mr. Bonnerji) did not know whether they had such an institution in the country as a mother-in-law. (Laughter.) In India, unfortunately, there was such an institution, and sometimes the mother-in-law, particularly when she found that her daughter-in-law was a young girl, did, to her shame be it said, use measures for the purpose of breaking the spirit of the daughter-in-law that could not be justified. But was it any argument that because out of 250 millions of people they had one solitary instance produced of a child wife being tortured that the whole of those people should be kept down by the law, and should not be allowed to ask for Self-Government. Why the other day he was reading in one of the Croydon newspapers the case of a man who was alleged to have committed such atrocities in connection with two of his daughters, one aged 11 and the other aged 10, that human lips ought not to utter the nature of them. Was it any argument that because in Croydon a man had made a boast of himself that therefore the people of Croydon should not be allowed to have Self-Government. (Hear, hear.) Same thing applied to the case of suicide. Then it was said that the Native Congress paid no attention to the reform of social evils. His answer to that was that the Native Congress was a political and not a social Congress. Wherever they went in India they would find a deep and fervent movement on the part of almost every right-thinking man to improve those social customs. (Hear, hear.) At the first Congress it was a question hotly debated as to whether social subjects should be dealt with by the Congress, and the result arrived at was that it would not be proper to deal with social subjects, when the chief aim of the Congress was political activity and action. But at the Congress another Congress was formed—a Social Congress—and that Social Congress discussed not only in Bombay, but in Calcutta and Madras, all social questions, and were trying to come to an understanding as to how the evils that were to be found in their society might be remedied. But they had to remember that society was different in various parts of India. Customs which obtained among one people, were not to be found amongst the customs of the other, though so far as politics were concerned they were all one. (Hear, hear.) They thought that no benefit could be derived by either Parsi, Mahomedan, or Hindu if all three sat down together to discuss their social customs. They left the Hindus to attend to their own customs, the Parsis to theirs, and the Mahomedans to theirs, and he was proud to be able to say that many of the customs, which interfered with the rapid progress of their society had been remedied, whilst others which had the sanction of ages, were being improved, and he had no doubt that as their national life extended as they had more political liberty, even those customs which were detrimental to the interests of their society would disappear altogether. (Applause.) In England, they had been told that they could not depend upon what the people of India said. He emphatically denied that charge. Those who made it had no knowledge of

the people. They could not take up a single book on the subject of the religious or social morality of India without finding injuctions against stating what was untrue. Those who accused them of untruthfulness were people who saw only the dark side of the Indian character. They were sojourners in the country, and had no connection with the people, except so far as they were brought before them as criminals or witnesses. Why, only the other day he read in a Lincolnshire newspaper that certain parties in the Spalding Division had been guilty of subornation to perjury, which was worse than perjury itself, and did anybody venture to say that the English people were, therefore, unfit for Local Self-Government? Having vindicated, he hoped successfully, the character of his country, it was necessary that he should call attention to what the Indian National Congress demanded. Let them speak to an Anglo-Indian, and he would tell them that the present rule of the British Government in India was the best possible rule under the circumstances. Under that rule, as the Chairman had told them, there were 40 millions of the people who went through life with insufficient food year in and year out. The Chairman had also told them that the average income per annum of the population in India was £2 sterling. The average earning of an ordinary Indian agriculturist was 3d. a day; not for himself only, but for him and his wife and children. They had, therefore, no need to thank the Civil Service for the rule which existed in India. It was a rule that had come down to them for thousands of years. What they had to thank the Civil Service for was that it had taken the whole of the life out of the system, and only left the bare bones. The Congress said that in the Councils there should be a larger admixture of the Native element than there was at present. In 1861, when the present Indian Councils were established by Act of Parliament, it was enacted that Natives should be appointed, and they were appointed, but not in such numbers as the people could desire. But what kind of Natives were they? The proceedings of the Council were conducted in English and there had been many instances in which the Native member appointed had not known one single word of English. One of these non-English speaking members was asked how he voted on questions which came before the Council, and he answered that he was grateful to the Viceroy for having appointed him, and he was very glad indeed to be able to support him. Asked how he knew when to support him, he said, "When the Viceroy lifted his hand I lifted mine, and when he dropped his hand I dropped mine." (Laughter.) That was the kind of way in which a good principle was carried out in India. Why was it that Parliament said that Natives should be appointed to those Councils? Was it not because Parliament felt that with the assistance of Natives they could govern them better than without such assistance? (Hear, hear.) And if they were to have that assistance why should they not call for assistance from the people who would be responsible to their own countrymen, and who, if they did not vote as they should, and promote measures which should be promoted, would lose their seats in the Council at the next election. There would be responsibility, whilst at present there was no responsibility, either on the part of those Native members or on the part of the official members appointed by the Government. The Government of India owed no responsibility to anybody. The House of Commons

was supposed to be the guardian of the interests of the Indian people. When any Indian question came before the House, it was with the greatest difficulty that the Government Whips could keep a House. There were five, ten, fifteen, twenty, at most thirty members present in the House to listen to the Indian Secretary, and after the Indian Secretary had sat down there were less still. He (Mr. Bonnerji) was present in the House on the occasion of the last Indian Budget debate, and when Sir Roper Lethbridge was speaking there were only three members present in the House including the Chairman and speaker, so that one solitary member formed the audience. How could one expect the House of Commons under those circumstances to take the least care of Indian affairs or to have any hold over the Indian officials. (Hear, hear.) Let them look at what Lord Salisbury did when he entered upon office in 1874. He made war with Afghanistan before the English public knew what he was about, and the result was that the reason for which the war was made had not been carried out. The result of the war had been a great loss of money, great loss of life on both sides, and in addition to that there were at the present moment some thousands of Afghan prisoners, who were being fed and kept as sumptuously as possible in the hill Districts out of the Indian revenues. The Government in India was supposed to be responsible to the Secretary of State, but the statesmen who became Secretaries of State were certainly not of the first rank. The Marquess of Hartington was once appointed, but as soon as other arrangements could be made he was made Secretary for War. Under the Liberals they had the Earl of Kimberley as Secretary for India, under the Conservatives Lord Cross, and neither of those could be said to be statesmen of the first class. The Viceroy and Council passed nearly eight months of the year in the hills, and how was it possible for him, being away from the touch of the people for such a length of time, to be able to understand and appreciate their grievances. Feeling all these grievances, the Indian Congress that met in Calcutta in 1886 passed these Resolutions—

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That was the scheme which had been put forward by the Congress for opportunities of Self-Government to the people of the country. It had been construed by some to mean that they wanted the English people to leave India to them, and that they wanted to govern the country themselves, but, as would be seen, the Congress expressly provided against anything of the kind. The Executive Government were to over rule, and the House of Commons was to be the supreme arbitrator. The scheme would make English rule in India a blessing in every sense of the term. He (Mr. Bonnerji) hoped that those who were Liberals, and, whose creed was that Liberalism has many-sides, would pay some attention to the wants of the people of India, and see what they could do to redress the grievances under which they labored. If there was any Conservative present he would appeal to him also, and whether his creed was that Conservatism was many-sided or not he hoped, at all events, it would be India-sided. India had not yet been made a party question in this country. Whether it was for the good or the evil of India that that had been the case he did not know, but so long as she had not become a party question he was entitled to appeal to the whole of the British public with reference to Indian matters. He for

one, however, should rejoice if India did become a party question. If she did she would become a burning question, and when she became a burning question, he was satisfied that the British public, in their generosity, in their desire to govern everybody justly, wisely, and according to the circumstances in which they were placed, would see that justice was done to the Indian people. (Applause.)

On the motion of Mr. C. Akrill, seconded by the Rev. G. R. D. Austin it was resolved unanimously : *That this meeting desires to express its deep sympathy with the aspirations of our fellow-subjects in India.*

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Chairman, and Mr. Bonnerji, on the motion of Mr. H. Wyatt, seconded by Mr. Udale.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S LECTURE ON OUR INDIAN EMPIRE

[At an evening meeting at Nottingham there was a large audience, over which Mr. H. Snell presided. The Chairman explained that the Mayor, who had promised to preside, had, under the press of duty, been called away suddenly that afternoon, and had written apologising for his absence.]

Mr. Bradlaugh, who was received with loud cheers, then delivered a lecture on "Our Empire in India, how we govern the Natives and how we ought to govern them." Starting with a reference to his recent notice of motion for a Royal Commission to inquire into the Government of India, he remarked that considerable danger was arising from the disposition of all Governments—for this was not a question—to monopolise the time of private members. It was urged that these questions were best discussed and agitated outside the House, but that was not correct, for there was always a tendency in public meetings for the speeches to be one sided, while in the House of Commons speeches were in the presence of critics who would reply to any inaccurate statement made. (Hear, hear.) He explained that his constituents had supported him in his determination to renew this motion next session, and that that lecture was intended to arouse public feeling on the question. Coming to the subject in hand, he said that our Government in India was a pure despotism, without any kind of discussion in the House of Commons on the fashion of governing it. Was it reasonable that two hundred millions of people should be governed from empty benches at Westminster, and that while they might have a full House to discuss Nottingham Tramway Bill, the Government of India was only discussed when many members had left for their holidays. India had been governed since 1858 by Secretary in Council sitting in London, and while there was a sedateness and dignity about the whiskers and spectacles of Lord Cross—(laughter)—which would make him hesitate to treat him with any lack of respect, he had never discovered that Lord Cross has shown any special aptitude for a position of higher authority than any other living man. The Secretary for India wielded a power greater than that of any Emperor in the world, and yet even on such small matters as the Burmah ruby mines question and the Irrawaddy flotilla he had been misinformed, and he suggested that he might be misinformed on greater. Repudiating any desire to give back what he had won in India by the sword as being impossible and unjust, the speaker

urged that if we held that country it must be by governing it in accordance with the interests of the people. The inquiry he asked for had been asked for by three Indian National Congresses in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. With regard to the allegation that these Congresses only represented the educated classes, he said it was true that the great bulk of the people had not the knowledge which enabled them to appreciate our Western civilisation. But those to whom we had brought under a Western education, which was not theirs, had gained a higher appreciation of happiness and a higher sensitiveness to wrong. England had broken the thrones, which, good or bad, were theirs ; it had accepted the responsibility of identifying itself with the happiness or misery of the people, and he pleaded with them for the two hundred millions who were under our care. (Cheers.) With regard to the composition of these Congresses he quoted a book by Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, who he remembered as a Conservative Barrister in England, that for most part the delegates were of high social position, and the recognised leaders of Native thoughts ; that many of the abuses complained of were real and serious, and some of the proposed reforms would be to the advantage of India and to the strength of the English Government. Mr. Chamberlain at Bradford said the condition of India was one of unexampled prosperity, but Sir W. W. Hunter recently stated that 40 to 50 millions of the population were always on the verge of starvation. The Government reports stated that in the best seasons the gross income of a labourer's family did not exceed 3d. per day, and though Sir J. Gorst boasted that the revenue had increased, that was due to an increase of 25 per cent. in the salt tax paid by these peasants. From 1861 to 1878 we, said the speaker, had starved 12,021,420 people in India, and he illustrated that by referring to the famine in the North-West Provinces in 1878, which was due to the excessive taxation imposed in order to spread the blessings of civilisation to Afghanistan. (Cheers.) Before that taxation was imposed the authorities were warned by the tax collectors that the peasantry would be unable to pay it—the warning was unheeded, and more than a million persons died of famine in the North-West provinces. ("Shame.") The Natives of India demanded the abolition of the Council in London, that half of the Legislative Councils in India should be elected, that Natives should be eligible for election, that there should be a limited suffrage and that the Civil Service should be reformed in accordance with promises given after the transfer of the Government from the East India Company. Concluding an eloquent appeal on behalf of the Natives, Mr. Bradlaugh added, "I have put my hand to this plough, and I will break either wood or steel, or else I will drive it through." (Loud and continued cheering.)

[MR. JAQUES presided in the evening, and having introduced the lecturer.]

Mr. Bradlaugh stated that the subject of that evening's address was "Our Empire in India; how we govern the Natives and how we ought to govern them." He attached more importance, he said, to this subject than to either of the other two he had dealt with. It affected directly over 200,000,000 of human beings and indirectly over 54,000,000 others. Since 1858 they had

governed India by a Secretary of State in London, who was all-powerful, and who could overrule the Viceroy of India. The Viceroy was not subject to Parliamentary control altogether, as officers from the Prime Minister of England downwards were. The Legislative Council of India had no freely elected members; they were all selected by the Viceroy. (Shame.) There had not been any Parliamentary inquiry into the Government of India since the year 1853. Many leading politicians did not know how poor India really was. Even Mr. Chamberlain spoke of the unexampled prosperity of the Indians the other day, while the fact was that three pence a day was average wage for a whole agricultural family. (Shame.) The request of Indians was, in his opinion very moderate. They ask to be allowed to take part in the legislation of their own government. They did not ask that the elected legislative government should have all their own way. Why should they in England, he asked, be taxed to keep soldiers in India for her protection when she had good and able soldiers of her own. (Applause.) He concluded an able lecture by urging upon his audience the advisability of studying the subject. He had made up his mind to have an enquiry into the government of India, and that lecture was part of a campaign he intended carrying on all over the country to get the people interested in the question. (Applause.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S LECTURE ON OUR DUTY TO INDIA.

[On Tuesday evening the first of a series of lectures to be delivered in Ardrossan U. P. Church, on behalf of the organ fund, was given by Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, on there was a good audience.]

On the motion of Mr. A. Guthrie, Mr. John Galloway of Kilmeny took the chair. In introducing the lecturer, he said India was the most important dependency of the British Crown, and unfortunately we knew very little regarding it. At Sir William Wedderburn's hands he was sure they would hearken to an interesting and at the same time a very instructive lecture, and he bespoke for him a patient and appreciative hearing. (Applause.)

Sir William Wedderburn on rising said that when his friend Mr. Guthrie asked him to give a lecture on India he readily agreed, for he was always glad of an opportunity to say a word on behalf of the long-suffering and unrepresented millions of our great dependency. (Applause.) He had to confess with regret that, as regards India, the British nation had left undone those things which they ought to have done. On the other hand he was glad that their sins had been those of omission and not of commission. Though great wrongs had been wrought by the Indian Official Government, the British nation, whenever it made the popular will felt, had exercised it in support of equal justice and to promote the moral and material welfare of the Indian people. What was wanted was more popular interest in India, and Parliamentary control over the Indian administration. In many respects India was in a precarious and ever-critical condition. The financial condition was very unsatisfactory. Then there was over-taxation falling upon a poverty-stricken people. People here hardly realized how very poor the Indian people were. Their income was, upon an

average, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d a day. Yet these people were being taxed, in proportion, double what we paid ourselves. For example, there was the salt tax, which operates, as a pole-tax upon the poorest classes of the community. This tax had been increased in the present year, and amounted to 2,000 per cent. upon the cost of production. This taxation fell upon people who were on the verge of starvation. Sir W. Hunter, Director General of Statistics, told them that one-third of the Indian population went through life without ever thoroughly satisfying their hunger. And during the last sixteen years twelve millions of people had actually died from famine. These were facts which should make this country realise its deep responsibility with regard to these silent millions. But he regretted to say that the indifference and neglect of the country was reflected in Parliament, which gave to Indian affairs only one day in the year, and that at the fag-end of the Session, when the Indian financial statement was made to empty benches. Since the time of the late Professor Fawcett, the Indian Budget night had simply been a discreditable farce. What was the cause of their neglect and indifference? Perhaps one cause was a sort of despair of understanding Indian questions on account of the magnitude of the subject. No doubt India was a big business. It was a continent rather than a country, and was as large as all Europe, leaving out Russia. To realize the distances, lay the map of India on the map of Europe, and they would find that Bombay corresponded with London, Madras with Rome, and Calcutta with St. Petersburg. Then there was the enormous population, 250 millions, 7 times the total population of Great Britain and Ireland; with all the differences of language, race, caste, and creed. However, much of this difference was superficial, and the Indian problem was not really as difficult as might at first sight appear. These different races, Rajpoots, Moguls, Afghans, Sikhs, had over-run provinces, but they were in origin often nearly as much foreigners as we ourselves. Underlying these various conquering races was the great mass of the agricultural population, the Indian ryots, gathered together in their ancient village communities, and these were much the same all over India. These village communities had remained the same for countless generations, and were probably old established institutions when Alexander the Great met King Porus on the Banks of the Indus. They must bear in mind that in India agriculture was the only great industry, the agricultural class forming 80 per cent. of the population, as against 12 per cent. in England. The ryot was, therefore, the most important personage in India; on his industry all other classes depended Atlas-like, upon, his shoulders he bore the whole great fabric of the Indian Empire. This fact much facilitated the economic problem. For these village communities so much resembled each other all over India, that if they discovered how to make one village contented and prosperous they had got the clue to make all India contented and prosperous. For these reasons the lecturer desired to introduce the British public to "the Indian Ryot at home," and he gave some detailed particulars regarding the village system, showing that it was in its origin purely agricultural, and that in its construction it was simply an expansion of the domestic unit—the undivided Hindu family—the members of which lived united under the management of the father, owning the cultivating the ancestral lands in common. After describing the poverty of the Ryots the lecturer said

that the Indian Council consisted of superannuated members of the official hierarchy who, after administrating India according to their fancy, retired to Westminster, and there sat in appeal. How could anyone expect justice from them as it was against their own official acts that the complaints were made. Edmund Burke, 100 years ago, tried to establish a Parliamentary control over the Indian Official hierarchy, but this has not been done up to the present day. If the public would insist on this, they would be in a position to discharge their duty towards the Indian people. In former days it was difficult to know what the Indian people really wanted. Now that difficulty existed no longer, for the Indian National Congress had formulated their prayers. These prayers were most moderate and reasonable, and were put forward in a constitutional and respectful manner. They referred mostly to matters of administration, such as the expansion of the Legislative Councils, the separation of the judicial and executive functions, the reduction of military expenditure. But above all they asked for a Royal Commission of enquiry. They did not ask that any of their proposed reforms should be granted at once; only that this Commission should be appointed to give an ear to their grievances, and pass a just decision. (Applause). Even if justice to India involved loss and sacrifice to this country, he considered that justice should be done. But, as a matter of fact, if they did their duty to India, and made the ryot prosperous, it would be enormously advantageous to themselves. Did they realize what it was to have 250 millions of customers, not miserable starvelings, but comfortable yeomen and peasants? In these days of foreign competition and hostile tariffs, such a commercial opening was not to be despised. To show what the custom of 250 millions of people meant, he gave, as an instance, that if each of them could afford to treat him and herself to one new cotton garment it would take a year to supply this order supposing that every day of that year they sent 1,000 miles, of cotton cloth into the port of Bombay. Similarly, a prosperous India would need an immense development of railways and steam shipping. At present India had only some 12,000 miles of railway as against 160,000 miles in the United States. Indeed every year the United States added as much to their mileage as the whole railway system of India put together. What a demand for metals that meant. Similarly agricultural India, if prosperous, would require immense quantities of chemicals for manure, and machinery for irrigation. Indeed, it might be said that there was nothing which the factories and workshops of Great Britain produced that India would not gladly buy, to the great benefit of all concerned. (Applause.) Summing up, the lecturer said that the spirit of the British nation, in dealing with India should be that of the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, a very noble document, which the Indians regarded as the sheet anchor of their hope. This is what Her Gracious Majesty then said to Her Indian people:—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward." (Applause.)

Rev. W. M' Gilchrist briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Sir William Wedderburn acknowledged, the compliment, and moved a similar one to the chairman, who he said, occupied an important position with regard to the development of India. As a principal partner of a great shipping firm he belonged to a class who were able to do an immense deal for the good of India and perhaps the great commercial interest was the only one that could bring any very efficient pressure to bear upon the Indian Office, which, he regretted to say, was apt to give a deaf ear to all entreaties. They had to listen to the great commercial interest, and were that influence exercised for the good of the Indian people very great benefit might result. He referred to the good done by Messrs Bright and Cobden, for which the former had gained the very deepest gratitude of the Indian people. (Applause.)

The Chairman, in thanking his audience for the vote of thanks, referred to the immense power of development that there was in our Indian possession were it properly governed and the resources properly developed. It was a subject which should be stirred throughout the whole length and breadth of our land. (Applause.)

SIR J. B. PHEAR ON THE CONGRESS.

[Sir J. B. Phear, formerly a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has addressed the following letter to a friend in India.]

"I view with extreme interest the widely-extended movement of educated India, of which these annual Congresses are the manifestation. It is, of course, easy enough to speak of the meetings with derision, to identify them with Bengali Babudom, whatever that may mean, and to endeavour, by appeal to race or religious jealousy, to create divisions among the more advanced classes of Indian society with regard to them. But a dispassionate consideration of the proceedings at the successive Congresses, of the resolutions passed, and, above all, of the tone and material of the speeches made therein, can only, as I conceive, lead to a conviction of the folly, injustice, and mischief, which such an attitude implies. Doubtless no well-wisher of India would be disposed to exaggerate the degree of direct representation that has yet been reached in these gatherings. It is, however, I think, beyond question that the members, say, for example, of the Madras Conference, were, in fact, delegates from influential social centres, and spoke the all but unanimous voice of the English educated classes throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. And I cannot help thinking that Sir M. Rao was altogether right in his assertion that the movement was but the natural outcome of the English administration of the country, and that the Congress represented the very factor which is necessary for the further development of India. At any rate, it is not too much to say that the movement has betrayed the existence of a national force, and of a capacity for organisation, which henceforth must be taken account of by every Indian statesman, and which it must be his first concern not to counteract or overbear, but to associate indissolubly with English rule and the loyal service of the State. The approaching Allahabad Congress cannot fail to have exceptional significance by reason of the opportunity it will afford

for utterances from the specially important nationalities of the North-West, Central India, and the Punjab.

MR. WILLIAM DIGBY ON THE LETTER OF SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN.

[*To the Editor of the Times.*]

SIR.—In view of the letter of Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, on the Indian National Congress, telegraphed by your Calcutta correspondent and appearing in your issue of to-day, will you allow me, as the representative in England of the Congress movement, to state in very brief compass what the aims of the Congress, as authoritatively set forth, really are. They are these:—

1. Reform of the Supreme and local Legislative Councils to the extent, that half of the members may be elected, as regards the local councils, only by "those classes and members of the community *prima facie* capable of exercising electoral power "wisely and independently"; and, as regards the Viceroy's Council, by members of the several provincial councils; also right of interpellation and discussion of Budgets.
2. The separation of judicial and executive functions when vested in one and the same officer.
3. Military service in the higher grades to be open to Indians.
4. Volunteering to be encouraged.
5. The unequal incidence of the income-tax protested against.
6. Technical education to encourage indigenous manufactures desired.
7. The Disarmament Act of 1878 protested against; and
8. Consideration by Viceroy and Secretary of State of these resolutions asked.

In all the discussions which took place on these topics—discussions lasting three days—not one seditious or disloyal word was uttered. On the contrary, the most sincere loyalty was very frequently expressed by speakers from all parts of the Empire, and an earnest wish was repeatedly stated that the connection between Britain and India might be made more enduring and for the mutual benefit of both countries. A more striking testimony to the good effects of British rule in India than is afforded by the Congress and the Congress proceedings cannot be imagined. Hitherto that rule has been the rule of the conqueror; henceforth it will be with the consent of the governed, if the Congress proposals are granted.

It is surprising to find Sir Auckland Colvin opposing the Congress. Few Indian officials have hitherto been so ready as he to recognize the new India which British rule has called into existence. A few years ago I think you re-published portions of a remarkable article contributed to the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, entitled.—If it is Real—What does it Mean?—of which Sir Auckland was the reputed author. In that article the statement of Sir John Strachey (intended by him to apply only to material change) that the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the England of to-day than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon was accepted, a broader meaning given to it and heartily endorsed

The National Congress, representative of all nations and classes in India, not excepting even the Mihomedans—a section of whom only follow the aged and hitherto universally respected Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadur of Aligurh—conclusively proves the truth of the statement made by such eminent and able administrators as John Strachey and Sir A. Colvin both in its restricted and its wider sense.

APPENDIX I.

[The following are the cuttings of the articles and letters that have appeared in the English Press, in opposition to the movement.]

(*St. James Gazette.*)

The valuable declaimers who so loudly profess to represent public opinion in India often attract more notice than they deserve. They write so much on the wrongs of their nation in the Indian Press, and deliver such long harangues at so-called National Assemblies, that the spectator at a distance gets altogether a false notion of their importance. These self-elected champions of India belong for the most part to a section of the population which has never till now been of much account in politics. The Bengalis are astute, clever, and pushing; but the Bengali agitator is often a man of no position in the country, and represents no interests but his own. He can write and speak with wonderful fluency, and is in some ways a clever fellow enough. But if any one wants to know what opinions are really held by various Native communities in India; it is little use asking a Bengali orator or journalist. A man of quite a different stamp has now been speaking his mind.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, some time member of the Supreme Legislative Council, is one of the leading Mahomedan gentlemen and landowner of Upper India. He belongs to a distinguished family—a family which emigrating many years ago from Central Asia to India, took service with the Great Mogul. His father held high office at the Court of the last ruling descendant of Akbar and Jehangir; he himself becoming an official in the service of the East India Company. When the Mutiny burst, Syed Ahmed Khan was enabled to save the lives of a number of Englishmen and women. This he did by the exercise of unusual courage and prudence, and a great risk not only to himself, but to his family; some of whom were in Delhi at the mercy of the rebels. From that day till now Syed Ahmed has remained one of our truest friends. At the same time, he has never ceased his efforts to promote the welfare of his own countrymen, especially those of his own faith. A strict Mahomedan, though without the least taint of bigotry, he sees that if Mahomedanism in India is to hold its own, it must be equipped with intellectual weapons and training of the day. He is a Mahomedan reformer of the best type. The foundation of a large Mahomedan College for the education of the upper class of Mahomedans is due to him. His son, a Cambridge man and a Barrister, is a Judge of the High Court at Allahabad. Sir Syed Ahmed himself has been in England more than once.

What Sir Syed Ahmed says is this. It is time that we, Mahomedan gentlemen, should assert ourselves. These Bengali Babus, clever as they are, never ruled India yet; and if they expect to rule us, descendants of men who fought and ruled under Mogul Emperors, they are vastly mistaken. The Government of India has hitherto, for the most part, dealt

fairly with all classes. Lord Ripon, indeed, a kindly man, but weak and impractical, did no little mischief ; but we can afford to forget this if we only resolve to keep a better look-out in future. We must not be talked down by these Bengalis They are not the nation and can never be the nation.

It is to be hoped that English people will pay heed to what Sir Syed Ahmed says. He truly represents a class of men in India whom it is dangerous in the last degree to ignore. At the dictates of a few noisy newspapers and mob orators the school of politicians which Lord Ripon proudly led has gone too far. It has forgotten that impartial administration of justice, which admit the conflict of creed and race in India, is essential to the maintenance of a peaceful rule. Sir Lepel Griffin said some very true things on the subject at Gwalior, though his manner and his choice of opportunity were most objectionable. The same opinions expressed by a leading Mahomedan gentleman, a man of wide experience and proved ability, may be welcomed without reservation. To his own countrymen Syed Ahmed recommends patience, moderation, and some measure of reason in what they ask for. The Bengali idea that the English method of voting would secure a fair representation in some Indian Parliament he ridicules as preposterous. Representative institutions, as we understand them, are unsuited to India. It is time we acknowledged it.

The question whether Natives of India should be enrolled as volunteers, and should be given direct commissions in the army, is a difficult one. There is much to be said on either side. Sir Syed Ahmed believes that the desired concessions will in due course be granted ; indeed, in special cases something has been granted already. As to the admission of Natives to the Civil Service, the Syed is quite satisfied that the intentions of Government are favorable ; though he considers that we have not always been "wise in the manner of doing it." Nor is he alone in that opinion.

Sir Syed Ahmed's speech is virtually an admission that the Mahomedans, besides being numerically inferior to the Hindus, make as yet no pretence of competing with them in education, and consequently must rely for the present upon their social position and their prestige for obtaining as large a share in the Government of India as the more highly educated Hindus. Throughout his remarks there breathes a contempt for the Bengali Babu, the modern representative of a race, which, until the new education came, was the acknowledged inferior of the Mahomedan.

(The Times.)

Sir Syed Ahmed's onslaught upon the Bengali follows close upon Sir Lepel Griffin's, and we may take it that Sir Lepel Griffin's example inspired him. But what is perfectly fair and natural, when coming from a leader of the race which has always been more or less at feud with the Hindu was far from judicious when it fell from the lips of a Governor-General's Agent. Sir Lepel Griffin, it will be remembered, as laying the foundation-stone of a public library in the Mahratta State of Gwalior, His text was higher education for the Mahrattas, who are, by the way, Hindus, but Hindus with warlike traditions; and among the reasons he gave for advocating education was that the Mahrattas might take their rightful intellectual

place in India, and keep the Bengalis in their place. "You are their superiors," he told them, "in strength and in courage. They are only your superiors in noise and volubility." It is a pity that a Government official should have been so far tempted from his reserve as to use language likely to inflame the passions of one part of the Queen's subjects against another; and even the attacks which had been levelled against him in the Bengali Press were insufficient excuse for his eccentric conduct. But there is, nevertheless, much that is true, and much that is opportune in the substance of Sir Lepel Griffin's and Sir Syed Ahmed's speech. The Bengali has his merits. He is acute, eloquent and receptive of European ideas. He is an able Civil Servant. Englishmen have no wish to see him subjected to a new Rajput, Sikh, or Mahratta. Under British rule he is secure of his full rights, and possibly something more than his full rights, as against the other natives of India. But he has to remember that he owes these advantages entirely to our supremacy. But for that, his intelligence would be powerless to cope with the more masterful qualities of other Indian races. The Babu has hitherto had things pretty much his own way. His noisy agitation has been taken by too many people in this country as the voice of a united nation. His former conquerors have listened in contemptuous apathy. But all at once, in tones which cannot be misinterpreted, they remind the Bengali that he is in most respects their inferior, and that it is only the presence of the British in India which has made him what he is. It is not, perhaps, too much to hope that this plain reminder may make the Bengali a little more grateful, a little less voluble about what he asserts to be the denial of constitutional rights.

Both the Bengali and the Bengali's admirers in this country have forgotten the fact India is a country made up of races which we found in a state of continual warfare, and which only a firm hand prevents from gratifying their traditional feuds. We have little doubt that the picture drawn by Sir Syed Ahmed of the state of things which would ensue if competitive examinations and electoral representation were made in Indian institutions is correct. The Mahomedans would see themselves practically deprived of the share of government to which their position and influence entitles them, and they would find their condition intolerable. Their humiliation would materially increase our dangers in India. The composition of the Legislative Council in each Presidency practically secures a fair representation of Indian society, and that is what the elective principle would never do. The encomium passed by Sir Syed Ahmed upon the Legislative Councils is all the more valuable because he shows in his speech that he is not afraid to criticize where he thinks criticism deserved. He considers, as many enlightened Englishmen do, that the time has come when the Natives of Hindustan might be more fully trusted by us as comrades in arms and a vent afforded to the martial spirit of the fine races over which we rule. However this may be, he recognizes the absolute necessity for the exercise of caution. His address is, on the whole, an important political event. It shows that the Mahomedans are waking up to the sense that they are not making the best of their advantages or their capacities. We welcome a sign that Mahomedan loyalty, of which the Nizam and other Princes have recently afforded so brilliant an example, is asserting itself as a counterpoise to Bengali factiousness.

(Morning Post.)

The so-called National movement in India has its origin among the ambitious Hindoos of the great towns, who have acquired a certain amount of English education, and have therewith imbibed English ideas [That the delegates really represent any considerable section of the people outside the comparatively small class to which they belong we do not for a moment believe. Still, it must not be forgotten that in a heavily taxed country like India, especially at a time of industrial depression, there is always to be found a certain amount of vague discontent, which goes to assist any agitation that promises relief. Sympathy of this kind the Indian Nationalists naturally court, inasmuch as they desire above all things to give an appearance of breadth to what is in reality a very narrow phalanx. The desperate efforts they have made to enlist the Mussulman people of India in their crusade have almost totally failed. It is true that the President of the last Congress was a Mahomedan, and the report before us makes much of the fact; but it is none the less true that, as a body, the powerful Mahomedan community holds itself severely aloof. The agitation, in short, is an agitation founded and carried on by the Baboo. There is no reason why the movement should, on that account, be slighted; and it is worth while, with the full materials now before us, to examine briefly the claims made at the late Congress, the arguments put forward, and the manner in which they were urged. As to the last point, it is gratifying, if not surprising, to know that the tone of the speeches, almost without exception, was enthusiastically loyal. One orator after another ridiculed the mere suggestion that the delegates, or those whom they represented, could have any designs hostile to the British Government.

The demand for representative institutions was embodied in the first and most important of the series of resolutions. Now on this point it may be said that without doubt the clever and accomplished native gentlemen who played the chief part in the conduct of the proceedings are perfectly competent to act as members of a Legislative Assembly; but the difficulty is that, at present, they really represent nobody except themselves and their friends, and the constituency to which they would appeal under representative institutions, the people of India, neither desires the responsibility of the suffrage nor is fit for it. Next to the resolution embodying the general demand for self-government, the most important is that in which the establishment of an Indian volunteer army was urged. Within the last few years this question has been frequently brought forward, and it is not difficult to see the host of plausible reasons that can be advanced in favour of the demand. The Russians will come upon us and find us unprepared to take our stand by the side of our English friends and protectors—such was the gist of the patriotic speeches in support of the resolution. It may be hinted that the men who are at the head of the national movement in India do not come from the class which, as a rule, supplies soldiers, and that a widespread volunteer movement would possibly in the end be as dangerous to them as it would be to any external foe.

With one of the resolutions passed at the Madras Congress we heartily sympathise. It was resolved that the British Government be urged to establish military colleges at which the sons of Indian noblemen and gentle-

men may be trained for a military career. We have in India some of the finest material for an army in the world. Heretofore we have never made full use of it. Had Russia occupied our position, she would long ago have enlisted in her service the native gentlemen of ancient houses whose hereditary—whose only—profession is the profession of arms. It is not easy to divine the reasons which prompted the members of the Madras Congress to insist so strongly on this demand, for nothing is more certain than that the vast majority of the Indian gentlemen for whom they propose to open up an honourable career would be opposed to them and to their projects. The suggestions however, no matter what the motives that led to it, is well worthy of the consideration of the Indian Government. Taking, however, the programme set forth at the Congress as a whole, it is not difficult to find one fatally weak spot. The ingenuous gentlemen who are anxious for self-government know perfectly well that they could not hold their position for a day were English protection withdrawn. Even if Russia should refrain from taking our place, the warlike tribes of the North, who are now held in check by the British power, would soon make the cultivated Baboo a creature of the past. Use a very homely but expressive phrase, these Indian Nationalists wish at once to eat their cake and to have it. They desire to rule the country, and they want England to protect them in the process. It is hardly necessary to point out that the part in the play reserved for this country is not either attractive or profitable. While Great Britain takes the responsibility of protecting India from foreign foes and internal disorder, Great Britain must choose her own methods; notwithstanding all the aspirations of all the National Congresses that may assemble. Every day the people of India are advancing in liberty and in prosperity under British rule. The process is necessarily slow. It certainly would not be quickened by such changes as those that commended themselves to the Madras Congress.

(Spectator.)

It is equally foolish to deride and to overestimate the Indian Congress held in December at Madras, and described this week in the *Times*. The representatives of the sixty or seventy "peoples" of the great peninsula. The two hundred millions or thereabouts for whom we make laws, not only did not elect the delegates assembled, but they have not the dimest conception of representative government; and if they desired great changes in the method of ruling them would express their sentiments in a widely different way. They would, moreover, select as leaders men of a different type from the Anglicised Indians who got up, organised, and controlled the meeting, and who are at present more out of touch with the masses of their countrymen than any other class of the community. On the other hand, the delegates did, we imagine, represent very fairly the Indians of the education who are become so numerous, and they are important enough to deserve attentive observation. They are pushing the far higher men of the old education, the Pundits, Moolahs, teachers, and cultivated gentry quite into the back-ground—and are hated by them, in consequence, with cordial unanimity—they almost monopolise Government office, and they may in the end, obtain much influence with the people through leaders of another

kind. The best known of the class Azimullah Khan, the instigator of the Cawnpore massacre, a man cultivated in English knowledge, and familiar with English society, completely ruled Nana Saheb, and had his career not ended so suddenly, would have been, either avowedly, or in secret, the guiding mind of the Mahratta people. Many of the delegates, too, are more than chattering or imitators, are genuinely able men who have discerned clearly the weak points in English popular government, and intend to use their knowledge to transfer power from the white men to their own hands. They understand quite clearly the immense difficulty which English democrats have in resisting demands for the transfer of power to natives if only they are put forward in the name of "the people," and are coupled with professions of affection for England and loyalty to the Throne. It is well worth while to examine the proposals of such men, even though for the present they can bring neither armies nor voters into the field.

They want to bring both,—that is the sum and substance of the proposals enthusiastically accepted by the Congress. A few matters of detail were no doubt spoken of, and spoken of sensibly, such as the separation of executive from judicial power,—a decided step forward, though not one of much importance; a rise in the limit of exemption from the Income-tax,—quite sound, because it is the feeble whom the native tax-gatherers oppress; and the devotion of a certain sum to technical education,—really wanted, if the indigenous art of India, once so peculiar and so promising, is not to perish altogether. But enthusiasm was reserved for quite other proposals. The delegates want the Indian element in the Legislative Councils to be increased to one-half, and to be elected not by the people, but by all sorts of bodies in which the Anglicised Indians are strong; and they want the Government to allow the formation of regiments of native volunteers. In other words, they want to control the Legislatures, and to have at their disposal a large armed force distributed throughout the entire continent. The proposals are made very cautiously; there is much stress laid on the word "gradual;" the Government is to help to fill the Electoral Colleges, and is permitted to decide whom it will and will not accept as volunteers; but, substantially, these are the proposals of the Congress, which at the same time rejected a proposition that the universal commonalty should be at liberty to carry arms. They knew quite well where that would end,—namely, in the revivification of the class of mercenary swordsman, and consequently in the aggrandisement not of "the educated," but of the nobles and the very rich who alone can maintain great bodies of armed retainers. In our judgment, both prayers are inconsistent not only with the continuance of British rule, but with the principles upon which alone that rule can be justified.

We will say nothing of the absurd methods of election suggested, under which the people of India are declared entitled to representative government, and then carefully excluded from any share in the elections for the delegates are sure to correct that blunder when it is pointed out to them. They understand quite well the charm which lurks in the words "popular election." There are, we doubt not, a dozen men among them each of whom would prepare a plan for correcting that defect and making elections nominally fair, and, in the eyes of Englishmen at home, truly representative, and our objection to the scheme lies deeper than that. We cannot

see why, if Indians are to elect half the members of the legislative bodies, we have any moral right to remain in India at all. We are there, no doubt, at present because of the fact of conquest; but the justification of the conquest is the political inferiority of the conquered, an inferiority so great that, although as brave as any men—the Bengalis are only one people in India, and even their cowardice is exaggerated—and often possessed of a high instinctive military skill, they cannot combine to expel foreign invaders whom they by no means like. The English claim to rule India is the English *morale*, whether it be derived from creed, civilisation, or the hereditary and inherent capacities which we include in the word “race;” and if that claim does not exist, whence does the right to govern spring? If Indians can legislate as well as Englishmen, they can also administer as well; and if they can do both, what place is left for the intruding Europeans, who certainly were not asked to take all power into their own hands, and who as certainly would be dismissed by *plebiscite*? They have no foot-hold left at all, except superior power; and if they base themselves upon that, then they are bound to exercise it, and not shuffle of a responsibility of which, while they remain, they cannot get rid. For, remember, an elective Indian Legislature will pass laws, and those laws, once passed, must be carried out. That is to say, if the Indian Legislature prohibits the slaughter of cows, and any class resists the decree, as the Mussulmans and aborigines would resist it, the irresistible strength of the British Army must be employed to shoot such insurgents down. It seems to us that such a position is absurd, and that our only alternatives in India are to govern subject only to our own consciences, until, at all events, the millions have been educated enough to combine in passive resistance, or to retire at once, proclaiming, as the delegates in Madras implicitly proclaim, that our work is done. If their view is sound, our withdrawal would be followed by no catastrophe.

The request for a Volunteer force is equally unreasonable, though one of the two feelings which underlie it deserves, we own, much sympathy from Englishmen. We have never been able to think it right to extinguish the military virtues in India, or to deprive so vast a mass of human beings of those incentives to manliness which arise from the possibility of a military career. It seems to us unjust, as well as unwise, to suppress native armies, to allow no Indian to become an officer, to extinguish, in fact, so far as we can, a whole range of natural capacities in which this immense mass of subjects is singularly rich. The Indian capacity for creating a military force, disciplining it, and inspiring it at once with loyalty and courage, is a thing quite *per se*; and to suppress it as we now do is a sort of mental mutilation, like putting out an eye or cutting off a finger lest Indians should shoot too well. But then, the remedy is not to be sought informing a vast half-disciplined army, which could not defend the country and could take the lead in insurrection—a National Guard in fact, on a gigantic scale—but in forming a disciplined native army, with native officers and native Generals, as an auxiliary to our own. Such an army might be made as efficient as Hyder Ali's or more so, and would at all events, be less dangerous than the old Sepoys, whose deprivation of commands had only this result, they began a great revolt by a series of the basest murders. The delegates would be in the right if they prayed for

military commissions and a regular army reserved to themselves ; but a native Volunteer force would be like all such forces everywhere except in England and America,—a temptation to incessant and armed resistance to the laws. It would be a force at the disposal of agitators ; and if we are to rule in India at all—a question we have left undiscussed—there must be no such force in India.

(The Record.)

Aspiration and fitness do not always go together. Doubtless a nation is not fit for freedom unless it has come to wish to be free ; but the wish is not an infallible token of the fitness. It would hardly be reasonable, perhaps, to expect the aspirants after national liberty to sit in judgment on themselves as a people, and come to the conclusion that they were not yet ready for the fulfilment of their wishes. But it sometimes falls to the lot of an imperial people like the British to have the power of bestowing freedom, and withal to have the responsibility of determining whether the subject nationality is fit to receive the boon. There is a close congruity between Home Rule and self-control, and where the individuals composing a nation have shown no capacity for keeping themselves in order, it would be mere cruelty to impose upon them the task of governing one another.

These remarks are not intended to apply to our fellow-subjects in the Sister Isle, but to a country more distant yet in many respects in an analogous condition. We have been educating for two generations a select body of the population of India. And now they are beginning to aspire after Home Rule, not as a popular privilege, but as a peculiar appanage of "educated Hindus." Very likely many of them could do it, much of their own satisfaction, and advantage too. But whether they would do it to the satisfaction of one another, and to the advantage of the governed is quite a different question.

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There is amongst us here a sort of twilight reflection of Christian morality, which under the name of Honour restrains multitudinous evils. In India this is sadly wanting, not only among thieves, but among those also who ought to be describable as honest men. One likes to be civil to fellow-subjects, but it would be injurious flattery to profess to believe that anything like a governing class has as yet been developed by English education. Those who are demanding a share in the government are comparatively a very small class, and are far from being respected by their fellows.

Nor is the reason far to seek. "He is the free man whom the truth makes free" is a maxim acknowledged to be true by many who do not recognize its Scriptural origin and authority. The education imparted at Government Colleges in India sought for by students in Colleges whether missionary or Government, conveys only such a modicum of truth as is required for passing examinations. And that is not the truth that makes free. * * * What do the natives want volunteers for? Not certainly to serve as an outlet for their loyalty, but rather to enable them to carry out their theory of winning political freedom by fighting their present masters. The other claim stated in the same meeting, to have a

representative assembly elected, not by the people but by the "educated classes," is one less dangerous, but more absurd. It would end most probably just where it begins, in talk—but the talk might become perilously "tall."

There is, undoubtedly, a ludicrous aspect in the notion of the so-called educated Hindus forming a Parliament of their own and declaiming themselves into liberty. But still, as Englishmen, we can sympathise with their aspirations, only discerning the necessity that fitness for freedom should come before the bestowal of so ambiguous a benefit. And whence shall that fitness arise? Only, surely, from a very large leavening of the mass with Christian principle.

Pandit Umashunker Misra's letter.

Referring to the letters contributed by Sir W. W. Hunter to the *Times*, Pandit Umashunker Misra, a Deputy Collector N.-W. P. (now in London) addressed the following letters to the *Times*.

The fourth National Congress will assemble in Allahabad, the capital of the North Western Provinces, in December next, and as I come from those provinces, and have some experience of the people of that part of India, I hope you will kindly allow me to say a few words regarding the great national movement which has culminated in the holding of National Congresses in great centres of India from year to year. The advocates of such meetings distinctly think that a national party has sprung into existence, that the time for which they have been waiting so long and patiently has, after all, come, and that it is their duty now to agitate constitutionally to secure some sort of representative government for their country. They are, therefore, endeavouring by every lawful means to develop the political instincts of the people and to unite them politically. They do not think that Congresses of a political nature are best adapted to secure constitutional changes in the administration of India. When we look back to the days prior to the stormy period of the mutiny of 1857 (which was chiefly confined to those provinces), when the British power in India was struggling to maintain its supremacy, when it was menaced with changes from every side, and when the fanaticism of the rebels was devastating the smiling plains of the country and compare that gloomy period with the present one, we are forced to admit that really a great change has come over India that the spread of education under a Liberal Government has turned out a class of men inspired with feelings and thoughts of Western nations, and that with the growth of this class there have also come into existence public opinion and a Native Press. The educated classes now in India form a separate class, and their number is increasing daily. Under the altered circumstances of the country they look upon themselves as the leaders of the people, and are the men who have chiefly to do with the Congress I speak of.

The object of the congressionists seems to secure some sort of the representative Government for India. The cry for Home Rule in Ireland has raised hopes in the breast of many a Radical that if they continue to agitate constitutionally a time will come—which is not distant—when the Government will be forced by the changed circumstances of the country

to yield to the national wish and grant it some sort of representative government. If this is the real object of these National Congresses, I am afraid the dream of the Radical party will never be realized. India is a country which is peopled with different tribes and clans having different interests. Political institutions based upon popular sentiments have been quite unknown to it. Despotism has been the chief form of Government in it prior to the establishment of British supremacy. There have been bloody contests and dire struggles from the overthrow of one sort of despotism from another, but fights between people trying on one hand to secure constitutional rights and privileges and the arbitrary power withholding them on the other are not to be met with in the pages of Indian history. No Simon de Montfort ever appeared in India to defend the rights and privileges of the people. It is only in advanced countries, which have passed through political phases, which are subject to the rule of no foreign nation, that we can expect to find a representative government, which is the result of struggles of centuries between the people, whose political instincts are thoroughly developed, and the arbitrary power which rules over them. The very elements of representative government are wanting in our country. It is true we have an educated class, but we have no educated masses. The proportion of the educated class to the uneducated is very insignificant—perhaps a drop in the ocean. There is consequently no touch between the enlightened and the unenlightened, and hence it is impossible for the former to represent the latter. As much stress is laid by the congressionists on the contention that they represent the masses, it seems necessary to show practically that they represent no one but themselves. This can be best done by judging whether the delegates who were sent to the Madras National Congress last year were really representative men or not. I confine my observations with respect to this controversy to my province. I find that from Benares District, which is really a representative one, two Bengalis and one Punjabi were delegated to Madras. Can any one in his senses believe that an insignificant Punjabi editor of a penny paper or a couple of Bengali Pleaders can represent a District swarming with thousands of warlike Rajputs and Brahmans? The case with the Allahabad District was similar. The whole question of representation, as alleged by the Congressionists, raises simply a smile among those who know and understand the country. I admit it is praiseworthy to have high aspirations, but I am sure sensible men only think of engaging in such enterprises as are likely to succeed. To aspire to objects which cannot be attained just now at the risk of losing the good will of the Government is, after all, not a desirable thing. Under the circumstances, the endeavour of every man, who has the good of his country at heart, should be to develop Local Self-Government, upon which the material prosperity of our country depends so much, and which is looked upon as the first step in political training, to the best of our abilities and show thereby that we are worthy of being granted further political powers. At the same time we should not lose sight of the fact that the masses have still to be educated and, therefore, we should do our best to promote primary education among them as much as possible. When we have done this, we shall surely be worthy of being granted representative government. I think we can afford to wait, as we have already a

Legislative Council which is competent to deal in every way with home policy, which concerns us the most.

Nawab Mehdi Hasan Fathah Nawaz Jung's letter.

Nawab Mehdi Hasan Fathah Nawaz Jung, in the *St. James's Gazette*, re-opened the discussion on the subject of the political attitude of the Mahomedans of India towards the British Government and the English race respectively. He declares that he firmly believes, with the "Grand Old Man" of India, Sir Syed Ahmed, that great dangers attend the premature spread of Radical principles in India, and goes on to say :—

If the English people at home, who are determined heart and soul to do justice to India, once take up with the idea that India is discontented, and that British rule in India is despotic and partial, they will move heaven and earth with the sincere intention of improving it; and in the wake of such premature improvement there will follow ruin. This must be my sufficient excuse for once more risking the displeasure of the more Radical of my fellow-countrymen.

Let me first repeat that I do not for one moment mean to inspire doubt as to the loyalty of my Bengali friends. I respect and admire them; they are intellectually the pick of the country, and the educational system of India rests mainly on them. But in matters of grave national importance, like the present, we should seek, if may be, to express our differences of opinion without endangering our mutual friendly relations. If they find themselves in unfortunate disagreement with our views, the heaviest charge that they can bring against us is that our opinions take their rise from selfish and self-regarding motives. Now, so many actions in this world spring from selfish motives (even a mother's love of her child may be said to be largely selfish in its origin) that I think we lie under no very terrible indictment when we are accused of being moved to differ from our Hindu brethren by a keen desire to protect our own interests. We are quite aware that our difference splits "United India" into hostile camps, and so weakens our general cause; but even so we are acting from a deep sense of duty to our country, and are doing no more than your "Grand Old Man" found himself compelled to do with sorrow from a similar sense of duty. At the same time I should be guilty of injustice if I did not fully and publicly acknowledge our gratitude to those Englishmen whose generosity has led them to identify themselves in the most disinterested way with the National Congress movement. We lament their political views, yet we cannot help admiring such men as Mr. Norton, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Digby.

And now I come to the causes which keep us aloof, however painful the severance may be, from the National Congress movement. And foremost among these I will touch on those causes which might be called "sentimental," a statement which will perhaps, be liable to excite further ridicule from the Indian Press, but which nevertheless are hard undeniable facts.

First : we, Mahomedans, are by nature the worshippers of Royalty and Aristocracy—a most barbarous feeling, you will say, but there it is : we feel it. We talk a great deal of high birth, and make much of it, although such talk is, perhaps utter nonsense. Many a poor man in India who obtains a precarious livelihood by knocking about the streets may be found

to boast of high birth and to expect the deference and respect which is commonly paid to men in high position. To some extent, no doubt he submits to the hardship of circumstance; yet nothing can induce him to abate one jot of his pretensions, to prevent him from looking with sovereign contempt on self-made men and upstarts. It is an open secret that until very lately we regarded with horror and disgust our native Government officials a class of men for the most part of low extraction. Many an Extra Assistant Commissioner in Oudh was spoken of habitually as "Bunia" or "Teli" (grain-seller or oil-seller), because then the higher class of people was not sufficiently educated, even for those petty appointments. No doubt education has now made considerable progress among us; yet even to-day it is a common saying in the North-West Provinces that a Mahomedan of forty years of age or upwards, if he is perfectly versed in English, is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred a man of low birth. Twenty years ago, it was a mark of respectability among Mahomedans not to know English. I well remember how I began the study of English surreptitiously with the primer concealed in my pocket, as we used to do in our childhood with romances. It was only after the death of my guardians that General Burrow, the then Chief Commissioner of Oudh, sent me to the Wards' Institution, a place for educating the sons of noblemen, to learn English.

Now, in view of these circumstances, it seems to me simply unbearable that the Mahomedans should be submitted to the rule of persons whom, rightly or wrongly they regard as second rate, in spite of their education, or that they should have boys fresh from school and destitute of administrative experience placed over their heads. The objection may be sentimental; but existing sentiments are often giant political forces, and while they exist must be respected. The education of the upper classes has really made very little progress in India. Go to the Talukdars of Oudh, or the great landed aristocracy of Bengal, and you will find that they much prefer to be under a man of alien race, whose birth and social position in England they have no means of knowing, than to be subjected to a countrymen of their own whose intellectual qualities may, perhaps, entitle him to respect, but who will never command respect among a people given over to this old-fashioned and unappreciative method of thinking.

The second cause, founded also on sentiment, is that we have not yet become sufficiently civilized to look with contempt on the institutions of our country or the natural feelings of our nation. Sense of gratitude for benefits, extreme politeness, and an obliging and forgiving disposition, have long been characteristics of the Indian people—Hindus and Mahomedan. The abuse levelled at successive Viceroys by the Native Press is so marked a piece of ingratitude to those who spend laborious years in the attempt to better our condition, that we cannot be induced to identify ourselves with those who employ these political methods. I admit that these methods are not unusual in politics, and that some of the papers in England abuse even the Queen herself, but I say that we are not yet advanced enough to be able to appreciate the beauty of these things.

The third sentimental cause of our alienation from the purposes of the National Congress is what I must admit, to be a narrow-minded feeling. We are aware that the Hindus are far superior to us in intellectual education, while we are decidedly superior to them in those other qualities which

are requisite in a nation of rulers. Thus it is impossible for either to rule the other ; and we fear that, were any system of representation introduced, however earnestly our intellectual superiors might endeavour to obtain for us an equal share in the administration, our intellectual inferiority would be too much for them and would send us to the bottom. I do not wish to throw mistrust on my Hindu fellow-subjects. I am sure they will not withhold a helping hand ; but in our present state an angel from heaven would find it difficult to help us.

These are all potent and substantial reasons, and although I have classed them as sentimental, yet the sentiments they spring from are general, and so carry force with them.

(*Homeward Mail.*)

We are glad to know that the proposal mooted in these columns for extending to the United Kingdom the movement, begun in India by Syed Ahmed and other distinguished Mahomedans, is having attention in more than one influential quarter. It is really time the British and foreign investors and British voters were aroused to a conception of the menace to the value of their securities on the one hand, and the political consequences to our Empire in the East on the other, of the views and schemes which are now being assiduously propagated in this country. Apart from the fact that a "Political Agency" is at work, actively engaged in disseminating through the Press and by public lectures attacks upon the existing system of Indian Government along with the alternative revolutionary proposals of the Congress, a new firm has started in political business with the view of inducing a Conservative Ministry to take the first fatal step towards a change of that system and a concession of those demands. True, the firm is not a very strong one, and its political capital is absurdly insufficient for the range of its ambitions. "Sir Richard Garth and I," albeit the one is a most estimable, frank and genial gentleman and a lawyer of fair distinction, and the other a clever handler of statistics and a brilliant rhetorician, have certainly no legitimate claims to present, whether on the ground of knowledge or experience, to be Counsellors of the Government of India, or authorities before the English people as to the manner in which India should be governed. In India the value of the political capital possessed by the firm is correctly estimated. Sir W. W. Hunter has been too long in India not to have been weighed and measured to within a tenth part of a grain or a thousandth of an inch. Sir Richard Garth is respected for many good qualities among which, however, a capacity for shrewd judgment in politics has not yet been developed. But both are dangerous; the one from his ambition, the other because of his sincerity, and an ignorant British public may be gravely led astray by their representations. Each in his own way is now actively helping the Babu agitation which has been started in England. We do not say that the combination we have sketched is as yet formidable, but it can do a good deal of mischief, and the time has come when it ought to be met by counter-agitation.

For we do not hesitate to say that were there the slightest chance or ground for suspicion that the Government was inclined to lend a favourable ear to the programme of the Congress, or was seriously contemplating the

adoption of its suggestions the financial credit of India would be materially shaken. Every man of judgment who had any substantial interests in India would begin to take early steps for transferring them elsewhere. Those who have any responsibility in advising people as to their investments would neglect their duty were they not to recommend their clients to keep away or withdraw their money from a country the economy and stability of whose Government under a firm British rule could no longer be relied upon—wherein sentiment had acquired the mastery over practical and political expediency. Before the agitation has gone much farther, much will have to be said and written on this very serious aspect of the question, but it is not too early to sound a sharp note of alarm on the grave consequences to British Indian trade, industries, and finances which may arise out of this agitation. The great financiers, the Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain and in India, the workmen engaged in manufactures, are all interested in the issues, and should be promptly awakened to a sense of the dangers with which they are threatened.

Moreover, we must point out most earnestly that it is not enough to institute a counter-agitation in India. Some of the comments we have seen in Anglo-Indian journals on the Patriotic Association seem rather to imply that the Anglo-Indian community is disposed to adopt towards the Mahomedan movement an attitude of benevolent patronage, to stand by as an interested spectator, wishing well to the efforts of Syed Ahmed and his colleagues, but without taking any active share in the struggle. In other words the Conservative forces in the Anglo-Indian community seem inclined to act precisely as the Conservative elements in polities all over the world are too apt to do, that is to offer a passive resistance to all reforms, and attend the moment when the danger shall become really pressing, before organising their defence. If that really be the explanation of the quietly watchful and coolly critical attitude of the Anglo-Indian community, it is time that they began to realise the necessity for action. Indifference much longer will prejudice the chances of defence. They must remember what a change has come over English politics with the latest extension of the franchise. To men in India or at home whose fortunes, interests, and hopes are bound up in the maintenance of a stable Government in our great Asiatic dependency, the example of Ireland, one would think, should be sufficiently suggestive of the peril of allowing agitation to get the start, and grow to a head, until it is strong enough to hold the balance of parties, to win over the co-operation of ambitious politicians and imperil the existence of a United Empire. Is it necessary to point out the obvious peril of allowing the agitation which has been organised in England for the purposes of influencing ignorant masses by one-sided arguments and appeals to sentiment, to go on without an energetic attempt to expose the fallacies of the arguments, the inaccuracy of the facts, and the hazards of giving way to a morbid sentimentality in dealing with such a tremendous problem as that of governing the millions of India? In India, the question hardly needs to be argued; at all events is being treated with a mastery of facts, a clearness of view, and an incisiveness of argument which leave no ground to the other side. But such effective expositions as those of Syed Ahmed, Syed Hasan Bilgrami and other able Mahomedans reach

but a very small minority of the British public. It is not enough that their arguments should be occasionally reproduced and commented on in the English Press. Nor should the bent of the fight be left to the Mahomedans. They may make speeches and write essays and publish pamphlets by the thousands, but any one who is experienced in the method and course of political and social agitation in Great Britain will know that all those means of publicity, however useful in themselves, are ineffective against steady propagandism in the constituencies by speeches and public meetings, and incessant agitation carried on through political organisations, and aided by letters, paragraphs, and comments in the local Press. We have mentioned in these columns that Mr. Bonnerji has been stumping Lincolnshire, preaching the doctrines of the National Congress ; that Mr. Bradlaugh has prepared a stock lecture, in which that eminent authority of Indian affairs professes to set before his countrymen the truth as to government and misgovernment in India. These addresses and lectures are reported in the local papers, both Liberal and Conservative ; of course, they are in each case commented on, favorably or unfavorably to the arguments advanced by the speaker. But the chief qualification of the commentators for expatiating on the subject, whether on one side or the other, is almost absolute ignorance. The Radical writer will fall in with any views, which appear to be subversive of authority or in train with humanitarian ideas ; the Conservative, with equal prejudice, and perhaps even greater incapacity for grasping the situation, will defend what is indefensible in the existing order of things, or lay himself open to easy confutation by some clever manipulator of a little knowledge—some English or Indian Babu. It is of no use fighting that kind of agitation with long letters to the *Times*, or reports of speeches or clever pamphlets. Agitation must be met by agitation. The controversy must be carried down to the electorate. Speeches must be answered by speeches ; lectures by lectures ; paragraphs in Radical papers by replies in Conservative and Unionist journals. Members of Parliament and candidates for Parliament must be forced to study the issues, and qualify themselves for meeting the arguments on the other side. And it will not do to wait until the revolutionary movement becomes formidable. It must be grappled with at once. For, although it may appear in India that an agitation led by Mr. Bradlaugh, and carried on by Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Bonnerji is not a very serious matter, the history of the rise and progress of the Irish National League is a warning of what, in the present day, may be wrought in dealing with the electoral masses of this country by agitators intellectually and morally contemptible.

But there is another reason why Englishmen in any way interested in India should begin to organise a resistance to the perilous demands of the National Congress. Valuable as is the opposition of the leading Mahomedans and the leading Native Princes and men of wealth in India to those demands, it would be a grave error in tactics to put them forward in this country as the chief antagonists of the Congress agitation. The electors of the United Kingdom cannot be awakened to any lively interest in a fight, which presents itself to them as one between Hindus and Mahomedans—which will be misrepresented to them as one between the rich and the poor. The issue must be put to them in its true light as an issue between

efficient and non-efficient Government in India, between order and disorder, between the retention and the loss of our Asiatic Empire. The real character of the agitation and the agitators must be brought home to the masses in England, Scotland, and loyal Ireland. With anything that can weaken or damage Imperial prestige, disloyal Ireland is already in sympathy. The absurdity of handing over the Government of India to a minority of half-educated Babus, led by a very small number of ambitious and able men, and sustaining it with the forces and prestige of the Empire, must be clearly exposed, and the fatal consequences of concessions in that direction to the credit, prosperity, and interests of India must be diligently pointed out. That can only be done by an influential Anglo-Indian organisation acting in concert with the Mahomedans and Hindus. Its aim should be at once conservative and liberal. While opposing violent changes and foolish experiments, it should help to do away with abuses, and promote rational reforms. If it were simply to set its face against all improvements it would fail, and fail deservedly. If we are not misinformed, communications are already going on for the establishment of such an organisation as we have sketched in concert with the Patriotic Association in India, and it is to be hoped that it will receive influential support.

Moulvi Mehdi Ali Mosin-ul-Mulk Bahadur interviewed.

Central News sends the following account of an interview with the representative of the Government of the Nizam, now in Brighton, on the proposed National Congress in India:—

Moulvi Mahdi Ali Mosin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Political and Financial Secretary of the Nizam's Government, now on a special mission to England, has had his attention called to a letter, published on the 13th August, touching a letter written by the Mahajah of Benares in opposition to the assembling of an Indian National Congress. He was asked with whom this movement for the National Congress in India originated. "It originated," he said, "with the so-called Babu or educated Bengali." The first Congress was presided over by Dadhabhai Naoroji, an able man, and it was made up chiefly of Bengalis and Parsis. I paid little attention to the subject when first mooted, my time being fully occupied with the affairs of the Native State which I have the honor to serve. I first seriously considered it when the Congress met last year at Madras. For this there were two reasons. One was the interest taken in it by a distinguished public servant in India Mr. Allan O. Hume, one of my oldest friends and instructors, who took me by the hand as a boy when I first entered the Indian Service, and to whom I owe much gratitude and affection. Mr. Hume was covetous to the idea of a Congress, and spent four months in Madras. The presiding officer of the Congress also was an old personal friend of mine, a highly educated man, Budruddin Tyabji of Bombay. He made a striking address before the Congress, which attracted wide attention, and I wrote him a friendly letter congratulating him on its ability and its success. In reply he wrote asking my opinion as to the idea of a Congress itself. This was nine months ago, and I have not yet replied to his letter. This will show you, perhaps, that I have not enthusiastically adopted the idea of a Congress. The question as to whether such a Congress is advisable has, in my judgment, ~~not~~ to be settled. I do not wish

to be hasty in coming to a decision on that point, for I am also on most intimate terms of friendship with Sir Syed Ahmed, whom I have always supported in the great reformatory work he is doing for the benefit of my people the Mussulmans, and Sir Syed by no means approves of a Congress. I am sure both Mr Hume and Sir Syed Ahmed are equally honest and equally devoted to the cause of order and of progress in India; and when two such men differ so widely as to the wisdom and timeliness of the proposed National Congress, I think it right to reserve my final opinion till I can go over the whole matter with them face to face and find out what reasons for or against the movement each has to give. As at present advised, however, I frankly say that my own predisposition is against it. I cannot think it a thing to be desired for India in general, or for the Mussulmans of India in particular. I do not believe India is really ready for it. Some of the Indian populations are much in advance of others in education and training for public affairs. Many of the Bengalis in particular are, perhaps advanced enough to deal with the grave matters which would come before a National Congress sagaciously and wisely, but certainly the people of India in general are not in that condition. Is it not better to await a further development of the education and the capacity of the Indian people before sending them to take action in such a Congress on subjects about which they cannot possibly now be well advised or well informed. I have a great respect for the educated Bengalis. I believe them, indeed, to be quite loyal to the British Government, but whether their loyalty is according to wisdom in this matter is another question. Perhaps, they think the masses of the people are as enlightened as themselves which is hardly the case. They are, I fear, in too great a hurry. They certainly know next to nothing of the less educated military class among the Mussulmans. They are not soldiers themselves, and they do not understand the military class. If they could succeed in impressing the Mussulman population with the belief that there are very great defects in the British system of governing India, what would be the result? Not to produce an intelligent desire for a reasonable reform of any thing that may be wrong in the Government system, such a desire as the educated Bengalis themselves would feel. Not at all. It would only produce a sullen disposition on the part of the military class to distrust the Government, and desire to see it overthrown. This would be a bad thing in itself, and though it might do no great harm to-day or to-morrow while all is peaceful, who can say what might happen if from it were India suddenly exposed to a great war—to attack by a foreign enemy? Where you now have honest, simple loyalty to the Government among the military classes, you would then have a body of dangerous discontent, all the more dangerous because vague and not intelligent. All Mussulmans who know the history of the world and of her own religion know that the Mussulmans of India are better off to-day under the British Government than are the Mussulmans of Egypt, of Turkey, of Afghanistan, and they know that this is due to the general honesty, firmness and justice of the British rule. I have frankly stated these views of mine to one of the ablest Native friends of this Congress now in England, so I see no objection to stating them to you as you ask me for them. If the day of danger ever comes to England in India, upon whom can England rely? Not upon the timid Babu with his clever pen, but upon the Mussulman, Rajput or Pathan with his loyal sword. But I don't think it well to be into great a

nursey to distract the mind of my own people with questions which they are not yet fully prepared to understand.

Mr. Robert H. Elliot's letter to the Times.

Sir,—In the September number of the *Contemporary Review* is a paper by Sir William Hunter entitled "The present problem in India." As there are serious errors* in it, I trust you will allow me very briefly to point out what these errors are, as some of them have already been repeated in the columns of one of our leading journals, and their circulation is likely to do much harm.

Sir William says that "70 millions of pounds are drawn each year from the pockets of the poor tax-payers of India." The total amount so drawn, as shown in the Secretary of State's statement of June, 1888, and inclusive of land revenue, amounts to about 44 millions of ten rupees, or 44 millions of pounds, estimating the rupee at 2s. The amount taken from the taxpayers has thus been exaggerated by about 26 millions of pounds. I may add here that the total of the land revenue and taxes show that our administration in India costs Rs. 2-1a.-9p. per head of the population or, at a liberal rate of exchange, about 1s. 6d., a head.

By the existing Arms Act we are informed by Sir William that "a population of small farmers, who in 1885 lost 22,907 persons and 59,026 cattle by snakes and wild beasts, are to a large extent deprived of the means of self-defence." This is absolutely incorrect, as any one, by applying for a licence, can obtain for a most trifling fee the right to use fire arms.

Sir William says that "a public expenditure of nominally 70 millions sterling a year goes on without being subjected to any authorities and public examination or criticism." The account are subject to authoritative in India and England, and are open to examination and criticism in the House of Commons.

The reader is led by Sir William distinctly to infer that criminal prisoners have not a trial "before an unbiased judge" because the magistrate who collects the evidence tries the case. It is the police, who, with but very few exceptions (and none in the Madras Presidency) collect the evidence, and the whole proceedings of the trial are overhauled by the Judges of the various High Courts, who are quite independent of the Executive authorities. I need hardly add that to alter this system would about double the civil charges of India.

Sir William distinctly leads the reader to infer that a body calling itself the Indian National Congress, and called by him a "spontaneous

*The following reply from Sir W. W. Hunter appeared in the *Times*.

Sir,—In your issue of yesterday Mr. Elliot impeaches the accuracy of my article in this month's *Contemporary Review* on five grounds.

1. "Sir William says that '70 millions of pounds are drawn each year from the pockets, of the poor tax-payers of India.'" The words which Mr. Elliot ascribes to me are not mine but the *Economist's*. They occur incidentally in a long quotation within inverted commas from the leading financial organ—a quotation made not with reference to the amount taken but with regard to the absence of adequate supervision over the methods by which the general Indian revenues are raised and spent. Throughout the article I nowhere enter on the amount of India taxation. But I have clearly shown, in both editions of my "Indian Empire" and in other works, that the amount taken from the taxpayers is in reality considerably less than the figure at which Mr. Elliot himself now gives it.

2. Mr. Elliot says that my reference to the hardships caused by the Act forbidding the possession of arms in the country where 22,907 persons and 59,026 (*sic*) cattle were destroyed in 1885 by snakes and wild beasts "is absolutely incorrect, as any one by applying for a licence can obtain for a most trifling fee the right to use fire arms." Mr. Elliot's plantations lie, if I am correctly informed, in the Native State of Mysore. My statement referred solely to British India; and in British India the difficulty is not of a trifling fee but of obtaining the permission of the local authority according to

native Parliament," truly represents all the races, castes, and religions of India, and that its leaders are the popular leaders of the people. There is no thing of the nature of a Parliament in the so-called Congress. It is merely a debating society, composed of a section of the instructed classes, which section is strongly opposed by large numbers of the class in question. The delegates, as they are called, describe themselves in their introductory letter of their proceedings, dated May 1888, as being "appointed either at open public meetings, or by a political or trade association."

Sir William informs the public here that these delegates are so formidable that it will go hard with us if we do not at once accede to their political demands, for he tells us that.

the provisions of the Arms Act and of the rules framed for working it. That difficulty has in parts of British India been found so great as to lead to repeated and influential representations; it has occupied the serious attention of the Government of India during the past year; and a recent communication from India states that one of the last acts of Lord Dufferin has been to sanction a relaxation in the working of the Act in the Central Provinces. Mr. Elliot is apparently not cognizant of the facts.

3. "Sir William says that 'a public expenditure of nominally 70 millions sterling a year goes on without being subjected to any authoritative and public examination or criticism.' The accounts or subject to authoritative examination in India and England, and are open to examination and criticism in the House of Commons." Mr. Elliot here quotes a scrap from near the beginning to paragraph and then abruptly leaves off. But if he will be so good as to read that paragraph and the three letters which follow it he will find that I am careful to describe and to criticize the examination to which the Indian finances are subjected. My point is not that there is no examination, but that the examination is not of a really authoritative character; and I think I support the contention by as unimpeachable witnesses and by as cogent evidence as could well be brought together in four paragraphs.

4. "The reader is led by Sir William distinctly to infer that criminal prisoners have not a trial before an unbiased judge." If the reader is led to this conclusion, it is not by me, but by deliberate statements which Sir Richard Garth, the late Chief Justice of Bengal has felt it his duty to publish this summer in his "Few Plain Truths about India." In the passages which I quote from that pamphlet the late Chief Justice describes the working of the system which in parts of India still permits the same officer to be prosecutor and Judge, winding up with these words:—"However monstrous this may appear to an English public the picture which I have presented is by no means overdrawn." Mr. Elliot answers that the trials are (meaning, I suppose may be) overhauled by the High Courts; that the system does not generally obtain, and not at all in Madras; adding, strongly, "that to alter this system would about double the Civil charges of India." I, on the other hand, knowing the deep dissatisfaction with which the Government of India regard this system, and having had some share in their successful efforts gradually to put an end to it, point out that "much has been done to remedy this state of things." Referring to the Chief Justice's stern condemnation of its practical working, I add, "My more limited observation which would not lead me to state the case so strongly." The fact is that the unsoundness of the system in the settled provinces has been admitted. The cost of completing the reform will amount not, as Mr. Elliot thinks, to "about the double the civil charges of India," nor to one-twentieth of them.

5. "Another instance of Sir William's wonderful inaccuracy is he distinctly leads the reader to infer that the delegates desire the free use of arms in order that the people of India may the more effectually defend themselves from snakes and wild beasts. But on referring to the resolution of the so-called Congress I can find no allusion to snakes and wild beasts," &c. May I refer Mr. Elliot to the published proceedings of the Congress? The mover of the resolution said "To the farmer, to which class I belong, to protect his crops and stores from the attacks of wild beasts, as well as from the attacks of robbers, the possession of arms is a necessity; so much so that in consequence of being deprived of them the poor ryot has everywhere been a loser of his hard-earned produce." In Bengal, for example, whole fields are devastated by wild pigs. The seconder of the resolutions said "When I remember that, year after year, ravages of wild beasts are increasing with alarming rapidity; when I remember that thousands of my countrymen and countrywomen are every year killed by tigers and leopards; when I find poor cultivators everywhere appealing to Government to protect their crops from the ravages of wild animals—for the Arms Act has deprived them of the means by which they could protect their crops themselves—when, I say, I look to all these facts, how can I say that this Act does not operate against the life and property of the people? An amendment against considering, the Arms Act in its political aspects was warmly pressed, although not ultimately carried. But do you dissent from me?

"Lord Landowne has now to face a danger which no previous Viceroy of India had to encounter. He has to deal with a political organization such as never before existed in India. During his tenure of office that agitation will either be rendered innocuous or it will become perilous."

In other words, in five years' time our Indian affairs will be on high-way to ruin unless we appease the so-called delegates. The flight of the Gladstonians before the Parnellites is nothing to this. It seems hardly necessary to add that the masses of the various tribes and races and castes who inhabit India are peasants who neither know nor care anything about those delegates who, according to Sir William, are popular leaders representing the people of India.

Sir William leads the reader to suppose that the proposals of the so-called delegates are moderate and reasonable. As a matter of fact, their principal object is to wrest power from the Englishmen who represent our nation and lodge it in the hands of an irresponsible section of the instructed classes. This is distinctly proved by the speech of one of the so-called delegates, who very clearly indicates the goal they are marching for when he urges his brethren to persevere up to the day "when the great question of taxation will be within their grasp"—to the day "when you will in truth realize that you have got something more than mere potential (*sic*) power; when you shall place your hands upon the purse-strings of the country and the Government. (Loud and continued applause.) Money is power, whether it be in the hands of an individual or of a Government. He who has the dispensing of money is he who has the control of all ultimate authority. (Cheers.)" I insert the loud approval of these remarks because it shows the sentiments of the delegates beyond doubt.

Another instance of Sir William's wonderful inaccuracy is to be found in the fact that he cannot even correctly represent the resolutions of the very people he desires to aid in their attempt to wrest the chief power of the Government from our hands with the view of transferring it to a limited section of irresponsible inhabitants of India. He distinctly leads the reader to infer that the delegates desire the free use of arms in order that the people of India may the more effectually defend themselves from snakes and wild beasts. But on referring to the resolution of the so-called Congress I can find no allusion to snakes or wild beasts, but a desire for the unrestricted use of arms on the ground that having to apply for a license to carry them is "an unmerited slur upon the people of the country."

In smaller matters his inaccuracy is equally observable. He asserts that one of the orators of the Anglo-Indian community once "proposed to lynch Lord Macaulay." From the way this is stated the uninformed reader might suppose that the proposal had occurred in recent times. It could only have applied to Mr. Macaulay when he was in Calcutta more than half a century ago.

was raised against the necessity of arms for the peasants, in the words of another speaker, "to protect their crops." I would not state the case so strongly as the seconder of the resolution, as I would not state the judicial grievance so strongly as the Chief Justice of Bengal. But the injury to the cultivators caused by the Act, as heretofore worked is temperately enough stated in the resolution as "the hardship which it causes." Mr. Elliot, in asserting that "on referring to the resolution . . . I find no allusion to snakes and wild beasts," merely shows that he has not taken the trouble to read the published proceedings of the Congress which he sneers at and denounces. Yet he reserves this as his final and crowning example of my "wonderful inaccuracy!"

APPENDIX II.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON'S LETTERS TO THE *HINDU*.

I.

LONDON, 17th July 1888.

Sir,

On my arrival here in May, I found awaiting me a packet of letters asking me, on behalf of the various Standing Committees of our Congress, to take what opportunity I could, of enlightening sections of the public here, as to our grievances and their remedies in India. For the first month or six weeks, I could do little; partly because I had at first to make myself acquainted with those who organize and direct political meetings, partly because I found myself, with pleasant disappointment, retained for the Nizam on the Select Committee of the House of Commons. As I had arrived fresh from the congenial labour of suspending Huk at Hyderabad, my local knowledge proved of some service to the Solicitor who had the control of the case in London. But there was a great deal of work to be done; individuals to instruct; drafts to prepare; statements to draw or settle; interrogatories to frame. I had but little time for political meetings. But when the last witness had been examined by the Committee, and General Richard Strachey had pulverized with astonishment by the bare-faced effrontery of his replies, a body of gentlemen, the large majority of whom had never encountered that marvellous and laughable jumble of human creations, a soldier, a financier, an ex-Indian official, a brother to a Knight, and a Member of the Indian Council—when Counsel had made their final speeches, and Sir Horace Davey, adviser in chief to the Sirdar Dilar Jung Diler-ul-Mook, C.I.E., had avowed his client a rogue and roundly accused the Government of India and the Secretary of State's advisers, of gross legal ignorance, of the most elementary principles of Company law—when Sir Richard Temple had, for the last time, flashed upon our astonished and oriented gaze as an elderly "master" who still aspired to the Viceroyalty—when all these things had been and our last "refresher" had made its appearance upon our briefs, I was at liberty to turn with a sense of infinite relief from law to politics. The first meeting of friends to discuss operations was fortuitously representative. Our excellent friend, Mr. Dadhabai Naorojee sat in our little Parliament for Bombay; Mr. Bonnerjee, *beau ideal* of a native gentleman represented Calcutta while I took my seat for Madras. Our Chamber was the first floor front of the Indian Political Agency, 26, Craven Street Strand. When William Digby, one of the very few men who have been decorated for merit in India, was voted to the chair. In Committee of the whole house, ways and means having been passed without a murmur, was sketched a plan of campaign, which no ministry of the day

proclaimed. I fancy our Balfours and our Roches will spring up in India, not in England. A few more gentlemen of the type of Sir Lepel Griffin scattered up and down the Presidency with *carter blanche* from the Viceroy to *foment rae* hatred, should tend to make our agitation more lively, and moist it with a biquancy it owns not yet. The result of a few days' delay was a most courteous invitation to Leicester, where we were asked to address the liberal voters of Endersby, on matters of Indian reform. Mr. Bonnerjee, who had already three times addressed English audiences before I had arrived in London—and I, accordingly started on our journey, and were very warmly received. Mr. Ellis, a well-known local politician, played host to us, and charmed us with the quaint and rambling picturesqueness of his old home. The meeting had been called to support Mr. Logan, a candidate for Parliamentary honours, at the next election in the liberal interest, who, having voted for the present Ministry on the last occasion, has revolted against the tyranny which would strangle a whole nation to sustain a party. Mr. Logan's conversion is illustrative of the revulsion of public feeling in England on the Irish question. Day by day, the conviction is being forced home to the minds of English voters, that, despite the special pleading of party *doctrinaires*, the only way to appease Irish discontent and remedy Irish misery is to endow Ireland with the freedom of Home-Rule. So shall it be with India in the years to come. The movement is irrepressible, because educated man gravitates as naturally to self-rule as water to its own level. Mr. Logan's meeting was enthusiastic on the matter ; the faintest allusion to Ireland's woes elicited the most sympathetic cheers, and the people rose *en-masse* at the name of John Dillon. It was in such an atmosphere of liberty and freedom that we rose to speak. There was no Collector among us taking notes. We felt we could speak without a hostile comment on our actions and our utterances being placed next morning in the hands of the secret Department of the State. For nine years I have laboured to teach you in Madras that we must combine to secure redress from the people of England. The bureaucratic element is too strong for us ; the power of misrepresentation too forcible. Here it is otherwise. An appeal from the people to the people will succeed, first, because the prayers are reasonable and just ; secondly, because the masses who have toiled through centuries to freedom are in sympathy with the masses who are still under the yoke. My forecast of English sentiment had not been overdrawn. I dealt only in simple facts. But they were facts that no one but a Member of Council could deny. They were therefore true. The awful poverty of India ; the terrible annual drain ; the exclusion of natives and non-officials from all participation in the administration of their own affairs ; the block to legitimate professional ambition ; the system of nominations to the legislative Councils, and of the examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service ; the scandalous method of appointment to the judicial bench ; these had only to be stated in order to elicit a demonstration of sympathy to which the natives of India are as yet untuned. But it did me good to know that we could thus stir the pulses of this mighty nation. They may hide the truth in India, and Viceroy may suppress the facts in despatches framed to serve a party purpose. But here the full sunshine of a people's sympathy will burst into the darknesses of Indian officialdom, and drag to daylight and to death the miserable sophistries that would keep you all a nation of slaves for ever. The cheers that greeted our attempt to awake an interest on your behalf were something more than the empty plau-

dis which courtesy extends to the rhetoric of a guest. They were the first assurance to be conveyed to you through us of active succour. Behind them, to my ears, reverberated the echoes of that mighty roar with which, if only you be steadfast and be strong, the people of England shall demand and win on your behalf the even justice you have been promised to be robbed of. Your inheritance is sure! But you must never cease from action and from speech. While you reaffirm in India the great measures of constitutional reform for which you plead in a manner constitutional, you must be ceaseless in your appearances before the English public. We have yet to speak at Thamestes, at Northampton, and in St. James' Hall, London. We have spoken at Leicester and at Newcastle. Mr. Bonnerjee has addressed public meetings in Lincolnshire. I may succeed in securing audiences at Huddersfield and Aberdeen. But our time in England is nearly spent. We must return to labour at our bars. You must supply our gaps. Friends you have, and friends you will make, who will advocate your cause in England from that love of justice which is a great characteristic of the English nation. But you must have head-quarters and a proper agency. You must have skilled labour, and a head and hand ever ready to check misrepresentation, expose untruth, and correct inaccuracy! Threatened institutions may live long. But the clique which foresees the early decay of its long wielded power, will move heaven and earth to interpose between you and success every obstacle which selfishness can suggest and great authority carry out. The old ladies of the India Office will not put on their gaioshees and mackintoshes without a murmur. They will plead for a little delay until the rain stops, and urge that they can't at this time of life afford to get their feet wet. The Indian Officials, in the House of Commons, are soaked in prejudice and ignorance. The "two Georges" will join hands with the Temples and the Birdwoods to keep you from your own. Against all this mist of calumny and error, you must protect yourselves by a champion on the spot, who shall be ever on the alert to push your interests and to plead your cause. Such a man is Mr. William Digby. I should like him better if he did not own a C.I.E. in common with such gentlemen as Forester, Webster and Abdul-Huk. Let us forgive him the ignoble decoration, and accept him in spite of the medal. He is an admirable writer, deeply versed in Indian politics, energetic, enthusiastic, with a large *clientelle* and indomitable courage. Mr. Digby must be our duly constituted agent, and we must put our hands in our pockets. The time for speech is not yet over. But the time for action has come. If we are to be anything more than a debating society, we must act. At the next Congress, we must attend with our cheque books as well as with our sympathies. But even before that we must determine upon something practical. I will continue this letter by the next mail, for I have much yet to say on what has been done, and what is left undone. No greater work was ever placed before a nation, or a man than the splendid labours of toiling to achieve your emancipation from toils which emasculate your independence, silence your speech, and unfit you for anything more honorable than a seat (by nomination) on the Legislative Council, or the privilege of subscribing for Gosha Hospitals, Jubilees, and departing Governors.

LONDON, 31st July, 1888.

SIR,—English political feeling is so focussed on Irish affairs just at present that it is not an easy matter to divest the public attention even momentarily from the policy of coercion and its inevitable results in Ireland, to the policy of extravagance and suppression with results almost as distressing in India. Yet efforts are not wanting to excite the nation's sympathy. I have told you of our reception in Leicestershire. There is something to be said upon even more significant and enthusiastic reception in Northumberland. Newcastle on Tyne boasts the honour of owning the Right Hon. Mr. John Morley as its representative. You can judge, therefore, of the political sentiments of the city itself. Among its most influential residents is Dr. Spence Watson, the leading solicitor, a member of the Society of Friends, a staunch and unflinching liberal, and—in our views most important of all—an able and sympathetic friend of India. You will recognize him as the author, in the Contemporary Review, of a dispassionate but kindly critique of that great movement in India, the natural and healthy outcome of English rule, which by strictly constitutional methods is claiming for the inhabitants of our Indian empire, some share in the Government of their country. Dr. Watson is in his own way a local kingmaker. He wields great influence at the elections, and it is a matter of sincere self-congratulation that we have enlisted on our behalf the political and intellectual sympathies of Robert Spence Watson. A large number of friends assembled on Saturday, the 21st July, to celebrate Dr. and Mrs. Watson's Silver-Wedding at their home, Brusham Grove, Gateshead. A genial and hospitable allusion to the "Delegates" from India—a misnomer practically, if not technically correct—and we were invited to address the audience. Mr. Bonn Jee, the most modest and retiring of Mr. Grant Duff's "agitators," pushed me to the front, and observing my learned leader's injunctions, I, as his junior, "opened the pleadings" for India. An abbreviated report of what we said has already been furnished to you. I revelled in the luxury of speaking to an English audience, each one of whom, holding a vote, enjoyed an appreciable quantum of power. From first to last we were more than courteously listened to. The generous welcome accorded to our subject betokened the interest latent but excitable, with which Englishmen viewed the condition of affairs in the most splendid and most loyal of their far off dependencies. Every point told. The story of your poverty aroused compassion. The tale of your taxation, indignation. It was evident we were revealing a state of things never known, unfolding a system unheard of. It was impossible not to feel that the audience was ours; not to understand that light was breaking in for the first time, upon the most complete ignorance of truth. So shall it be with all gatherings before whom your delegates shall unroll the plain unvarnished facts of your unchampioned liberties. You have but to state the simple truth. You have no need of rhetoric. Your story wants no varnish. Preach it from a thousand platform, and the result shall ever be the same. You will awake the sentiments of England by repeating the history of your lives in homeliest English. Two hundred and fifty millions of fellow subjects without a faintest shadow of representation. There is your text. All the other details fall into their places naturally and without effort. It is because you are unrepresented, that you

have no voice in the control of matters that affect you almost closely. To want of representation you may truthfully ascribe your various woes. The Civil Service Examinations in London are possible only because there is no one to state your case with the authority of a member elected by the National Voice. You will continue to send to England forty millions a year to the end of the chapter till your representatives can open the revenues of promotion to the people of India. You will have deficits, and wars, and famines until your chosen trustees can from their places appointed by law denounce the cruel system which is impoverishing your exchequer and emasculating your manhood. The people of England know nothing of all this. They know nothing of the fifteen millions of human beings who have been swept off the face of the earth during the last 28 years by the awful scarcity of want of food, while your Government wastes millions upon the impalpable, gnostiness of a scientific frontier, or the annexation of fresh territory, as though we had not enough land to satisfy all human earth hunger, and more than enough to tax the best energies of the wisest Viceroy! It would make your hearts rejoice to hear the low tone of sympathy and shame which greeted the revelation of how our judicial system is worked in India. There was no necessity to deny the members of our Civil Service their full meed of praise as appropriating much of the intellect of the world. The audience had but to be told—and one concrete instance is worth, by way of illustration, a thousand arguments framed in the strictest logic—the story of Mr. Crole's elevation to the bench to recognize the dangers of a system which, while it imperils our liberties and fortunes, shuts the door in the face of professional advancement. The district Judge of North Accot was paid the compliment of the observation that his native shrewdness and Scotch acumen probably saved him from some of the legal abysses into which judicial intellects nurtured in those southern countries not unfrequently fell in India. But the meeting murmured with amazement at the possibility of a system which translated a Revenue officer of five and twenty years standing, who, all that time had been guiltless of law, into a judge with unlimited control over our properties and our necks. It did me good to face and bear the virile morality which denounced such open and flagrant violation of justice and of common-sense. Into the motives of Mr. Crole's profferment, it was not necessary for me to go. There was a promise of help behind, the laughter which greeted the announcement of the Government policy—that of making every unsuccessful tax gatherer a judge—that held out to me and you hope of speedy and drastic reform. Just as there is a close affinity between the extremes of tragedy and comedy so there is but a "thin partition" between laughter and tears. The itinerant justice of the Magistrate provokes to mirth : but there is a species of hilarity which conceals the resolution to be stern. Mr. Bonnerjee succeeded me, and I was moved by the evident sincerity of the welcome afforded to one of yourselves. As Mr. Havelock, a subsequent speaker, put it, the Liberals of Newcastle will look back in the years to come upon the historic incident of a Native of India standing on an English lawn and asking an English meeting to give his country men the barest meed of justice. Such events sink deep into men's minds, and I have rarely been more proud of my countrymen than I was that afternoon as I witnessed their warm and generous sympathy with you. It could not be otherwise, England is the home and cradle of all that is free. The national sympathies are in tune with the instincts which

tend to self control and independence. When we had spoken, a resolution was moved—a copy of which I will send you—expressing the deep interest felt in the welfare of British India, and authorising us to assure you of the sympathy with which the men of Newcastle view your efforts to enlarge and carry out the teachings of your connection with England. The energetic Rector of Newcastle spoke warmly of our mission, and when the proceeding had terminated, Mr. Bonnerjee and I were quickly surrounded by group of men who were anxious for information in many of the points upon which we had only touched. I was surprised at the very evident and intelligent interest manifested by our audience. We were cross-examined upon the details of India's Home Remittances ; the constitution and qualifications of the electorate of the proposed Legislative Councils ; the form of Government existing to-day, and various cognate matters. I have sent to Dr. Spence Watson for distribution among our questioners copies of Mr. Digby's works, "India for the Indians and England," "India's interest in the Ballot Box"; copies of Mr. Hume's latest speech at Allahabad and copies of the "briefs" very carefully prepared for members of the House of Commons, in support of Mr. Bradlaugh's intended motion for a Royal Commission, which he will now convert into a speech on the Indian Budget, owing to the Government having absorbed all the time once available for private members. The literature will afford all the *data* asked for, and even if agreement with all the inferences drawn cannot be expected the facts are inconvertible, and are sufficiently startling to excite astonishment and comment. Once curiosity is aroused, interest will follow. And interest once set in motion, the people of England will give you the representation and political freedom which your rulers in India sneer at and deny you.

You owe, in common with your fellow countrymen, throughout various divisions of India, a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Bonnerjee. He has been most active in spite of a health which is not very robust. He has freely and ungrudgingly devoted time and strength and money in England to the vindication of your cause. He is a very effective speaker and holds an audience from first to last. If not an orator in the sense of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, he speaks with intense heat, and invites attention by the depth of his sincerity and conviction. He owns, too, the merit of never overstating his case. When he returns to India, you should join in a grateful welcome to him. His social qualities endear him to English homes. I am not merely pleased but proud to be associated with the "Member for Calcutta." I am writing to you to-day from Huddersfield. On the 15th, 16th and 17th of this month Mr. Bonnerjee will address audiences in Lincolnshire, speaking on the last debate at Lincoln itself. On the 21st, there is to be big meeting at Northampton, at which I trust we shall both be present, convened by one who deserves a word or two to himself.

With Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's career you are probably familiar. Sprung from the people, the people have no warmer, bolder advocate, than the man who for conscience' sake braved the social odium of the House of Commons, and who, after having been refused the privileges with which his constituents had invested him has successfully carried through the present Session his Oaths' Bill. Mr. Bradlaugh has turned his attention to India. He has unlimited influence with the masses; and as, in the end, numbers always tell, I look upon Mr. Bradlaugh's intervention as the beginning of the end. He is a most powerful speaker. Tall, broad, of a most commanding presence,

clean-shaved, with a massive head, and lungs that laugh at interruption and dissent, the great secret of the Northampton member's success lies in the one simple fact that he never touches in what he does not believe. Many years ago, I heard Mr. Bradlaugh and Anne Besant conduct their own case on the Queen's Bench before the late Sir Alexander Cockburn. I was much impressed at the time with the intellectual and physical power of our new friend. I little thought the day would come when he and I would meet to join our forces on behalf of India. Yet so it is. Before we went to Newcastle Mr. Bonnerjee and I held a conference with Mr. Bradlaugh. Our briefs were not marked with any professional fee. Yet I doubt whether Counsel ever pleaded a more important cause or looked forward to a greater prospective triumph than we did that day. Unwritten, yet as clear as day light, we saw upon our papers the gratitude of Native India. We shall never ask for a more splendid honorarium than that. Your gallant reformer, the veteran Mr. Dadhabai Naorojee, was Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. William Digby was present as Solicitor for all parties. Far away in St. John's Wood, we were shown into a large airy room on the first floor, where seated at a small round table, amid a pile of papers, and regulated confusion, Mr. Labouchere's colleague was snatching a hasty meal after his labours in the House of Commons—a room crowded with books from floor to ceiling—books all neatly numbered on their backs—a room crowded with evidences of immense labour and mental preparation. I was not surprised to find a large array of English law reports. Mr. Bradlaugh is his own Counsel, and has not unfrequently occasion to test his own aptitude for the law. Notices of lectures to be delivered, started one in the face all round the room. Literature, which orthodox Christianity would shudder at a atheist—Christianity is not always charitable—littered the carpet and gave a delicious aroma of non-conventionality to our meeting. Into its details I need not now go. But we settled there in solemn cnclave a "Plan of Campaign" which Indian authorities would delight to proclaim, to the pleasant accompaniments of coffee and cigars. A man negatively, cannot be wholly bad who smokes himself. A man must be positively good, who keeps a cigar for a friend. Mr. Bradlaugh had read his brief before we came. He was marvellously well up in the facts, seeing the little leisure he had had at his disposal. No scamping workman he. Not a detail escaped his attention. He questioned when in doubt. He argued whenever we dissented. Our views were tested, our opinions weighed. It was evident your counsel meant to win his case. Mr. Bradlaugh will lecture on India in every town he visits. He will strike home to the basis of all power—the people. Rarely does the House initiate reform. The pressure comes on the first instance from the country. No one was more frank than Mr. Bradlaugh himself upon those social aspects of his position which, in the eyes of some, detract from the value of his advocacy. But you will trust our choice. The junior member for Northampton holds a unique position in the House; and men respect the unquestionable honesty of one who, however much they differ from him on questions of taste, of religion, of politics, are fain to confess that Mr. Bradlaugh is rarely wrong in his facts, and never in sincerity of his convictions. We must step for the fight. It may be we shall have to take off our gloves. I would gladly discuss the question without heat, without reprimand. But alas! I foresee grave symptoms among those in authority in India to meet our requests in a spirit of

opposition and contempt. I shall regret the necessity to cross swords. But I shall ~~not~~ retreat. And if so, be that, we are pushed in self-defence to something more self-assertive than the amenities of debate, I shall face the situation none the less cheerfully, for the knowledge that behind the eight skirmishes of our Indian forces we can rely upon the stern and solid battalions of stout hearts and many virtues which will second our efforts in England under the generalship of Charles Bradlaugh. The gay and gallant butterflies of the Cavaliers were routed by rough uncouthness of the Round heads. The butterflies of India must make way for the members of the people. We want no jostling. But we cannot afford to be pushed back. Our excellent officials must remember that civility is reciprocal. No one cares for a barger's oaths. But the veriest idler objects, to his skiff being crushed.

I will write again next week. Meanwhile I trust you are taking up the hint as to a National Fund. Truth always triumphs to the end. But triumph is ambrosia by the boundless power of gold. You know your wants. You know how to ask for them. But no real movement has ever achieved success which had not behind it, in addition to the lusty throats of honest men, the lusty influence of coin—*Verba sap sat*.

EARDLEY NORTON.

III.

LONDON, 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1888.

SIR.—The report, which has been sent you of the meeting held at Northampton, needs nothing from me to ensure the cordial welcome with which you will all greet this the latest evidence of the good will which England feels for India. We, who are laboring for enhanced political liberty and that sense of increased dignity and responsibility which accompany the gift of gradual but ever-widening Self-Government, have started on the right road to success. We may have to toil with great labor, but I feel sure we shall never lose our patience or our heart. The end we aim at is worthy of our best endeavour; and our endeavour should be to stir the masses of England into sympathy with our wants and our methods of ventilating those wants. The conditions under which we live in India are possible only because of the complete and universal ignorance which in England enshrouds all things Indian. We have enlisted on our behalf many able and sincere men of quiet but extensive political connection, upon whom the exposure of the system under which we live in India has fallen like a revelation. They are men not easily to be daunted, as they are men not easily to be moved. It is matter for very sincere congratulation that Mr. Bradlaugh has thrown the weight of his earnestness and influence over the working men of England into our scale. Many may differ with his political views. More may entertain a sense of aversion to his religious and social bent. But all are agreed as to his honesty and indomitable courage. His name will ever be linked with that great struggle for consciences' sake, which was brought to a successful issue by the passing of the Oaths Bill. He will give us his time, his energy, his talents, his voice. He will be your unpaid champion. But it is patent that meetings cannot be convened, halls hired, placards printed, hand-bills circulated, advertisements scattered far and wide, and gas and fire provided in the various centres.

of speech and lecture, without money. It has been estimated that it would cost about £50 a month to enable Mr. Bradlaugh to visit and stir the great centres of English thought and votes into a knowledge of our ambitions and our wrongs. The autumn is an admirable period for such a series of visits. Surely I do not hope too much when I hope that Calcutta and Madras and Bombay will, between them, be wise and rich enough to guarantee the payment of £50 a month for four or five months. Mr. Bonnerjee has written to me to know how much of this sum I think Madras might fairly be expected to furnish. I have told him that if, as he says, Bombay cannot be relied upon for anything, a statement which, for the credit of our Bomday allies, I trust will prove to be wholly groundless Madras may be able to contribute £20 a month, I have pledged myself to nothing. But I hope my Presidency will prove itself equal to the occasion, and lead, as it always has done hitherto to good fight for progress and reform. We in Madras have been made, during the Grant Duff's *regime*, peculiarly acquainted with grief. We can only guard ourselves against a repetition of such monstrosities by winning for ourselves the right to have some voice in the administration, the power to question the Government in our proper legal places as deputies of the people. Such a right can only be acquired by rousing English sympathy—and to do that, we must pay for the privilege of informing the English public, how in the language of Lord Lytton, we have been "cheated" of the promises made to us by our Queen, and the Parliaments of England. If Bombay will not help—thongh I cannot credit the charge—will not Madras contribute £20 a month towards the cause we have so near our hearts? An ounce of example is worth a ton of speech. You may enrol me among our subscribers for £8 a month for 5 months, if some of my good Native friends will make up the balance of £12 a month. But there is no time to be lost. The autumn has begun, and will fly apace. Before Mr. Bradlaugh moves next year for his Rayal Comission, our case should have been stated before audiences in each of the principal towns of England.

I could not myself attend the Northampton meeting. The original date was suddenly altered, and I could not disturb long-made engagements. To me it was a disappointment. I should have liked to witness the great demonstration of sympathy, with which Englishmen untrammelled by hindrances of narrow caste-prejudice or selfish considerations of loss of place must always welcome the demand for greater freedom. So far as you were concerned, however, my absence at Northampton was of no moment. Mr. Bonnerji's charm of manner and of speech, his perfect simplicity, go straight to the hearts of an English audience. I had ample proof of this at Newcastle. Englishmen are proud to think that to their own teaching and education can be directly traced a produce such as Mr. Bonnerji. In this healthy climate a cry for freedom is not construed into treason. We are greatful that you have learnt so quickly and so quietly from yourselves the constitutional method in which to pray for constitutional reform. Our old friend, Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji stood on the platform at member for Bombay. His name is a household word throughout India, and his reputation will not be impaired by Mr. Macleane's attack upon his statistics in the House. Were it not matter for tears that education and self-respect are apparently so backward among a large section of the Mahomedan community, I could laugh at the notion,

of a "Patriotic League," established for the purpose of stifling patriotism. A love of country would teach patriots to lift it, and themselves (!) above the miserable plight of being taxed unasked and of being made the sport and pastime of a handful of strangers who are as free to do what they choose as is the wind to go where it listeth. Patriotism would strive to better the condition of the people, not to stifle progress by the pitiful combination of landlords and Knights of the Indian Empire. Patriotism would rise above the petty jealousies of rival faiths. It would place the good of the country in the first rank, its harmony with Political Agents and Government House in the second. Our late Governor talked a great deal of nonsense. But amongst the most pernicious of his flights was the compliment to the Mahomedan community on their in born capacity for rule. It is a dangerous thing to blind a people to their true wants by the application of flattery. The trick may be successful for a time. But the dissentient Mahomedans will find themselves in an awkward predicament when they see their injudicious opposition futile, and discover that they have made themselves the laughing stock of Western civilization and Eastern intelligence. It is true that the Mahomedans of Bombay have decided to stand aloof from the National Congress, the decision is to be deplored in their own interests. It is difficult to see why Hindus and Englishmen should not meet to consider laws, to criticize the Budget, and to ask questions on matters of public moment, because a section of the Mahomedans have not yet gone to school. The followers of Islam cannot expect all the world to stand still until it shall please Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Syed Ahmed and Mr. Beck to give the order to march. We do not ask for Self-Government. The outcome of English education and contact with English influences and English modes of thought have naturally roused in India a desire to taste something of Englishmen's political liberty. It would, indeed, have been lamentable if it had been otherwise. Englishmen would have had good cause to deplore their own inaptitude to instil the truths of political freedom in the minds of the Natives of India, or the sterility of Native ambition and the incapacity of Native intelligence if after a long course of precept and example India has not transplanted to her own soil some of the seeds of English independence. Believe me, England is proud of her teaching and its effects. She will be astonished at the moderation of your demands. The Mahomedan secessions—one of the very best speeches by the way at the late Congress was by a Mahomedan on the Arms Act—will strengthen and stiffen our joint purpose to succeed. I hope the Committee of the approaching Allahabad Congress will reserve a conspicuous space for members of the Patriotic league, so that Mr. Caine and other members of Parliament, who may be present, may have an opportunity of comparing the silent Patriots (the two Knights and Mr. Beck) with the noisy traitors (the deputies at the meeting) who endanger the British constitution, and accelerate the Russian invasion by a demand to criticise their taxation, debate their laws, and enrol themselves in Volunteer Corps for the defence of themselves and their Empress the Queen.

Since writing the above, I have received and read some of the Madras criticism on our selection of Mr. Bradlaugh. I have replied^{*} to the *Mail* in answer to "anti-

*SIR,—In your weekly issue of the 1st September, which reached me by the last Mail, there is a letter from "Anti-Iconoclast," on Mr. Bradlaugh's relations with the National Congress

Iconoclast's" letter, and I take it that Sir Charles Lawson will not deny me a hearing, I will not here repeat what will appear in his columns. This much, however, I will say. You shall have an opportunity in public meeting of approving or condemning our choice of an advocate so soon as I return to Madras, which will be on or about the 2nd November. Religious sentiment is in India,—I thank God, less pharisaical than it is here,

movement which I trust to your sense of justice to permit me to answer. To the tone of your correspondent's communication I take no exception. He has a right to be critical, and I welcome the interest he evinces in that great national demand for reform which—in no spirit of prophecy, but because I know it to be based on facts which cannot be gainsaid, and to be conducted on principles which cannot be suppressed,—I believe will secure all that it now asks for the immense advantage of England and of India. "Anti-Iconoclast" is critical, but, courteous, and he may be glad to be placed in possession of facts as to the accuracy of which I can formally vouch.

Mr. Bradlaugh was not chosen by myself alone I do not recede one whit from the share of the responsibility which his choice involves. I still believed Mr. Bradlaugh to be a champion of whose alliance we and our cause need never feel ashamed. But, as a fact, his nomination to be our leader, a nomination which I feel sure Mr. Bradlaugh is as proud to secure as we were to give—was settled after grave consultation between Mr Dadabhai Nowroji, Mr. Bonnerji, Mr. Digby, and myself. We were fully aware of Bradlaugh's antecedents. His past life was a book that all who ran could read. He himself fairly and honestly stated the repute, which, in certainly and not unimportant quarters, his name held in England. Our choice was no blind leap in the dark. We needed an advocate with a seat in the House. We needed one who possessed great intellectual ability, great grasp of fact, with leisure to study and with brain power to digest, an advocate with inherent sympathies for a people's want; one who could not merely understand, but could enforce; an advocate would secure a hearing inside Parliament, and outside it give a great impetus to a great work by arresting the attention of English voters; one who could, by appealing to their understandings, touch their hearts. Above all we needed an advocate of indomitable energy and courage, who could not be scared from his purpose by the threats of party, or the blandishments of official ties, one who would estimate at their just worth the evasions, or the silence of the India Office or of our Indian bureaucracy, I still maintain that Mr. Bradlaugh combines in his one person all the qualifications we were in search of, and more than we could hope for in most Members of Parliament. Your correspondent—to me it seems most ungenerously denies that Mr. Bradlaugh has any "character." Yet he commands respectful attention in the House of Commons, and if want of character be taken to connote want of morals the first assembly of gentlemen in the world would scarcely give a courteous hearing to an individual who was absolutely destitute of morality. That Mr. Bradlaugh may hold extreme views on religious and social topics is beside the point. So do many Members of the House of Commons and of Lords. The test is does he hold them honestly? I have never heard it whispered that he did not. Mr. Bradlaugh's courage and patience and perseverance have been unquestionably proved. His success last session with the Ootacamund Bill was a marked triumph in the history of the struggle between prejudice and conscience. He is a very powerful speaker. To his earnestness and power with his audience I can formally testify. I have never painted him a paragon I do not believe him to be one. I never knew a man who was. Nor do I care to meet one. But he is an honest and an able man, of large and generous sympathies, of indomitable endurance, and with a rising career. He sincerely

where in addition to the national extravagances we maintain a national church. You, Natives, will take a juster, a broader, and a more logical view of a man's qualifications than the majority of Englishmen among you who have been accustomed to find their doctrine, like their medicine, provided for them at your pecuniary cost. You do not adopt Mr. Bradlaugh's religious views, because he adopts your political sentiments. The Athanasian creed condemns your millions of fellow-countrymen to eternal damnation because they do not profess the religion of the Protestant Church. Yet numbers of his fellow-countrymen do not scruple to associate with you (and to dip their hands pretty

believes in the justice of our demands. That is one-half the secret of advocacy. He has the power of instilling his belief into others. That is the other half. To us who are of the people, and labor for the people, it is no drawback in our champion that he is himself one of the people. He will speak with a more simple and stirring eloquence in that he can tell his great audiences of English working men that their fellow-subjects over the sea have chosen one of their own members to tell the plain and simple story of their wants to English ears. The time will come, and that not slowly, when men of higher family and of longer pedigree than Charles Bradlaugh will put their hands to the plough with which he has turned the first sod of Indian liberty and reform. But in those days we in India shall never forget the brave and generous response he gave our cry, and all the great ultimate success we shall bestow ungrudgingly upon the man of the people—Charter Bradlaugh.

"Anti-Iconoclast" has referred to Mackay's "Life of Bradlaugh." He invites the Natives of India to study that biography. So do I. But as an instance of malevolence and dogged determination to maim a political opponent. Hear are the facts. Mr. Bradlaugh on the appearance of the book, prosecuted its printer and others for libel. The printer apologised at once, and paid a sum of £25 to the Masonic Boy's School and all the cost of the action. Mackay himself became bankrupt after the proceedings were instituted. Gann, the nominal publisher, cannot be found, and has been sworn to be non-existent. Lastly, the person who was believed to be instrumental in procuring the publication of the libellous life swore that he had nothing to do with it. Will "Anti-Iconoclast" still recommend the libel as a fair biographical *resume* of Mr. Bradlaugh's life and character? Again, your correspondent advises us to secure the services of a purely "disinterested" advocate. The insinuation, of course, is obvious. But it is not true. Mr. Bradlaugh has neither received, nor been promised, a six pence, now or hereafter. On the contrary, when a greatful recognition of his unpaid advocacy prompted some of us to break to him our desire to contribute substantially on behalf of the Native of India to the payment of costs, which have loaded him with debts. Mr. Bradlaugh once for all declined offer of assistance. If he is not disinterested I know not who is. Our selection will be publicly submitted to the Natives of India. I shall do so in Madras immediately on my return. They may ratify or cancel our choice. But in the meantime I take this opportunity of vindicating my own action in the matter, and, of speaking the simple truth on behalf of a man whose private life has successfully withstood the fierce glare of political and religious rancour, and whose public utterances and efforts on platform and in the House have uniformly been directed to attain freedom of speech and thought, and to protect and advance the interests of the great masses of the fellow-countrymen.

EADLEY NORTON.

London, 27th September.

deeply into your purses) because you follow a system of theology which is abhorrent to the charitable constitution of *bona fide* Christian. Mr. Bradlaugh's private life is clean and wholesome, which is more than many of his assailants can claim for their own lives. He is not a rich man, nor has he a handle to his fame. I would sooner leave my case to Mr. Bradlaugh than to Colonel Hughes-Hallett : yet many of your critics would be silenced by the charge, and condone the Colonel's profligacy for his social position. Put away such stuff from you. Look facts full in the face, and judge a man by what he himself does and says, and not by the estimate placed upon his actions by the rancour of envious dulness or the narrow minded judgment of sectarian and ecclesiastical prejudice. The strength of your case lies in the number and the truth of your facts. These must be pushed home to the multitude. There is no short cut to success. You need a man of physical and intellectual strength. Mr. Bradlaugh has both, and I do not know one who through his career, has lived more openly and more consistently upon the maxim which guided John Bright before his intellect was paralysed by the sceptic liberal unionism, whatever that may mean, "Be just and fear not."

One word about Irish affairs. The issue at stake is stupendous. Our fate in India depends in a measure upon the success of that policy for the public and generous proclamation of which London "Society" turns its back upon the Home Rule member. To my knowledge they are "boycotted." But there are other considerations in life than dances and dinners, and men are not deterred from preaching the truth because fashion shuts its doors in their faces. If the Government succeed in proving their case before the Commission which has begun its labor—for the *Times* and the Government are one—the solution of the Irish problem, capable of only one solution will be deferred to the far-off future. And the victory will cost you dear. You will be staved off with something less than courtesy, and conscience will lie deadened under the sense of triumph. Not that I have any doubt as to the issue of the Parnellite Commission. Not all the loading of the dice can make a Bench of English Judges do less than their duty, or more than their conscience dictates. But it would be well if you, on whose behalf the Irish members profess and feel a political sympathy, would join me in sending as a token of interest and good will a subscription to the fund for the defence, that is now being raised. It would come from India with peculiar grace. India that can say to Ireland in the words of Dido.

Hand ignara mali, miser is succurrere disco.

EARDLEY NORTON.

IV.

NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB,
28th September, 1888.

SIR,—I am writing you my last letter from the institution, which is indebted for its present stability to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. William Digby. That same energy which he threw into the formation of the Club, he is throwing into his work as our Political Agent in London. To his intimacy with staunch and leading Liberals, to his familiarity with political organization, to his ardour on our behalf, to the sincerity of his convictions in the cause we advocate, the Natives of India owe in no small degree, whatever measure of success has attended our efforts to enlighten English public as to the wants of India. Unquestionably, Mr. Digby is the right man in the right place ; and before I leave England—I sail from Marseilles on the 7th of next month by the French steamer *Irrawaddy*—let me entreat all my many Native friends and all the many more who are interested in the success of those reforms for which your National Congress is striving, to make a resolute effort to place their Political Agency upon a sure and sound financial basis. We need a home in London ; an expert ready with pen and tongue to watch our interests, and repel the attacks which ignorance or jealousy, or alarm may make upon our cause. We need some one to carry on the good work begun—a man of action, a man of knowledge, a man of resource, one with the knowledge how to push a people's wants, and one with influence among those who can teach and educate constituencies. Such a man is Mr. Digby. The laborer is worthy of his hire, and we must pay Mr. Digby as handsomely as we can. The work is no child's play. It entails great labor, and the expenditure of much time and talent. You have spoken. Now you must act. Unless you desire to see the fabric of your political edifice crumble away and fall in ruins through want of vitality, you must back your speech by money. No great reform was ever carried without a corresponding expenditure. Within a fortnight the enthusiasts of the Anti Corn League Association

subscribed something like £ 250,000 for the triumph of the cause they had so sacred. You are not expected to do as much. But there is money enough—and more than enough, among the Natives of India for the grand and solemn purposes which our Congresses represent. There is a fatal tendency among you to sleep over great measures. You must make some self-sacrifice, and discard sloth and purely selfish consideration of personal ease, and stint yourselves, if need be, to consolidate the work upon which so many of us are laboring. Natives can be found ready and willing to pay for senseless statues, and to squander wealth upon self-glorification and foolish titles. You should divert some of your money to raising the political status of yourselves, your children and posterity. I know the cause is dear to you. Prove it to the world at large by relieving your leaders of the dread which straightened pecuniary circumstances inevitably arouse. I will not name the Nativegentlemen of my acquaintance who ought, in my opinion, come publicly forward and subscribe largely to a great public movement. But there are many such in Madras. If nine of them will give rupees 1,000 each, I will be the tenth to make the contribution of Madras Rs. 10,000. Will they accept my friendly challenge ?

I see it publicly stated in one of Madras papers that his friends deplore the publication by Sir Richard Garth of his late pamphlet on India. I should like to know who these friends are, and why they ventilate their regret. Sir William Hunter, in the "Contemporary Review" for last month, quotes largely and with approval from Sir Richards' writing. Aid from such a quarter is all the more welcome that it was unexpected, and while the Natives of India should be grateful to the Conservative gentleman, who, from his quiet retirement, comes so gallantly to the assistance of the country to which he owes a handsome pension, Englishmen should be proud of the kindly, genial lawyer, who has had the wisdom to see the plain truth for himself and the courage to proclaim his discovery to the world. One criticism upon him deserves a passing notice. Sir Richard Garth is taxed in the columns of the *Mail* with ingratitude. To whom? The English authorities. And why? Because the India Office permitted him to succeed to a pension to which he was not entitled by length of service, and because, Sir .Richard has told them the convictions he was arrived at after personal acquaintance with an Indian career ! Surely never was criticism so misapplied, and so confused. Sir Richard draws his pension from the pockets of the Natives of India. His duty is to them in the first place, to the India Office in the second. If he cherishes any sense of gratitude, it should be directed towards those people who help to make his honored old age comfortable, if not affluent, by a handsome pecuniary contribution. And Sir Richard would have been guilty of gross ingratitude to the people of India, if really believing what he has published, he had suppressed his views out of deference to the India Office. That institution does not give a six pence towards Sir Richard Garth's pension. It is easy for them to be generous at the expence of others. No one grudges Sir Richard the pension which very many of us deeply regret he was compelled by ill-health prematurely to apply for. Let us accord warm praise and admiration to the just and fearless gentleman, who unlike so many, who care nothing for India once they have left the country, has ventured to lend the weight of his blameless name, of his legal reputation, of his long experience and of his Privy Councillorship to the advocacy of the peoples claims. To such we turn, Natives and Europeans alike, in reverent admiration. Were all officials as gentle and as true, the links which bind India to England could be riveted in a fashion to defy the assault of time or trouble.

Now that Sir Richard Garth has been publicly accused of " ingratitude " to the India Office, because he refuses to accept a pension at the price of stifling his conscience, it is time that the true history of his retirement from Bench should be known Sir Richard, at the outset, had neither the wish nor intention to retire. He applied for leave, desiring and intending to return to his seat so soon as recruited health would permit him. But this proposal did not chime in with official views in Calcutta. If Sir Richard did not resign, but merely took leave, the Calcutta authorities would have to choose between Mr. Justice Mitter and Mr. Justice Cunningham. To impartial and fearless authority, bent only upon doing its duty and not upon making its tenure of office easy, there would have been no question of choice. Both upon former precedent and by right of his own great abilities, Mr. Justice Mitter was

clearly entitled to act as Chief Justice. But his appointment, it was expected, would revive the Ilbert Bill agitation, and a strong Judge and meritorious officer was accordingly passed over to avoid a scene ? Mr. Justice Cunningham was, of course, out of the question. Not even the Calcutta authorities could stomach that charming novelist in the supreme chair. But what was to be done ? There was only one course open. Pressure was brought to bear upon Sir Richard. Mr. Ilbert implored him not to fix the Government in a cleft stick. He was assured that if he would retire at once so as to enable the appointment to be filled up, he would secure the influence of the supreme authority to win him his pension at the India Office. If Sir Richard would not retire, he would, of course, come back when well. But if he could not come back when his leave was up, it was pretty plainly hinted to the retiring Chief Justice that he had earned no pension, and that the very gravest doubts would surround any future discussion as to pension. Sir Richard yielded. But where is the reason for gratitude ? I can not see it. I can only see a most unmerited slight on an able Native Judge, and a dereliction of duty. I have not got any facts from Sir Richard, but I should be surprised if they can be contradicted.

UNITED UNIVERSITIES CLUB,
5th October, 1888.

My last day in England ! I leave to night. Delay in taking my passage has deprived me of a berth in the P. & O., for I sail under French colors I shall be with you shortly after you receive this. The *Times* has printed a couple of letters from Mr. Elliot—one, I believe a coffee planter in Mysore on the National Congress. We are depicted as traitors, by the aid of clumsy misquotations from the speeches of the delegates. Twice my remarks at the late Congress have been indented upon as showing the absurdity and disloyalty of our demands. Mr. Elliot is very wroth that my remarks were cheered. I have written a reply, but it is more than doubtful, whether the *Times* will print it. Meanwhile, Sir William Hunter has taken up the cudgel on my and his own behalf, and writes a letter in to-day's *Times* in which I am alluded to as Mr. Eardley Wilmot ! What have I done to lose my personality thus ? Mr. Bonnerji is up to his eyes in work in Lincolnshire, where he is touring with Dr. Aubrey, who, I hope, at the next election, will displace Mr. Stanhope, the present member. Mr. Bonnerji has had capital audiences, and has been most warmly received. Our mission speaks for itself. The language of facts appeals straight to the intellect, and hearts open to the record of misrepresented India. We cannot vie with the "Patriots" in grandy decorations, and we cannot enter a drawing-room ablaze with medals which make us look like successful market gardeners at an exhibition. These are the exclusive appearances of the "Patriots." Yet we continue to be heard, and to receive a generous welcome, and people sympathise with the recital of our wrongs. I should love to stand on the same platform in England side by side with some one of these members of the "Upper House," and tell an English audience how, and why each wore his tawdry decoration. I should like to follow after one of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's wild appeals to muscular Christianity, or Mahomedanism ; or better still enlighten the audience upon Sir Lepel Griffin's claims to preferment and nation's gratitude. Best of all would be the sight of Mr. Bonnerji in succession to "Patriot's" infated nonsense. That mild and able Hindu—whose professional advancement I am assured is now for ever stayed—would do more in 5 minutes to draw the veil of ignorance from English eyes, and raise a response of fellow-feeling in English hearts, than all the crew of "Patriots" could effect in the way of harm by a week's declaration of all the nonsense Sir Syed Ahmed should talk and Mr. Syed Husein Belgrami write. I will answer the latter gentleman on boardship. There is one sentence (suppressed by the way in the report of the *Madras Mail*, but printed in the *Deccan Times*) in Mr. Syed Hossain's letter which ought to be written in characters of diamond upon a golden ground and gummed to the manly bosoms of our stalwart "Patriots"—as indicative of their picturesque morality and sense of right and wrong. "Better," says Mr. Syed Hossain a thousand guilty Crawfords than men of the class who preach sedition at the National Congress." I scarcely know which to admire the more ; its downright mis-statement of fact, or its unblushing immorality. I would yet

make Sir Syed Hussein a C.I.E., He is worthy of a better fall. I would make him a K.C.S.I., or Editor of the *Madras Times*. No man could support both honors, or I would crush him with the double dignity.

I am, &c., &c.,
EARLTON.

THE COMING CONGRESS, 1889.

INDIA TO ENGLAND.

Thyself, dear England, hidst the parent stone
 For halls designed to house the growing height
 Of freedom; whilst with reverent delight
 The people guessed the labour of thy throne.
 Since first thy toil a century hath flown,
 Rich with true effort, till upon our sight
 Bursts the new home where Thought and Trust unite
 With strength, to claim one chamber for their own
 Here fall the nations' prayers upon deaf ears,
 And eyes that see but self, refuse to see
 The splendid purpose of thy generous band,
 Wil'st thou redeem thy pledges? Shall the land
 Gather fresh vigour at thy just decree?
 Or, 'neath her despot's touch, lie sick in tears?

EARLTON.

DUNMORE HOUSE, 9th November, 1888.

INDIA IN ENGLAND,

VOLUME II.

BEING

A collection of speeches delivered and articles

WRITTEN ON THE

Indian National Congress,

IN ENGLAND IN 1889,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

BY

PANDIT BISHEN NARAYAN JADAR,

(*Barrister-at-Law.*)

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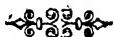
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SOME HISTORICAL ANALOGIES TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.



The Indian National Congress, like every other great political movement which has helped mankind to break through the fences of privilege and prescription and to take a forward step in the path of progress and civilization, has from the day of its birth been subjected to most searching criticisms, at the hands, alike of its friends and its foes—those who read in its humble origin the promise and potency of a great regenerating element in the political life of India, and those who looked upon it as a movement which inspired men with a discontent dangerous to the public peace and security, which assailed the political monopolies of an alien bureaucracy and called upon the people to claim equality with their rulers in the government of their country. The critics of the Congress may be divided into two classes—those who have been opposed both to its objects and the methods by which it has sought to achieve them, and those who while viewing with favour and even sympathy its principal aims and objects have been opposed to it on the ground that the means by which it seeks to inculcate its doctrines upon the public mind, are objectionable, even reprehensible. There are still critics left of the former kind, but their number is daily diminishing and public opinion, both in India and England has come to recognise in the Congress a safe exponent of India's just political demands. It seems now to be admitted on all hands that the reforms advocated by the National party are in some form or other needed by the political necessities of the present situation, although some of those who admit all this are yet unwilling to recognise the fact that promptitude in carrying out reforms the necessity of which has once been realised is the first and essential condition of a wise and generous concession. But there are those of our critics who approve of our demand, but entertain the strongest possible objections to our methods of advocacy of that demand, and think that so long as our methods are what they are, any concession to us would encourage and stimulate our dangerous tactics, embolden us to continue in the dangerous path we have begun to tread, and add fresh fuel to the flames of a seditious and disloyal agitation.

Perhaps the time has come now when it may be useful to show that not only the objects of the Congress but the methods by which they are sought to be achieved are loyal, peaceful, and constitutional, such as have been resorted to by the English people themselves in their struggles for political freedom, and have yielded results that have been conducive to political progress throughout the civilized

ridicule and odium in official quarters, and political agitators, who represent, without doubt, the intellect of India, are considered such a low and degraded species of humanity ; while, on the other hand, the agitators themselves—if so we may call those patriots who are fighting bravely against the fearful odds of the Anglo-Indian community, a constitutional battle for the just rights of their country—get occasionally so disheartened at the small success they seem to achieve after great exertions, and the hostile attitude of a handful of interested officials makes some of them so doubtful of the ultimate reception of their demands by the great English nation, that we may, without any further apology, place before our readers some of the principal lessons of the political history of England—lessons which teach, far beyond the reach of doubt, that it is agitations and agitators that have built up the glorious edifice of the English constitution, that have destroyed the despotism of Kings and the exclusive privileges of the nobles ; and that we, too, who are engaged in a similar struggle, but under more favourable circumstances—because we are living at a time when the conscience of England is more sensitive to national welfare, when the British democracy is more powerful and more prompt in redressing political grievances, than it was ever before—would do well to follow, without fear and without hesitation in the footsteps of those English worthies who have raised England to her present proud position, and whose example is the common heritage of all mankind.

" In our 'well-balanced constitution' says Sir Erskine May, " political agitation, to be successful, must be based on a real grievance, adequately represented in Parliament, and in the press—and supported by the rational approval of enlightened men."* Let us see how far the Congress agitation conforms to these conditions—how far the grievances which it is calling upon British statesmen to redress are real, what is the extent of the sympathy which it possesses of British Parliament, what the scope of its influence in the press, and in what light its aims and objects are viewed by the wisest of English and Indian statesmen. There exists undoubtedly much difference of opinion on this subject, and political partisanship is even now ready to deny the representative character of the Congress and the genuineness of its demands, but there are certain facts, simple but irrefutable, which must convince all those who can keep their heads above the waves of party prejudices and are not wedded to any foregone conclusions, that our political agitation which is as yet in its infancy—is conducted on the same loyal and constitutional methods which have been productive of such beneficent results in England, and in as much as it is so conducted, it is sure to triumph in the long run.

There was a time when no free press existed in India, and consequently there was no free discussion. With a free press commenced a free criticism of the acts of the Government. But there was no organised public opinion, and the diverse wants and grievances of the people—the scattered rays of national interests could not therefore be concentrated in a focus, so as to arrest the eye and engage the attention of the governing class. A generation was needed to organise a strong body of public opinion, which checked in a large measure the eccentric moves of Lord Lytton, and supported and stimulated the noble efforts of Lord Ripon. The influence of public opinion was confined within comparatively narrow bounds; and although Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose was thrilling the hearts of the English people in England with his stirring eloquence and shocking exposures of the present misrule in this country, and although Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett—alas! both of them now dead—were fighting, within the walls of British Parliament, like the brave knights of old, for weak and suffering India, yet the grievances of the Indian people were little known to the great mass of the English nation, nor had the idea of setting on foot an organised agitation in England yet assumed any definite, practical shape or form in the minds of our political leaders. The Congress organised the scattered forces of agitation in one body, and concentrated their efforts, which had hitherto been little controlled by any steady ideal of political reform and had consequently been spent not unfrequently either upon trifling or impossible objects, upon certain cardinal proposals, which include, absorb, and over-shadow all minor schemes of Reform.

The history of the origin and growth of the Congress movement is well known; it is enough for our present purpose to say that from the very first, it enlisted the sympathies of the wisest Indians. It is true that in the first year of its existence it could not be called a popular movement in the ordinary sense of the term but was confined to the educated people. But it does not lie in the mouth of our Anglo-Indian critics, among whom figure unfortunately men like Lord Dufferin and Sir Auckland Colvin to taunt the Congress with its having originated with the educated classes and not with the illiterate classes, when they must be well aware how considering the course of their own country's history, we may accept what they mean to be a reproach as a great compliment—all the more valuable, because coming from hostile quarters. It is no reproach to the doctrines of Free Trade that seventy years before it was abolished, and that long before it was conceived of and appreciated by the masses, it was taught by Adam Smith and a small band of his philosophic followers. The iniquities of the Corn-laws first shocked the enlightened consciences of men like Cobden and Bright, but it was not without a long and painful exertion that they succeeded in getting those laws abolished; and surely it is no reproach to them that they

fore-saw, and approved, and fought for what the better judgment of their countrymen—itself the result of their persistent teaching and preaching—approved and accepted a few years later. The ground for the Roman Catholic Emancipation had been prepared by the wisdom and foresight of Burke and his contemporaries, fifty years before it was accomplished, when the general mass of the English people was saturated with Anti-Catholic prejudices. The mitigation of the Criminal Law was the work not of the ignorant populace but of thinkers like Romilly and Bentham, whose utilitarian principles would surely have been condemned by the masses, had legal reforms been submitted to their suffrage. Religious and social liberties have been won by the hard struggles of Bruno, Luther, and a host of other great martyrs and reformers of the world—not by the illiterate masses who have always been intolerant of free opinions, who burnt Priestley's house for his scientific opinions, and who till yesterday would not allow Mr. Bradlaugh to enter Parliament. But surely religious and social liberty cannot lose one iota of its usefulness to men because it was won with the weapons of knowledge and not with those of ignorance; nor can the great teachers and preachers who fought under its banner be dethroned from the lofty position assigned to them by history because the vast majority of their contemporaries did not follow them, and were even opposed to them, in a work, which they thought -- and as we know now, rightly thought—was calculated to forward the best interests of progress and of mankind. All great movements begin with the enlightened few; and surely if there is any difference between knowledge and ignorance it is this, that a man of knowledge does in some measure foresee events and shapes his conduct accordingly, but the mental vision of an ignorant person is bounded by the cares and thought of the day without any capacity of foreseeing the exigencies of the morrow. It is a matter not of reproach, nor of lamentation, but of congratulation, and even, jubilation that the happy thought of subduing and organising forces which were beginning to run into dangerous courses, first occurred to some of the most enlightened of our countrymen, and that when the foundation of the great movement was thus laid upon knowledge, culture, and patriotism, it was easy to enlarge the circle of its adherents and sympathisers by popularising its teachings among the masses and by persuading them to see that a great cause espoused and advocated by the cultivated intelligence of their country waited for their support and encouragement. Whatever taunts the unfairness of political rascour may hurl at them, the founders of the Congress have yet the satisfaction of thinking—which is indeed their chief reward—that at a time when the ruled and the rulers are divided by the impassible gulf of civilization, of manners, of religion, and of nationality, when millions of Indians cannot appreciate the usefulness of those great boons which entitle the British rule to our highest affection and

regard, when the memory of the past rule is still cherished by the people, when for obvious reasons, the government and the subject race are apt to misconstrue each other's motives and actions, they have organised an institution which acts as an interpreter of the people's wants to the government and of the just but so often misjudged actions of the government to the people, and which under the present circumstances, possesses the chief condition of a safe and reliable guide to both; namely, that it represents the national intelligence and not the popular will.

Originating with the cultured few and expanding by slow degrees its influence upon the minds of the people, the Congress has within the short period of four years, grown into a power, a great political factor, which no wise government can long afford to ignore, and which has become firmly rooted and grounded in our national affections. It has survived the scoffs, and sneers, and scorn of its detractors which rocked its cradle; it has outlived the abuses, the ridicule, and the misrepresentations which greeted it in the beginning, and it is to be hoped that the storm which burst upon it at the commencement of its voyage, may be but a presage and an indication of the sunshine and calm, which await it in the not far distant future.

But even during the short period of its existence, it has passed through certain phases which bear a striking resemblance to those through which some of the great historic movements of England have passed. Arguments from analogy are not as a rule of great logical weight, and in politics they are apt to be misleading. But when the points of resemblance between any two sets of political phenomena are material and significant, when these political phenomena, besides bearing an apparent resemblance to each other, are such as may be traced equally to the universal laws of human nature and of progress, then historical analogies are the strongest aids to the right comprehension of political questions, and may with perfect propriety be used in justification or in condemnation of any proposed reforms in the government of a country. A cursory glance at some of the chief political changes which mark the history of Modern England will show that when an agitation is carried on within certain bounds and is controlled by certain safeguards and conditions, its success is assured; and as the Congress agitation fulfils these conditions, so tersely summarised in the dictum of Sir E. May, it is sure to be successful.

The history of the reform of the representative system of England is so full of interest and instruction and presents so many points of similarity to the National Congress, that it may be well to narrate it at some length in this place. The representative system of England was very defective till 1831. The House of Commons which was supposed to represent the people and to be a check upon the actions of the House of Lords, was at once dependant and corrupt. The organi-

and the Peers commanded a majority of that House. A large number of the members were nominees of the Crown, and the peers of the realm were not ashamed to bribe M. P's for their political purposes. The basis of the franchise was very narrow, and every effort was made to limit the rights of election and to make them, uncertain, inequitable and confused. In some of the corporate towns the right of election was confined only to the bailiff and twelve burgesses, and in others even a smaller number were entitled to vote. While such places as Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester were unrepresented, about thirty-five places which contained scarcely any electors at all, sent about seventy members to parliament.

The representation of Scotland was still more defective. Till the passing of the first reform Bill, the total number of county voters did not exceed 2,500 and that of burrough voters did not exceed 1,500. Thus the entire electoral body of Scotland was not more than 4,000. Cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow had each a constituency of thirty three persons.

The abuses of the representative system existed in their most aggravated form in Ireland. In Belfast and other towns the right of election was vested in a dozen self-elected burgesses. "According to the law of Ireland, freeholds were created without the possession of property; and the votes of the freeholders were considered as the absolute right of the proprietor of the soil". Thus after the Union more than two-thirds of the Irish members were returned not by the people of Ireland, but by about fifty or sixty influential patrons. The uncontrolled sway of landlords, and the political disabilities of the Roman Catholics, had placed the entire representation of Ireland in the hands of a few Protestant peers.

To reform these abuses of the elective system, "the Society of the Friends of the People" was formed, which presented through Mr. Grey, afterwards Lord Grey, the distinguished champion of the Reform Bill, a petition to Parliament, in which it was alleged that 84 individuals absolutely returned 157 members to Parliament, that 70 influential men secured the return of 150 members; and that in this manner 307 members were returned to Parliament by 151 patrons of whom 40 were peers.

It is needless to relate here the abuses of bribery; of lotteries of secret pension; and of all forms of corruption which human ingenuity and cupidity could devise: and which disfigured the history of England till fifty years ago. Suffice it to say that the evils of an unjust, inequitable, and corrupt electoral system had affected every section of the society and the statesmen of the age saw that they were doomed to perish one day, if they were not going to destroy the whole fabric of the Government. Sixty years before these abuses were put an end to, Lord Chatham warned Parliament that "before the end

of this century, either the Parliament will reform itself from within or be reformed with a vengeance from without." These words of warning fell upon deaf ears. The opponents of reform looked upon the then existing abuses as part of the constitution, and anything calculated to rectify them was considered to threaten the existence of the constitution itself.

But a reaction against the stereotype evils of an inequitable representative system had commenced, and so wise men had begun to read in the murmurs of national discontent, the meanings of a coming storm. Lord Chatham was probably the first statesman who drew the attention of Parliament to the reform of the elective machinery which he called "the rotten part of the English constitution." In 1770, he suggested a very modest reform, namely that a third member should be added to every county, "in order to counter-balance the weight of corrupt and venal boroughs." But Parliament was not prepared to listen to even this modest proposal. In 1776, Mr. Wilkes introduced a more comprehensive scheme, which also shared the fate of its predecessor. In 1780—the year famous for Gordon's riots—the Duke of Richmond presented a bill for establishing annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, &c., but it was rejected without a division. The friends of reform were not disheartened by these defeats; their earnestness in the cause was unabated, and their enthusiasm was gradually infecting the popular mind which had hitherto been indifferent to political changes. Mr. Pitt, who in his later years was destined by a cruel fate to falsify the glorious promise of his early career, made his famous motion of inquiry into the abuses of the representative system, in 1782; and public opinion had progressed so far on the question of reform, that Mr. Pitt's motion was superseded by reading the order of the day, by a majority of twenty only.

In the meantime, the Great Revolution broke out in France, which spread panic all over England, made the cause of reform unpopular in the eyes of the nation, and brought about a Tory re-action which lasted for about forty years. For some years, the word "reform" was scarcely whispered in Parliament, and the prospects of the Whig party seemed to have reached their *nadir*. At length in 1790, Mr. Flood introduced a scheme which was consigned to the limbo of abortions.

Although Parliament was determined to resist every proposal for reform, yet outside Parliament its prospects were a little brighter and more cheerful. A political association called "The Society of the Friends of People" had been formed which counted among its members several eminent politicians and men of letters, and about 28 members of Parliament, the most eminent of whom were Mr. Grey and Mr. Erskine. The association had once presented a petition to Parliament and failed; it was proposed that the subject should again be

pressed upon the attention of the legislature. In 1792, Mr. Grey gave notice of a motion similar to that which Pitt had made 10 years before. The hurricanes of the French Revolution had swept away the question of reform from the arena of public discussion and Mr. Grey's motion, after two nights debate, found only 41 supporters. For the time, the question seemed to be outside the sphere of practical politics, and after a decisive and discouraging defeat, it was allowed to sleep for another five years. In 1797, Mr. Grey again brought the subject of reform to the notice of Parliament, but his motion was again rejected—91 voting for and 256 against it. These successive defeats would have crushed the spirits, and dampened the enthusiasm of ordinary men; but the advocates of reform, far from feeling discouraged at the disastrous results of their exertions, gathered fresh strength and consolation from failures, reverses seemed to kindle their enthusiasm and rouse their spirits; defeats and disaster seemed to apply fresh spurs to their courage and energy; and every time that they fell, they rose like the god in the fable, with a redoubled strength, from the touch of mother earth. In 1818, Sir F. Burdett proposed certain resolutions in favour of parliamentary reform, but could not find more than one member to support him in the House of Commons. In the meantime, the reformers were gradually educating the public mind on the question of reform, and the signs of the times showed that the nation was awakening however slowly, but still unmistakeably to the evils of the existing system. An eminent nobleman who was destined to play a most prominent part on the stage of parliamentary life, cast in his lot with the reformers. In 1822, Lord John Russell introduced the subject in parliament in the form of a very modest resolution "that the present state of representation required serious consideration," which was rejected by a majority of 105, only 51 voting for the resolution. In 1823, Lord John brought in another motion; and this time he was supported by numerous petitions one of them signed by 17,000 free-holders of the county of York—but the motion was thrown out by a majority of 111, although the cause had progressed so far that 169 voted for the motion. In 1826, he proposed the same resolution, pointing out forcibly the injustice, the daily aggravating inequality of the representation, but his resolution was again negatived by a majority of 124. In 1830, some other proposals were made, but Parliament was not willing to move one step in the direction of reform. Indeed, so far as can be judged from the action of Parliament in the matter, it seemed as if the reformers were engaged in a hopeless struggle, as if the constitution as it then was, was going to last till the end of time. Even some of the wisest statesmen were blind to the changes that were going under their very noses, and were quite unconscious of the vast changes which the near future had in store for them. No less a man than Sir Robert Peel said in the course of debate, in 1830—less than two years before the passing

of the reform Bill "that they had to consider whether there was not on the whole, a general representation of the people in that house, and whether the popular voice was not sufficiently heard. For himself he thought that it was." A still more remarkable declaration was made by the Duke of Wellington. "He was fully convinced that the country possessed at the present moment, a legislature which answered all good purposes of legislation and to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered, in any country whatever. He would go further and say that the legislature and system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country."

While ministers were comforting themselves and Parliament with these declarations—while the wisdom of the wiseacre saw perfection in the existing order of things—a profound change was passing over the public opinion of the country, the influence of the Reformers was permeating every pore and fibre of the body politic, the national conscience was becoming sensitive to evils of long-standing, the value of political organisations was being recognised by the people, the hostility of Parliament to all measures of reform was gradually forcing itself upon the national mind which had hitherto been apathetic to its political fortunes, and a great flood of political enthusiasm was rising which was destined to destroy, ere long, the old fences of unjust privileges, and to sweep away for ever those evil and artificial barriers which the selfishness of the governing classes had built up to check and retard the progress of the just, lawful, and constitutional liberties of the English nation. The nation was at last awake, and its influence was soon felt upon the decisions of Parliament. The declaration of the Duke of Wellington against Reform, aroused the enthusiasm of the masses, and Brougham, with a very correct apprehension of the popular sentiment, gave notice of a motion on the subject of Parliamentary reforms. Within a fortnight, the Duke's Government fell, and Brougham's motion contributed, in a considerable measure, to its fall. Mr. Grey, who was now Earl Grey became the new Minister, and the first measure which he promised to introduce into Parliament was, of course, regarding the reform of the elective system. This was the first time when the Government pledged themselves to a measure of Parliamentary reform. While the ministers of the day had espoused the cause of the Reform, the influence of the Reformers was spreading rapidly in every quarter of the country. Public meetings were held; large associations were formed, numerous petitions were signed, and the whole machinery of the press was directed in favour of Reform. Still, there were great prejudices to be overcome, great obstacles of sectarian biases to be surmounted. The King was opposed to reform; the House of Lords was opposed to reform; and a majority of the House of Commons was opposed to reform. There still existed a strong Tory spirit in the country which was averse to

every kind of innovation in the existing political institutions. On the 1st March 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the measure in the House of Commons. After a long debate, the Bill was brought in ; its second reading was carried by a majority of one only in a house of 608, and in going into committee, the ministers found themselves in a minority of 8, which sealed the fate of the bill. The ministers were defeated on another side issue, and Parliament prorogued by the King in person "with a view to its immediate dissolution." The action of Parliament convulsed the country with a great agitation ; the ministers appealed to the nation, and the nation pronounced its verdict in a most emphatic manner in favour of Reform. A large body of Reformers was returned to Parliament, and after a long and heated debate, the Bill was passed in September, by a majority of 109. The Bill was sent up to the Lords who were as opposed to it as ever, and who in spite of popular excitement and the enthusiasm which prevailed in favour of reform, rejected it by a majority of 41. Ministers who were confident of their strength and who knew that the mind of the nation was with them, did not care much for the adverse vote of the House of Lords ; but brought in another Bill in October, which was passed by the Commons in March 1832, and was again before the Lords. The hostility of the Lords to reform had not abated ; but they saw that they were running a great risk in rejecting a measure which was supported by the unanimous verdict of the English people. Popular feeling was strung to the highest pitch of excitement ; the abuse of the system were felt to be intolerable, and the obstinate and defiant attitude of the House of Lords, endangered for a time the peace of the country, by inducing the people to resort to questionable means of violence and revolution. It was a great crisis in the history of England, and the Lords ranged themselves against reform, with a courage and obstinacy worthy of a better cause. They proposed to make certain material alterations in the Bill to which the Commons would not assent, and the time had come now when either the peers must yield to the national will, or the minister must resign. The King was asked to create peers in order to secure the success of the measure in the upper chamber, but the King refused to do so, whereupon the ministers resigned and their resignation was accepted. The confidence of the country in the reformers was unabated. The King saw that the tide of national feeling was running high in their favour, and that to stand against it would be to endanger the foundation of the constitution itself. With a keener insight into the state of public sentiment than the peers had yet shown, he changed his attitude, became an ardent reformer, and recalled Lord Grey to his Councils. The opposition of the Lords was gone, and the Great Charter of 1832, at length received the Royal Assent.

Thus ended in triumph a great struggle which had commenced in 1770, which for more than two generations seemed to be a hopeless

battle of the Titans against the Gods ; when in the beginning was carried on only by a very small band of wise and foreseeing men and was opposed by the bulk of the masses for whose good it was waged as well as the governing classes whose exclusive privileges it tried to curtail, which from very small beginnings grew into one of the greatest movements of the present century, and the influence of which, like freedom, ' broadened slowly down from precedent to precedent.' The history of this struggle teaches some very instructive lessons to the friends and advocates of the Congress movement. It teaches in the first place that the governing classes, even when they do not belong to an alien race, have always been opposed to every innovation which seemed in any way to ruffle the quiet surface of routine, and have stood against all measures of reform which were, in any degree, calculated to curtail their power. Not only the ruling classes, but even the masses have always been indifferent to their political amelioration and those who championed their cause fared no better at their hands than at the hands of those whose unjust monopolies they assailed. It teaches, in the second place, that the influence of the Reformers has grown in Parliament in proportion to their influence in the country, that when the country was indifferent to their teachings, they were powerless and even unpopular in Parliament, and that when they had enlisted the forces of popular zeal and earnestness on their side, they succeeded in making their will prevail in the councils of the realm. There is another moral which we may draw from the Reform Bill agitation and it is this that in every just cause early defeats are the sure preludes of success ; that the trials, the difficulties, the dangers which beset the path of the pioneers of thought are but the stepping-stones to final victory that the qualities which have enabled mankind to rise above the rank steaming valleys of sense and to scale the Alpine height of knowledge and progress, have been moral rather than intellectual—Congress, perseverance, a single-minded devotion to truth, and an unquenchable zeal for the public good rather, than extensive knowledge, a strong reasoning faculty, and a keen mental vision. Besides, it is clear from the history of the Reform Bill that when a great question has once received the unanimous approval of the nation, when the will as well as the intelligence of the country has ranged itself on its side then the best considerations of policy require, as indeed the highest principles of justice dictate, that the Government should give a fair and sympathetic hearing to that question and whenever a Government, under the influence of evil counsels fails to do so, then a reactionary effect is produced upon the minds of the people, who losing all faith in the wisdom and virtue of their rulers and in the efficacy of peaceful and constitutional means, are driven to resort to violent and revolutionary weapons. Lastly there is another moral which the Reform agitation teaches and which it will well for us to hear in mind and it

is this that no great Reform has succeeded in a day ; that fifty years of hard struggle had elapsed before the first step in the direction of Reform was taken by Parliament.

Connected, and almost contemporaneous with the Reform Bill agitation is the agitation for the liberty of opinion. Few of us by whom this liberty is enjoyed as one of the undisputed rights of man, are aware what bitter struggles it has cost those heroic men who have in far darker and rougher times wrested it from the hands of despotism and bequeathed it to all future generations. When the reform agitation had commenced, the necessity of moulding public opinion through the instrumentality of the press and public meetings was at once realised. A fresh life was infused into the press ; the publication of political tracts and pamphlets became very common ; and a number of political associations sprang up in different parts of country. The governing classes at once saw that the press and political associations were the chief enemies of the abuses upon which had rested for centuries the basis of the English construction, and that the liberty of saying and publishing things meant the destruction of those abuses. But the idea of yielding one jot or tittle of their power or privilege in the interest of the common weal, the King and the nobles were not prepared to tolerate, and every effort was made to extinguish the lamp of liberty in the heart of the nation, and to keep it in a state of object servitude. The age of the licenser, the Star Chamber, the dungeon, the pillory, and the stake had passed, but the spirit of persecution was still active and alive, and manifested itself in scarcely less cruel forms. The trials of Wilkes, Thorn, Paine, Horne, Tooke and others have become historical, and show in what light the publication of political opinions was looked upon by the people of England half-a-century ago.

Every opinion which was thought to make the people discontented with their political condition was branded as dangerous and seditious, and the whole machinery of Law was set against its author. A clever young lawyer, Thomas Muir who was charged with having taken an active part in the unpopular cause of parliamentary reform, was tried for sedition before the High Court at Edinburgh. The judges were the avowed enemies of Reform, and all the jurymen selected by the sheriff and picked by the presiding Judge, were members of an association which had erased Muir's name from its book as an enemy of the constitution. He objected to these Jurors on the ground that they had prejudged his case, but he was told that he might as well object to his judges, who had sworn to maintain the constitution. "The witnesses for the prosecution failed to prove any seditious speeches," while throughout the trial the Defendant was browbeaten and threatened by the judges. He was denounced by the Lord Advocate "as a demon of sedition and mischief." He

admitted that he had taken an active part in the promotion of Reform, and upon this charge, which the judges said was one of sedition and even high treason he was sentenced to fourteen year's transportation. Several legislative measures were passed with the object of stemming the tide of public opinion which was rising gradually in favour of the Reform movement. "Every justice of the peace could issue his warrant against a supposed libeller, and hold him to bail; the Secretary of State, armed with the extraordinary powers of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, could imprison him upon bare suspicion. Defendants were punished, if convicted, with fine and imprisonment and if even acquitted, with ruinous costs. Nor did the judges spare any exertion to secure conviction."

The fate of public meetings was not a whit happier or more secure. The Government feared the people and viewed large assemblies with dread and suspicions. All political meetings were looked upon as seditious, and a Proclamation was issued against them in 1819. A great meeting was held in Manchester with the object of presenting to Parliament a petition for the reform of the elective system. About 40,000 men assembled bearing flags, on which were inscribed "universal suffrage." "Equal representation or death" "No Corn Laws." The conduct of the meeting was perfectly orderly and peaceful; but as soon as the Chairman had commenced his speech the cavalry at the command of the Magistrates, advanced upon the people. All was riot and confusion; the meeting was dispersed, the leaders were arrested; many were cut down by the sabres or trampled upon by the horses; about 400 were wounded, and a few lives were lost. The Magistrates complimented the military, and the Government the Magistrates, upon their tact and promptitude in maintaining the public peace. But "The Manchester Massacre" as this riot was called, sent a thrill of indignation throughout the length and breadth of the country. In spite of the hard, despotic policy of the Government, influential meetings were held in the chief towns, condemning the conduct of the Magistrates, and expressing sympathy with the sufferers. A public inquiry was demanded, but in vain. Lord Fitz William was dismissed from his lieutenancy, because he spoke at a meeting which demanded inquiry into the Manchester affair. Parliament refused inquiry and introduced more stringent measures for the repression of free opinion. They were called "The Six Acts." "This first deprived defendants in cases of misdemeanour of the right of traversing; by a second it was proposed to enable the court on the conviction of a publisher of a seditious libel, to order the seizure of all copies of the libel in his possession, and to punish him on a second conviction, with fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation; by a third, the newspaper stamp duty was imposed upon pamphlets and other papers, containing news, or observations on public affairs, by a fourth, no meeting of more

than fifty persons was permitted to be held without six days notice being given by seven householders to a resident justice of the peace; and all but freeholders, or inhabitants of the county, parish, or township, were prohibited from attending under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Lecture and debating rooms were to be licensed and open to inspection. By a fifth, the training of persons in the use of arms was prohibited; and by a sixth, the Magistrates, in the disturbed counties, were empowered to search for and seize arms.”*

But the coercive policy of the Government was not strong enough to crush down the expansive faculties of a progressive nation. Instead of checking the progress of free opinion, it accelerated its pace, by intensifying and stimulating the zeal and energies of the leaders of reform. The feeling of anger against the Government grew stronger day by day, the defiant attitude of Parliament inflamed the national conscience and lashed into fury the hitherto dormant passions of the masses. The influence of the press went on growing steadily, and the spirit of political organisation assumed larger proportions. When the Government thought that they had almost extirpated every opinion which was in any way adverse to their tendencies, and levelled to the dust all associations of a seditious character, a great organisation was formed which was destined to play a very important part in the political History of the country.

The political claims of the Roman Catholics were advocated by Burke in Parliament, but at that time, neither the Government nor the people were prepared to accord to them a fair and impartial hearing. The first association for the emancipation of the Catholics from Civil and Political disabilities was formed in 1809, and O’Connell, the great Irish patriot was a leading member. The work of the association was to prepare petitions, hold meetings, and otherwise encourage and stimulate discussion upon the subject of the Catholic disabilities, and to arouse the Catholics to a sense of the wrongs and injustices under which they suffered. For some years, the association did not excite much interest; but in 1823 it was formed on a wider basis, embracing Catholic nobles, gentry, priesthood, peasantry; and thus it became a sort of National Parliament, holding its Sessions in Dublin, appointing Committees, receiving petitions, and levying contributions in the form of a Catholic rent upon every Parish in Ireland. Its debates were published in the papers, and among its greatest orators were O’Connell and Shiel. The Government saw that they were face to face with a great power, and that they must either suppress it or concede its demand? They were not yet prepared to dissolve the chains of the Catholic disabilities, and consequently they resolved to suppress the association. A Bill was

* May's constitutions History, Vol. II., p. 199-200.

passed in 1825, to amend the laws relating to the unlawful Societies in Ireland. It prohibited the permanent sitting of Societies, the appointment of Committee beyond a certain time, the levying of money for the redress of grievances, the exclusions of persons on the ground of religion and the administration of oaths. This measure suppressed the Catholic association ; but a new association embracing the same object, but constituted so as to be beyond the grasp of the law, was formed. Its ostensible object was to promote education and other charitable works, but its real object was political. It appointed permanent Committees and through its Church wardens collected the Catholic rent in every Parish. The Government saw that in suppressing the first association they had only killed the body, while the spirit had transmigrated into another organisation; but they were powerless. The Acts under which the old Catholic association had been suppressed was to last only for three years, and after the expiration of that period, that association was again revived. The agitation in favour of the Catholic emancipation was spreading all over the country. The continued discussions of the association had awakened the mind of the English nation to the political grievances of the Catholics, and although Parliament was obstinate in its refusal of the Catholic demand, yet the country was willing to concede it. The transfer to their side of the public opinion of England strengthened the hands of the Irish patriots, and the agitation assumed such grave and portentous proportions that the Government once more resorted to the policy of repression and proclaimed all such meetings against the law. The Catholic leaders, strong in their faith in the justice of their demand, and confident of the support and approval of the entire body of English public opinion, quietly yielded to the Government. Public feeling was strung to such a pitch of excitement, the defiant and provoking attitude of Parliament became so intolerable, the inequities of the political servitude of large portion of the people became so palpable, and the agitation stirred the enthusiasm of the masses to such an extent, that the Catholic emancipation was at last accepted by a hostile king and reluctant Parliament as an alternative to civil war.

From the foregoing illustrations it is clear how even that freedom of opinion which is a most marked characteristic of the English people, was till the other day enjoyed only by the privileged classes and denied to the masses, and how many lives were wrecked, how much innocent blood was shed—before it was placed on a safe and secure footing. There was a time—not very far remote in the life of a nation—when even in free England, the champion of liberty was the object of public contempt and execration, when his voice in the cause of freedom was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, when the rulers dreaded free criticism, and adopted every means to put it down, when the law instead of being the instrument and handmaid of justice was the engine of oppression and persecution ; but as the

intelligence of the country advanced and the teachings of Reformers kindled the national conscience, the people awakened to the sense of moral bondage in which they had been held by their rulers ; by slow, but steady efforts they marshalled their forces, and when the right hour had struck they assaulted the citadel of unjust privileges and worn-out institutions, and after a sharp struggle which put to the severest test the courage, patience, and energy of reformers, planted the flag of victory upon the top of the Capitol. Thus has the cause of justice triumphed in every age and every clime.

There is another movement of a purely moral character, which has removed one of the foulest blots from the face of modern civilization, and the history of which affords a very striking and encouraging parallel to the National Congress. The change which has during the past fifty years, taken place in the moral sentiments of Europe is so great that the people can hardly realise now the state of feelings which sanctioned and kept alive for centuries the buying and selling, like ordinary goods, of human beings among the European nations. But there was a time when the slave trade was common in Europe and was considered one of the most lucrative sources of wealth. Millions of negro slaves were brought and sold like flocks of sheep, and it was estimated that not less than 97,000 negroes were taken from Africa in a single year. The rulers as well as the wealthy classes of every civilized country had a material interest in the trade, and it seemed at the time an impossible task to persuade them, on mere moral considerations, to give up one of the most coveted prizes of life.

But an imperceptible change was taking place in the moral feelings of the times and some great men who anticipated the higher ideal of a later age raised their voice against the abuses of Slavery. Wesley, the great Methodist preacher published in 1774 his "Thoughts on Slavery" in which he strongly denounced the system. David Hartley brought the question before Parliament by moving a resolution "that the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." The motion was defeated without having excited any interest either in or out of Parliament. Meanwhile the Quakers had thrown themselves into the cause of the Abolition of the trade. They had passed resolutions condemning it in 1727 and in 1758. They even excluded from membership any Quaker who was concerned in the trade and branded it as an altogether criminal practice. They formed associations to discourage the introduction of slaves into their provinces, and to encourage their liberation, and in these philanthropic exertions they were supported by Benjamin Franklin. The agitation had as yet assumed no organised form, although here and there the signs that the conscience of England was awakening to the evils of slavery, were increasing.

In 1780, a small Quaker Society was formed with the object of moving public opinion in the direction of the abolition, and a petition for the same purpose was presented by it to Parliament in 1783. The minister of the day while sympathising with the object of the petition, was constrained to declare that the trade had become "in some measure necessary" to almost every nation in Europe, and that it would be next to an impossibility to induce them to give it up and renounce it for ever." Although Parliament was deaf to these moral appeals, yet the mind of the nation was gradually becoming susceptible to them, and the cause was taken up by some great men who were the intellectual ornaments of their age, and who by their heroic endeavours for the moral regeneration of mankind, have left permanent foot-prints on the sands of time, for the guidance and encouragement of succeeding generations. Clarkson appeared on the scene, and Wilberforce, and Granville Sharp. Wilberforce concentrated his chief efforts in Parliament ; Granville Sharp formed the "Society for the abolition of the Slave Trade," which was destined to become one of the most successful organizations in modern history. This society consisted, at first, of only twelve members, and its object was to abolish the slave trade and mitigate the condition of the slaves. Who could have imagined that this small society of 12 men would carry one of the greatest moral reforms of the present century ; yet were the righteousness of their cause, and confident of that victory which crowns every just and noble effort, and against which even the stars, in their courses, fight in vain. The first thing that this Society did was to collect materials. Clarkson devoted himself to the arduous task of collecting facts and figures, and when the huge mass of materials was thus collected and placed before Parliament it revealed horrors and atrocities of the trade which shocked the conscience of England and aroused feelings of righteous indignation against the barbarous system, in the breast of every man and every woman.

The agitation which had hitherto been confined to a small band of philanthropists and religious teachers now passed on to the people and assumed national importance. In some parts of England, the people agreed to leave off the use of sugar, as being a product of slave labour ; numerous associations for the abolition of the trade were established and affiliated to the parent Abolition Society in London ; numerous public meetings denouncing slavery were held in different parts of the country, and in one year about 519 petitions were presented to Parliament for the abolition, while there were only four against it. The King and royal family were extremely hostile to this agitation, and all great assemblages of men were dreaded and discouraged. But Wilberforce was fighting the battle of the abolition within the precincts of Parliament, and Pitt was on his side. The former brought a motion for the immediate abolition ; policy of the gradual abolition was proposed by Dundas and carried by 193 votes to 125.

The House decided that the Trade should cease in 1796; but the bill was sent up to the House of Lords, and there it was lost. The abolitionist, however, had no cause to despair; indeed, considering the great change they had produced in public opinion, within a short time, they had every reason to hope for an early triumph of their cause. Wilberforce again revived his exertion in Parliament, in the following year, and although he was again beaten on his motion for the abolition, yet he had succeeded so far that even his opponents felt the necessity of passing some measures for the mitigation of the enormities of the trade. "A Parliamentary address was carried to the governors of the colonies, calling on them to take means to promote the welfare of negroes, so that the trade should ultimately become unnecessary. An act of George II which authorised the sale of slaves at the suit of their masters creditors was repealed."* In 1798 and 1799, Wilberforce was again defeated. Thornton, another great abolitionist leader, introduced a measure against the purchase of negro slaves. It passed the Commons in 1799, but was defeated by the Lords. For some years, the cause of the abolition did not seem to make much progress; and although Wilberforce brought in his motion every year in Parliament, yet he was each time defeated. He and his colleagues did not lose heart by these apparent defeats; but adhered to their cause with increased tenacity, firmness, and patience, and continued their unremitting exertions in instructing public opinion upon the subject and in winning over to their side the support, the sympathy, and the moral enthusiasm of the nation.

The death of Pitt placed the reins of Government in the hands of Fox who was a staunch abolitionist, and a new ray of hope fell upon those Reformers who had hitherto addressed their appeals to an apathetic Parliament. A measure forbidding British subjects from taking any part in supply foreign powers with slaves, was passed. This was but the precursor of the measure for the total abolition of the slave trade, to which Fox pledged Parliament. But Fox died and Lord Granville fulfilled the pledge, and in 1807, the slave trade had ceased to exist in the British Empire. The complete success of the abolition society was achieved in 1833, after which it was dissolved, having accomplished one of the noblest moral reforms of the nineteenth century.

The anti-slavery agitation is perhaps the most remarkable instance of a just but unpopular cause, overcoming appalling obstacle, conquering unyielding opposition, rising in public estimation, however, gradually and slowly, but always steadily and surely, not, by any bloody or violent means, nor by any of those revolutionary earthquakes which are so often caused by the folly, the insolence, and defiant conduct of the rulers, but by placing its reliance upon

* Lecky's History of England Vol. VI., p. 296.

the efficacy of moral suasion, by appealing to men's rational judgments and striking in their breasts the tenderest hords of sympathy and humanity. Although the clouds of temporary defeats darkened the course of the abolitionst, although, over and again Parliament refused their prayers, and although, they representing as they did the higher morality of a later era they stood isolated from the rest of their fellow countrymen fighting for a cause against which were arrayed the forces of rank, and wealth, and privilege, and preaching a doctrine which ran counter to the prevailing sentiments of the age, yet, were they not disheartened, nor dismayed, nor discouraged, but nerved by difficulties and chastened by misfotunes, they stood firm like a rock amid the vissitudes of social and political changes, and carried to its final victory a movement which has emancipated, redeemed, and regenerated the lowest of mankind.

These great historic movements—the reform agitation, the Catholic Emancipation, the Anti-slavery Association—present striking and instructive enologies to the Congress movement, wherein are centred, for the present, the hopes and aspirations of the most advanced and patriotic section of the Indian community. The National Congress, too, as it has been already stated originated with the cultured few, but as time rolled on, its influence filtered down to the less advanced classes, until it has nearly touched the very base of our social pyramid. The number of the delegates has been almost doubling itself every year, and even Mahomedan defection is now known to be the phantom of an old man's over-wrought brain. Just as in England the classes dependant upon the Crown and the Lords were the staunchest opponents of reform, so here those who depend upon the bounties of the Government—indeed who owe their position and even their existence to the Anglo-Indian ascendancy, such as the Taluqdars of Oudh, the Nawabs, and the title-hunters—have been opposed to every popular movement. The aristocracy in England did not in the day of its power view with favour the increasing liberties of the people, nor have we any reason to think that our aristocracy will hold any more favourable attitude towards us. The growing strength of the populace made the governing classes in England a little unscrupulous in their dealing with the people; and in this country the signs are not wanting which indicate that unless, kept down by the strong arm of Parliament, the official class will have no scruple or hesitation in crushing down our activities, as soon as it sees that they are likely to become successful. As during the Emancipation agitation Parliament suppressed public meetings, so Lord Lytton, at a time, when the discussion of a great question was most necessary, gagged the Indian press in order to keep the English nation utterly in the dark regarding the state of public feeling in this country, and so indeed some *Patriots* have suggested that the Congress should be "proclaimed" and its leaders

hung, drawn and quartered for their seditious and disloyal teachings. But, as in England so in India, every reform has proceeded from the cultured few ; been opposed by the privileged classes, but as soon as accepted by the masses, been successful. In England the constant refusal of their demands, drove the people into rebellion, in India, it is to be hoped that the indifference, and even the unsympathetic attitude of our rulers will not lead to similar results, for such a course will be like inexpedient and morally wrong—inexpedient, because living under a foreign rule our motives and actions are apt to be easily misunderstood and our temporary fits of excitement may very easily be set down as the mutinous and disaffected traits of our national character ; morally wrong, because the real culprits who ignore our interests and entreaties are the officials who are loth to part with one iota of power or privilege, and not the English nation and English Parliament, who, although our real rulers, are ignorant of our real state, and to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of affection and gratitude. In 1830, such a sagacious statesman as Peel, failed to read the signs of the times and pronounced against the Reform Bill which was to become law two years later, and who know if Lord Dufferin and Sir Auckland Colvin are not equally mistaken in their estimate of the political meteorology of India, when the style as “a big jump into the unknown” those proposals of reform which are as harmless as they are just, and ere long be taken up and dealt with by Parliament.

Indeed there are some very encouraging signs visible on the horizon, which indicate that a great change is taking place in the minds of our rulers in favour of the National Congress. It is no more lightly spoken of in political circles, nor are its leaders looked upon as a set of nonentities. The old wave of abuse and vituperation now seems to have spent itself ; the cry of sedition is for the present silence ; at the panic which was caused by the two famous “Parliaments” and when drove some of its critics beyond all bounds of propriety, has subsided ; and we no more hear of petitions to Government for the suppression of the movement. The Report of the last Congress has met with a most favourable reception both in England and India. The entire body of the English Press, with the exception of a few papers, has expressed its approval of our political demands. There are a few papers which are still opposed to us, but we hope that when the light of facts dawns upon them, they will change their opinion. We are afraid not of the enlightenment of our critics, but of their ignorance which induces them to believe such absurd inventions as Sir Edward Watkin’s that the Congress is carried on by Russian gold. However the drift of public opinion is very hopeful. Even the *Times* which is one of the most powerful supporters of the Anglo-Indian ascendancy, has come “to recognise with satisfaction the general moderation and propriety of tone in the speeches

delivered" at the Congress and sees no reason to quarrel with or criticise severely the Resolutions passed on such subjects as popular education, fiscal reform, appointments to the Civil Service," and says what indeed some of our Anglo-Indian critics have not yet had the charity to say that it has "never treated the promoters of the movement, as a set of dishonest and disloyal intriguers." The Liberal Press is enthusiastic for the Congress; and the general tone of the Conservative papers, too, is of approbation, if not oseulogy. There is not a single town of importance in Great Britain where the name of the Congress is not known; and events have occurred during the last two years which show that a considerable portion of the British public is beginning to take a deep and real interest in the progress of political thought in this country. Great public meetings are held in London and other places at which eminent politicians address the people on the Congress question. Mr. Bradlaugh—his name alone is sufficient to confer lustre upon any movement with which he allies himself—has delivered powerful speeches on our political demands, and we may be sure that he who has fought and won almost single handed, a great constitutional battle in Parliament, is not likely to fail in his noble and chivilous exertions on behalf of the suffering millions of India. The Liverpool meeting at which Mr. Caine and Mr. Yule, spoke is another proof of an increasing interest in our political questions in the minds of the English people. Some English ladies lately held a meeting in aid of Indian political reform, in "Kidderpur house," the London residence of Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee. Every one remembers the "Blackman" episode; and whatever may be said by those whose chief occupation is to minimise the importance of everything which tends to denote, in many measure the success of our cause the dinner given to our illustrious countrymen, Dadabha Nowrojee by the National Libral Club was one of the most remarkable demonstrations in favour of our political reform, the image and omen of the feelings of good-will and affection which the English people cherish towards the people of this country. Besides, some of our leading men, like Mr. Bonnerjee, go out to England every year to make direct appeals to the English nation on behalf of their country, and this plan has done much good by diffusing among them correct information regarding the aims and aspirations of the people of India.

But the most useful engine of our political reform is our London Agency under the wise superintendence of Mr. Digby. Mr. Digby has earned the lasting gratitude of all India for the invaluable services he has rendered to the Congress-movement. To his exertions we owe the keen interest which some eminent politicians have begun to take in our progress. It was he who obtained for us assurances of sympathy from the greatest statesman of the age. It was he who

agitated the Kashmir question ; who addressed two powerful letters to the Secretary of State on the Public Service question ; and who defended the Congress against the unjust and cowardly attacks of Sir E. Watkins and others. The diffusion in England of Congress-literature is due in a considerable degree, to him ; and if the Indian Agency has become a centre of political weight and influence in London, it is because his literary ability, his vast knowledge and experience of Indian politics, his overflowing, regard for our well-being, have combined together in the furtherance of our great National cause. Institutions, like the Indian Agency have played such a useful part in English history, the Colonies have profited by them so much, they have been such efficacious instruments for turning the currents of public opinion in favour of Reforms that we may, without any hesitation, impress upon our countrymen the extreme necessity, importance, and usefulness of keeping up in London, at all costs and hazards, an organisation, which has already done so much to popularise our political movement, and which may, in future, become the chief medium through which the national mind of India may commune with the national mind of England.

Thus much for the changes of opinion outside Parliament : it remains to be seen now how far our cause has progressed in Parliament. In the House of Commons it is championed by Messrs. Bradlaugh, Caine, Smith, Macferlane and other leading lights of the party. They have during the present year raised a host of questions in Parliament on Indian topics. To those whom the indifference of Parliament towards Indian matters had grown wearisome and painful, the change in its attitude and the interest which it has begun to take in our movements, is as remarkable as it is encouraging and hopeful. Although Indian questions occupy as yet a very insignificant place in the field of parliamentary discussion, although our Budget is even now disposed of in a few hours with a few speeches from some independant members addressed to empty benches, although there is not any party in Parliament which has made Indian Reform one of the chief articles of its political faith, although, otherwise independent but in Indian matters, Parliament allows itself to be guided entirely by the Secretary of State, who is swayed by the Indian Council composed of retired Anglo-Indians, who on Indian questions are at least a quarter of a century behind the aged and have little sympathy with the aspirations of a "New India;" while the Secretary of State's Council generally backs up the Viceroy's Executive Council, which consisting of members who are bound to support the Government, is influenced by the bias and opinions of the rank and file of the official classes ; yet there are certain signs of the times, which those who run may read and which indicate beyond all doubt, that the present system of governing India

has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, that the mind and conscience of England are awakening to her solemn Imperial responsibilities that some English statesmen, with that courage and perseverance which marked the pioneers of the Reform-Bill Agitation and the Catholic Emancipation, are coming to the front and willing to lay their lauce in rest for a cause which is the cause of justice and freedom and the ultimate triumph of which would tend as much to the fame and glory of England as to the social and political elevation of a weak but aspiring people. The question put by Mr. Bradlaugh on Indian matters are the first beginnings of a great change. Their success may be judged by the degree of discomfiture they cause to the exponents of official views in this country. The Abkari Reform—one of the chief proposals of the National Congress, has been taken up by Messrs. Smith and Caine who have come off with flying colors from the first battle. The division on the Abkari question was a great event in the history of our political agitation. The debate took place in a House of about 500 members, and Libreals as well as Conservatives pronounced their emphatic condemnation of the excise policy of India. This is not a trifling victory; it has that within which passes show. It is a proof positive of the fact that however deep rooted political abuse may be, as soon as its nature is one realised by the British House of Commons, it is sure to be destroyed and the whole army of Anglo-Indians cannot save it from destruction.

The Draft Bill of Mr. Bradlaugh's is perhaps the greatest triumph of the Congress, cause. The aim and object of the bill, the spirit in which it is conceived, the circumstances to which it owes its birth, its place among our proposals of reform, its influence—direct and indirect, near and remote—upon our political destinies, the ability, the wide human sympathy, the fame, the courage, and the high statesman-like qualities of its author, invest it with an importance and significance which can scarcely be over-rated. The reform of the Legislative Council is admitted, by common consent, to be the foundation of all reforms; but the essences of that reform is the adoption by the Government of the principle of representation and election in the constitution of its Council. The Congress has always attached the greatest weight to this proposal, and yet this is the proposal which excited the most adverse criticisms. Lord Dufferin said that our object was to bring the executive into subjection to our will and to Sir Auckland Colvin the Reform of the council upon the lines suggested by the Congress will be as miraculous an event as the appearance of an elephant in a Scotch mist or a banian tree in Parliament Street. A Raja, under an inspiration from high quarters, published an essay on "Democracy not suited to India," and another Raja whom years have failed to bring the philosophic mind, addressed a petition for the suppression of the Congress, to the Government. Sir Syed

Ahmed raised up the phantom of another mutiny if any representative element was going to be introduced into India, and in this mischievous attempt he was backed by the whole body of Anglo-Indian Officials. The Bureaucracy knows that the success of the demand for a modified form of representative system means the curtailment of its unjust powers, that the day the true voice of the nation finds an expression in the Supreme Council and is able to influence its decision, will ring the death-knell of that despotism which tempered by justice and benevolence as it is, is yet marked by many faults and failings, the most serious amongst which are its total ignorance of the real wants of the people and its utter disregard and want of sympathy for the new aspirations to which the growing intelligence of the country is giving birth; and it is because it is aware of this that it is straining every nerve to discredit the Congress movement in the eyes of the British Public by giving false and perverted versions of its real aims and by impeaching, with a very slender regard for Truth, the motives of its leaders. In spite of all this opposition, Mr. Bradlaugh, realising the justice of our demand and that "the critical agency in political causation which men vaguely call the force of events,"* has lifted up a great question, which even its most ardent advocates were prepared to see ignored for some years, into the regions of practical politics; and whatever may be the fate of his Bill, certain it is that its introduction into Parliament will, mean the introduction of the chief proposal of the Congress—the recognition, in a most empathic manner of the weight and influence of our great national movement, and will inaugurate a new era in the history of our political agitation. Whatever may be said of the wisdom or the unwisdom of our demand, whatever charges of unpracticalness, selfishness, ignorance, and political incapacity may be brought against our leaders, it will not be said now that there is any taint of sedition or disloyalty in the objects or the methods of the Congress when its cardinal principle is accepted by one who is one of the most distinguished members of the Liberal party and is going to form, in the shape of a Bill, a subject of parliamentary debate. Thus it appears that after all the banyan-tree is going to grow up in Parliament Street and that the House of Commons, moved by a generous sympathy for the oppressed and guided by true Imperial instincts is going to accord a fair and indulgent hearing to a question which has passed through the various phases of ridicule, abuse and mis-representation, and has been pooh-poohed by our Supreme and Local Governments.

The change which has occurred in English public opinion and in the attitude of Parliament with regard to the National Congress, has influenced in a decisive manner the policy of the Government of India, and instances may be cited which will show that even in this

* John Morley in the *Nineteenth Century*, January 1887.

country, the agitation has not failed to bear fruit. The first Congress had insisted upon establishing Provincial Councils for the N.-W. P. and the Punjab, and the Government gave a Council to the United Provinces. Lord Dufferin in his famous minute approved of the suggestions of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, and of the reconstitution of the Councils on a wider basis. Lord Lansdowne has declared that the Budget will now be subjected to discussion in the Council, and that within certain limits, members will be allowed to exercise the right of interpellation. These were two important items in the demands of the Congress, and they have been granted. The great Public Services Question has been decided to a certain extent in our favour. The labours of Sir Charles Atchison, Sir Charles Turner and others have not been wholly resultless, for the age limit as demanded by us has been raised and the statutory restrictions which had hitherto obstructed our progress in the Public Service, have been somewhat relaxed.

This is a brief record of the successes which the Congress has achieved within a short time. They are due to the same causes to which the success of English political agitations is due. The Anti-Slavery Society was successful because the cause it had espoused was just because the means by which that cause was advocated in and out of Parliament were loyal and constitutional as they were the means of free and fair discussion because the intelligence and patriotism of the cultured classes were first enlisted and then the enthusiasm of the masses was appealed to ; and finally because even in the midst of reverses and defeat, the leaders of the movement did not lose heart, but with an unfaltering faith in the ultimate triumph of truth, kept alive the torch of civilization amid the hurricanes of evil passions and ignorance. If the Congress has achieved certain successes, which are but the presages and foretament of that which is in the womb of time, it is because its demands are national, and just and command the approbation of the English people ; for in these days of free discussion when upon almost every question, the democracy is the final court of appeal, no movement which is of a vicious nature or is based upon a mischievous principle, which lends its countenance to methods not sanctioned by the laws of morality, and which fails to strike the chords of national sympathy, can ever hope to maintain its position in public estimation.

Following in the wake of great English reformers, the chief organisers of the Congress movement, have relied more upon the strength of moral conviction and less upon the adventitious advantages of rank and wealth, have directed their efforts, by means of speeches, articles, pamphlets, tracts in English as well as in the various dialects of the country, to the elevation of the ignorant masses to a higher level of political intelligence, have organised centres of political activity in almost every important town.

tion, the essential feature of their demand and loyalty and patriotism the watchword of their endeavours, have appealed by the open straightforward means of public discussion to the heart and mind of England, and have succeeded in winning over to their side, the sympathies and approbation of considerable section of the British nation. The active sympathy manifested by men like Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Caine, Sir W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth, Sir Charles Turner and, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Charles Atchison and Lord Ripon, the words of hope and encouragement which have fallen from Mr. Gladstone—that most distinguished friend of oppressed nationalities ; the great support of Mr. Hume who has suffered, as no other has, for the Congress cause, but whose name will go down to posterity as that of the greatest Englishman whom Providence has sent to our succour at a great critical moment in our history—all this shows that the cause in which we are engaged is neither disloyal nor seditious, but is carried on by wise and constitutional means, and is conducive alike to the good of India, and the glory of England. The forces of the opposition have been scattered ; the Patriotic Association which was started for the purpose of counter-acting the influence of the Congress, by distorting, perverting, falsifying its objects, is now dead and buried ; and the great political movement of Modern India, supported by the whole force of the National party, and backed by the moral enthusiasm of the British public is rising gradually in public estimation, and is winning its way, by persuasion and by calm consideration into the rational minds of men. If there are some to whom the progress of the Congress does not appear rapid enough, let them reflect in their mind upon the courses of some other great historic movements which took generations to accomplish their ends : let them bear in mind that the reform agitation which succeeded in 1832 had been commenced in 1770, that 70, years of hard struggle were needed to achieve the Catholic emancipation ; but also let them remember that as in England so in India, the principles of loyalty and patriotism, controlled and guided by the still higher dictates of justice and moral rectitude are the first conditions of success ; that no sacrifice is too great which must be made, no hardship too severe which must be borne, in order to keep alive and burning in the national mind the flame of loyal and patriotic feelings : and that we, who are engaged in a great cause should in spite of the obstacles which may be thrown in our way by those who ' rod and wink behind a slowly dying fire ' hold the banner of reform bravely aloft in weal and woe, over the stormy seas upon which our lot is cast, and we may rest assured that as certainly as the sun rises from the East, the cause of Justice will prevail ; the buttresses of unjust authority, the fortresses of political abuses will fall before the moral force of a new and enlightened public opinion, as fell the walls of Jericho at the trumpet's peal, and England—the ancient mother of free nations will confer upon us the boon

of those political rights and privileges which far from weakening and sapping, would strengthen and consolidate the mighty fabric of her world-wide Empire.

December 15th, 1889.

B. N. DAR.



Reuter's Telegrams on the Congress.

[THE following telegrams, despatched day by day to the British papers, appeared in all the leading journals, were widely commented upon, formed the subject of many leading articles, and gave to the movement a foremost position among imperial public affairs]

ALLAHABAD, 26th December.

After preliminary meetings at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, the National Congress assembled here to-day in a large park, where a hall to contain three thousand people had been specially erected for the occasion. Over one thousand delegates from every part of India, including a great number of Mohammedans, were present. At Lucknow an immense procession accompanied the delegates to the railway station, and demonstrations were also made at other places on the departure of the delegates for Allahabad. Raja Siva Prasad, hitherto the ally of Sir Syed Ahmed, was elected as representative of Benares. Mr. George Yule, a merchant of Calcutta, and ex-President of the Chamber of Commerce, was elected President of the Congress on the motion of Sirdar Dyal Singh, the premier Sikh noble of the Punjab, in the absence of the Maharajah Durbanga through illness.

The President's inaugural address complained of the present system of government and of the absence of free discussion or control over the Budget charges. The speaker dealt exhaustively with the proposed reconstruction of the Legislative Councils, declaring that as regarded an increase in the number of members perfect unanimity of opinion prevailed, the non-official Europeans agreeing with the Indians on this point. He reminded his hearers that the late Lord Beaconsfield in 1858 suggested the election of the members of the Indian Council as a safeguard for Indian interests. In the present position of affairs the Indian Council in London had no power, while the House of Commons possessed power, but neglected to exercise it. He claimed that the concession asked was moderate, namely, that half of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected and the remainder nominated by the Government, one-fourth being officials. The right of veto would remain with the Executive, but he desired the establishment of a right of interpellation. Such a system of government as was proposed was no more than parallel to that which prevailed in England six hundred years ago, when Edward I., the Barons and the Commons sat together, the King and the Barons holding sway. The Congress was willing to leave the settlement of the details to a committee of three official Europeans and three Indians.

Referring to the speech delivered by the Marquis of Dufferin at Calcutta on St. Andrew's Day, Mr. Yule, declared that his lordship spoke with an imperfect knowledge of the facts. The proposed reform, would have the effect of uniting England and India by the flexible and enduring ligaments of common interests, common duties, and common service. The speech was received with applause.

Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the proceedings. Cheers were given for the Empress of India. Portraits of Her Majesty were displayed at the entrance to the park and in prominent places in the hall.

The discussion of the various matters before the Congress will commence to-day, and will last three days.

27th December.

Fourteen hundred delegates attended to-day's proceedings of the Native Congress. A committee of 100 was elected in the morning, the members of which carefully considered various draft resolutions. The sitting of the Congress was opened at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the Hon. Mr. Telang proposed "That the Congress do affirm the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Ordinances, and also of the Provincial Legislative Councils as already set forth in Resolution 3 of the Congress of 1885-86, and in Resolution 2 of the Congress of 1887 as an experimental scheme, which expansion and reform were suggested in Resolution 2 of the Congress of 1886." The motion was seconded by Surendra Nath Bannerjee and supported by the Mohomedan, Rajpoot, and Hindoo delegates. The Rajah Siva Prasad then rose, and after commending the meeting of the Congress raised an objection to certain pamphlets and some vernacular papers, and submitted an amendment to the resolution under discussion, consenting to petition the Lieutenant-Governor of each province to intervene for the suppression of such pamphlets, etc. The Rajah was listened to quietly and was granted more than the customary time, but the amendment was ruled to be out of order and irrelevant. After some further speeches the proposal of the Hon. Mr. Telang was carried by acclamation. The majority of the speakers expressed fervently loyal sentiments, which were supported by the entire audience.

A number of the speeches were delivered in Hindustani.

A resolution in reference to the public service subsequently moved by Mr. Eardley Norton, and seconded by the Hon. Feroze Shah Mehta, affirmed the statement made at the Congress of 1886, to the effect that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil service in India and England, and the raising of the limit of the age of candidates to 23 in the statutory service, had retained in the uncovenanted service professional men of proved ability and merit.

• The resolution concluded with the declaration that nothing short of the reforms suggested would satisfy the people of the country. The discussion was adjourned until to-morrow.

28th December.

A Conference of Social Reformers preceded the meeting of the Congress to-day. Reports were presented from all parts of India describing the advance made in the direction of social progres.

The Congress met at 11 o'clock, the attendance being about the same as on the previous days.

It was resolved to send a telegram expressing sorrow for the suffering which Mr. John Bright is undergoing, and sympathy with him and his family. The discussion on the public service was then continued. Various amendments were proposed, and eventually one was removed by Mr. Manomohun Ghose recognizing the value of the labours of the Civil Service Commission and praying for simultaneous examinations in India and England. This was accepted, and the original resolution was withdrawn.

A resolution in favour of the separation of executive and judicial functions, now vested in one officer, was moved by Mr. Howard, of Allahabad, and supported by the delegates from Berar, Sindh, and elsewhere, and was ultimately carried.

Resolution 3 of the previous Congress, asking for trial by jury and for various other reforms of the criminal procedure, was proposed by Mr. Kali Charn Banerjee and seconded by Mr. Chandavarkar. A long debate arose on this subject, the words of the present Chief Justice of Bengal being quoted in support of the resolution, which was in the end carried. A resolution was then agreed to condemning the police administration as unsatisfactory and oppressive, and calling for an immediate inquiry into the system.

Resolutions relating to Military Colleges, the education and training of young men for a military career, and the Indian army system, and demanding the adoption of volunteering under such restrictions as the Government might consider proper, were carried with enthusiasm.

A resolution disapproving the Abkari Excise Administration, as tending to encourage intemperance, and calling upon the Government to take preventive and remedial measures, was carried by acclamation.

Speeches were also made in favour of the reduction of the taxable minimum on the income-tax.

The majority of the speeches were delivered in the vernacular, and excited the greatest interest.

To-morrow resolutions will be proposed concerning education, general and technical, and asking for the early granting of reforms or the appointment of a

Parliamentary Committee to consider the subject, while recognizing the efforts already made to abolish the State regulation of public instruction.

29th December.

The final sitting of the Indian Native Congress was held to-day, the attendance being as numerous as at the previous meetings. Six resolutions were adopted.

The first declared that it was the duty of the Government to foster and encourage education : and, pointing out that the recent resolution on the subject of education was calculated to promote a tendency to reduce Imperial expenditure on education and withdraw it from Government control, urged the Government not to decrease its grants, and to continue to control educational institutions of all kinds.

The second begged the Government, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of introducing a system of technical education owing to the present imperfect information, to appoint a mixed commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

Resolution three suggested that the time had come for extending to the major portions of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab a permanent settlement of land revenue.

The fourth called the attention of the Government to the hardship caused to the poor by the recent increase of the salt tax.

The fifth resolution declared that the preceding resolutions should be submitted to the favourable consideration of the Viceroy, and by him to the Imperial Government ; that it was the humble request of the Congress that the reforms suggested in the said resolutions, based, as most were, on Her Most Gracious Majesty's proclamation of 1858, might now be effected, and that should it be deemed necessary to institute an inquiry, a Parliamentary Committee might be appointed as speedily as possible.

The last of the resolutions stated that the Congress watched with interest and sympathy the abrogation of the laws relating to the State regulation of vice, and recognized with appreciation the desire of the services to co-operate in the attainment of that laudable end.

Mr. Hume was re-elected General Secretary, and the Congress then dissolved amid loud and repeated cheers for the Empress.

The next session will be held in the Bombay Presidency, either at Bombay or at Poona.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

(*Daily Chronicle.*)

It is idle to ignore the importance of this assembly, or to deny that despite the contempt of a certain section of Englishmen for "black men," its delibera-

(Echo)

We have already drawn attention to the fact that the Congress met at an Indian capital, wherein resides one of the Congress's most resolute and bitter opponents, namely, Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. But an ex-catspaw of the Egyptian bond-holder (Sir Auckland was for a time, one of the two representatives of the Dual Control) was scarcely likely to sympathise with the aspirations of another subject race. However, the Congressmen might had they liked, have contrasted with Sir Auckland's bitter opposition the opinions expressed many years ago by a greater than Sir Auckland—to wit, the late Sir Bartle Frere. In all that portion of their programme which relates to legislative Councils—partly elected on a popular basis—for all the great Provinces of India, the Native Congress is simply advocating the propositions of Sir Bartle Frere. In fact, they have scarcely gone as far as Sir Bartle Frere himself proposed. All this should be stated, in common justice to the Congress, and as a proof of their great moderation. We are impressed by the fact that this great body of native gentlemen has placed popular education in the very forefront of their programme. This speaks volumes. It is interesting to reflect how the ground has gradually been prepared for a further extension of the educational policy of the Indian Government. For instance, we have studded British India pretty thickly, within the last ten years, with district and local "Board" and municipalities. It would astonish the English reader if he knew what has been done in this direction. He would see that in many respects the native Indian municipal member is far superior in diligence, honesty, intelligence, and public spirit, to many a British Vestryman. Well, the next step in the educational policy of India will be to invest these local bodies—Boards and Municipalities—with enlarged powers over the local schools. What England has done in the matter of popular education is, perhaps, the most beneficent service ever rendered to a subject by a dominant race. Be it remembered that those native gentlemen who at the Congress made their brief, telling business-like speeches in excellent English, are the product of our English colleges, schools, and Universities in India. And yet Sir Auckland Colvin, instead of expressing satisfaction and pride at the loyal manner in which these men have been turning their English education to account, has done his utmost to thwart them. He has been abusing his own handiwork—for as an Indian administrator of long standing, he has had his share in educating his Indian fellow-citizens. The Congressmen, still practical, want to see technical training introduced. They are right. And technical instruction in agriculture and forestry would confer an incalculable boon on the country. Though India is becoming a great wheat exporting country, her agricultural methods are of the most primitive description. What might she not do if farming were more scientific! We are very glad that,

before dissolving the Congress agreed to forward its resolutions to the Viceroy. Why should they not be presented to Parliament?

(*Political World.*)

The Anglo-Indian officials are sure to raise the cry that India is in danger! But the danger is in the loss they would sustain if the valuable appointments of some of the covenanted servants were given to competent natives. It is to the official mind a rupee question. If the Government would make the Civil Service an absolutely close borough, and fortify it for ever against native attack, not a word would be said against the Indian Congress. But the officials are afraid that the Government may give way, and it will be with a view to prevent this by alarming the English mind that the cry will be raised that India is in danger! There would be danger if the native movement were suppressed, and the discontent of two hundred and fifty millions allowed to gather and grow under the surface. There would be another mutiny. Now, however, when discontent is drawn from under the surface and put into words temperately and loyally expressed at the meetings of the Congress, there can be no upheaval such as would be possible under other circumstances.

* * * * *

Every European in India employs a barber, and it is said that, some twenty-five or thirty years ago, the barbers were bribed to cut the throats of their employers on a certain morning while shaving. The plot was discovered accidentally, and for some time shaving was dispensed with. But if no discovery had made, India would have been reconquered by the native barbers. Were such a plot entered into now, it would be impossible to carry it out, for natives of all castes, in all possible occupations, are in some way connected with the Congressional movement, and conspiracy against European lives would be speedily denounced.

(*Daily News.*)

The Congress, over which an English merchant from Calcutta is now presiding, has never shown the slightest disloyalty to the QUEEN or the faintest hostility to the population of this country. Some of the wisest and most experienced Anglo-Indians are in hearty sympathy with its principal aims, while its bitterest opponents belong to that feather-headed class which, after attaining temporary prominence under the grotesque rule of Lord LYTTON, has since been extinguished by the power of ridicule, and the growth of common sense. The Congress which assembled under the presidency of Mr. GEORGE YULE is, as we have said, the fourth of the series. The first was held in Bombay, the second in Calcutta, and the third in Madras. Lord DUFFERIN, when on the point of coming to Europe before his time, with the view of earning a diplomatic pension at Rome, thought fit to turn with lofty scorn upon the self-seeking natives of India. But as his remarks were based upon what, to put it

tions will have a great and abiding influence on public opinion in England. We have no fanatical belief in this country in the superhuman wisdom of officialism, and though we may not know much of India, we all know that its Government is the product of officialism and of nothing else. Our experience of Indian officials who come home with colossal reputations is not, as a rule felicitous. In the Houses of Parliament—with the exception, perhaps, of the late Lord Lawrence.—they have all seemed to be far below the standard of second-rate administrators, and, judging from the place they take among our own politicians, we have no reason to suppose that the Government of the Indian Empire as fashioned by their hands is incapable of improvement, or that non-official India is unreasonable in not being perfectly contented with it. The congress that met yesterday is the product, we may say, of many preliminary meetings of natives, and of Englishmen who are not tied to the chariot-wheels of officialism, and it is not, strictly speaking, a native congress. For example, its president, elected on the motion of the Sirdar DYAL SING, a distinguished Sikh noble, is MR. GEORGE YULE, a celebrated merchant in Calcutta, and recently president of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. There are many men of the same stamp co-operating with the promoters of the congress, so that from its first meeting one conclusion may be drawn. The movement out of which it sprang probably was a native movement, and the agitation that gave it an impetus was probably to some extent due to the laudable ambition of the educated natives of India to exercise a more direct influence on their Government than they now possess. But as the movement grew it soon developed from an Indian into an Anglo-Indian one, the connecting cord between the native and European element in it being their civil status as non-official persons; in other words, the Allahabad Congress strikes us as the protest of non-official India against its continued exclusion from a share in the government of the Indian Empire.

It is gratifying in this connection to learn that all through its proceedings the utmost enthusiasm of loyalty to the QUEEN-EMPERRESS prevailed at the congress, and that portraits of Her MAJESTY were exhibited in places of honour, both in the great hall and in the park where the gathering was held. Nor was any ill-feeling shown to Lord DUFFERRIN, whose Calcutta speech on St. Andrew's Day was devoted to an attack on the promoters of the congress.

(Eastern Morning Post.)

Whether we like it or dislike it, the Indian National Congress is a symptom which no serious observer can afford to overlook. That there should be a movement of this kind among the better-informed and better educated of the natives of India is only what might be expected in the natural course of events, and in one sense even a tribute to the success of British rule. For as the promoters of the Congress very candidly admit, the education which has made anything like a political movement possible in India, the free inter-communic-

tion between widely-separated races, the profound peace and immunity from intestine feuds, even the railways, post-offices, and telegraphs, which make an assemblage of delegates from all parts of India possible—all these things are the results of English rule and English enterprise. The English Government—and to its credit be it said—has not behaved like many conquering Governments in similar positions. It has made no attempt to keep the natives of India in the condition most favourable to subjection. On the contrary, it has promoted education, and it has to no small extent imbued the natives with the ideas of Western civilisation. The proclamation of 1858 declared it to be the Queen's will that her "subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her services," and in recent years the phrase has been more and more liberally interpreted. Through the instrumentality of Lord Ripon, local self-government has been effectively organised, and it has even been proposed that native judges should have a certain jurisdiction over English subjects. The National Congress is simply the logical outcome of all this, and whether its demands are safe or dangerous, no one who has followed the history of British rule in India has any right to be surprised that they are made.

(Daily Chronicle.)

It is not possible to disguise the importance of this imposing gathering of the delegates of two hundred millions of British subjects. To the mind of the ordinary Tory, a convention of Indians is a mere collection of persons whom Lord Salisbury, with the instinct of his class and party, described as black men, by fastening the stigma—or that which is to him a stigma—upon one of their best known representatives in this country. The fact seems to be unknown to a large proportion of this British people that our fellow-subjects of Hindostan have surviving amongst them an ancient civilisation upon which have been grafted our modern European civilisation, and that there is included in the population a vest aristocracy of birth and descent, of wealth and of learning. There are thousands of nobles and gentlemen in India who would do honour to any legislative assembly in the world, and there is education enough amongst the higher classes, apart from the priests and professors, to satisfy even so exacting an admirer of caste as Lord Salisbury himself. A thousand appointed delegates attended the conference yesterday, and we can hazard the assertion from experience that the full report of their transactions, when it appears, will at least approach in eloquence and loftiness of tone any current edition of Hansard. The President chosen was Mr. Yule, an Anglo-Indian merchant, ex-president of the Chamber of Commerce, and his selection was a significant indication of the state of feeling in the Peninsula with regard to the demands the natives are disposed to formulate.

of governing India may be dealt with in Parliament and in the country as a party question, and in the same spirit as is now seen with respect to Ireland. The least that can be done in preparing to meet the danger is to get as much sound information as possible as to the nature of the national movement in India, the extent of its demands, and the sort of government which it is seeking to reform. It would be folly to ignore the movement; it would be even more unwise to treat it with contempt. It may be right to encourage it, or it may be right to say distinctly that its demands cannot be listened to; but heedless encouragement may be at least as dangerous as rash refusal. It is doubtful if it was wise in Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon to give it the encouragement they have given, unless their minds are made up as to when and how to deal with it. Should it turn out on close examination, and after mature thought, that it is impossible to concede the principal demands of the Indian Congress, refusal will be much more difficult and dangerous than if such encouragement had never been given.

(Sussex Daily News),

LORD DUFFERIN will probably regret the farewell speech, in which he spoke in such slighting terms of the pretensions of the Natives of India to share in the government of their own country, when he reads the inaugural address of the President of the Congress which was delivered this week at Allahabad. Lord Dufferin went out to India a Liberal and an Earl; he has returned—so far as the administration of that Empire is concerned—a reactionary and a Marquis. The exchange is a dear one. More than a thousand delegates from different parts of India were present at the Congress, representing all sects, classes, and religions. Mahomedan and Buddhist sat side by side, their religious differences sunk in their patriotic aspirations. This circumstance is in itself enough to prove that Lord Dufferin was mistaken when he said that the fact of the people of India being divided into so many cults was in itself an insuperable barrier to national homogeneity. Lord Dufferin also asserted with much emphasis that the population at large took not the slightest interest in the questions raised by the Congress. This statement is strangely at variance with the account telegraphed over by Reuter's correspondent, in which he says: "At Lucknow an immense procession accompanied the delegates to the railway station, and demonstrations were also made at other places on the departure of the delegates for Allahabad." It is plain therefore that we are face to face with a national movement, and not merely with a knot of busybodies, as Lord Dufferin hinted, anxious to bring themselves into notice by airing a number of academic questions in which no interest is felt by the majority of the natives. The moderate nature of the demands put forward by Mr. Yule, the President of the Congress, must strike everybody. India is soaked with the spirit of Conservatism; her climate, her religions, her government, have all

combined to produce a patient and long-enduring frame of mind among her people. This is an excellent temper out of which to forge permanent results. It is evident that the agitation which is spreading among the natives for a voice in the control of their own affairs will be conducted slowly and quietly, and there is no occasion to fear that a clamour for impossible and crude measures will be raised. Of this Mr. Yule's speech was a striking proof.

(Reynold).

The Indian Congress, which has been sitting at Allahabad during the last three days, affords a curious and significant commentary on the recent utterances of the late Governor-General, the Marquis of Dufferin, and upon the astounding indiscretion of Sir Lepel Griffen, the Governor-General's late agent in Central India, when addressing a meeting in the capital of the Gwalior State, during the conference held in Madras last year. That responsible men could have permitted themselves to be led by the social influences of Anglo-Indian life into such language shows how powerful the forces in India are which are opposed to the natural development of the natives, and how firmly the passion for ruling is gripped on the English character. Sir Lepel Griffen was, perhaps, the worst offender; and as his offence met with no punishment, it must be assumed—The natives of India certainly assume—that his counsel was approved by the Home Government....The attempts of such men as Sir Lepel Griffen and Lord Dufferin to foster the race hatreds of the Indian people have been hopelessly failed ; and the congresses, whose sole aim is to knit the people together and to remove the discontent that exists, have been successful beyond the utmost hopes of their projectors.

(Weekly Times).

Some day, surely, we may dare to recognize the right of the Commons in India to wield the power of the purse, so it is hardly decent to shreek hysterically at the prospect, as one Tory journal does. Nor is it well to sneer at the Hindoo's faith in the English at home, and his dislike of the English in India. We dislike some of the English in India ourselves. We have felt ashamed of some of the cads and place-hunters, who, going out from amongst us as much paupers as the poorest emigrant whose passage is paid to Australia or Canada, no sooner get among the people of an ancient and high caste civilization than they sink every creditable characteristic of an Englishman and a gentleman but it is a farce to pretend that all Englishmen are like them, or that all Hindoos are represented by the Congress. We cannot help recognizing a similarity to the language and style so familiar to us at home at the hands of the Tanners, and other models of Irish good breeding ; and while inclined to let the pundits blow off steam to a judicious extent, we should watch them. A Land League in India would be awkward, and boycotting difficult to put down, especially if aided by fanatics as unscrupulous as the Thugs.

midly, may be called inaccurate information, they have injured no one except himself. His imputation of treachery was totally unfounded and was, indeed, so wildly misconceived, that it can hardly even embarrass his successor. Every one must regret that Lord DUFFERIN should have so abused, at the close of his term as Viceroy, what Lord WESTBURY described as the fatal gift of fluency. The man who evolved from his inner consciousness a spick and span constitution for Egypt which has never been heard of since might have had some patience with leaders of Aryan races who, having a thorough knowledge of their subject, are steadily working their way to reasonable and practical reforms. Up to the eve of his departure Lord DUFFERIN gave these gentlemen every encouragement, and unless he supposed himself to have received some personal affront, it is not easy to account for his sudden change of tone.

There is absolutely nothing dangerous in these Congresses, unless they should be ignored by the Indian Government in Calcutta and in London. Their demands are moderate, their arguments are reasonable, their procedure is loyal and respectful. It is sometime said in this country that they consist only of Bengali Baboos, and that the Bengalies, however intellectually precocious, are physically the feeblest folk in India. Even the Baboo represents not only his cultivated and Europeanised self, but the villagers from whom he came and to whom he returns. It is, however, wholly untrue that the delegates at these Congresses, are mainly Bengalis. Mahrattas come to them in large numbers, and Mahrattas are not people whom soldiers can afford to despise. Many Mohammedans are attending the present meeting, and it must be remembered that while some Mohammedans in India are intensely Conservative, preferring to be treated as a backward community, others are in full sympathy with the most advanced of their fellow subjects. Mr. YULE was voted into the chair by a Sikh noble, SIEVAR DYAL SING, and it may be taken that the Congress, though not of course formally representing India, contains a fair admixture of every creed and nationality. The delegates are thoroughly convinced of the advantages which they derive from British rule, and do not hesitate to proclaim their conviction. They only ask for a larger share in the administration of their country, and we trust that they will not ask in vain. The foolish people who abuse the Congress as a set of treacherous agitators may be surprised to hear that cheers were given at Allahabad for the Empress of INDIA, and that portraits of the QUEEN were prominently displayed. These Indian gentlemen know very well that HER MAJESTY cannot approve of gibes at "black men," such as the highly respectable official who, before contesting Holborn, and after sitting on the Legislative Council of Bombay, presided over the second annual assembly of the Congress. There is no real difference in principle between the Congress and the more enlightened members of the Indian Government. Perhaps the most thoroughgoing supporter of the native claims is Sir RICHARD

GARTH, who before he was appointed Chief Justice of Bengal sat in the House of Commons as a Conservative, and was distinguished for the vehemence of his attacks upon Mr. BRIGHT. The far higher authority of Sir WILLIAM HUNTER, who served under Lord MAYO, Lord NORTHBROOK, Lord RIPON, and Lord DUFFERIN has been cast, with some qualifications, upon the same side.

(*Scotsman*).

Mr. Gladstone recognises the political movement now going on in India as the beginning of "public life," and a proof that the people of India are awakening, and rising, and seeking to enter into the public life of their country. His words are at once accepted in India as an encouragement to continue the agitation and a guarantee of early success. Lord Ripon the other day, at the dinner to Mr. Naoroji, referred to the same movement, and while acknowledging the great difficulty of dealing with the questions it raises, expressed the opinion that they could be more easily dealt with now than they are likely to be if long postponed. Both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon may be right; both were careful to commit themselves to nothing definite. Mr. Gladstone's statements are true, and Lord Ripon's remark is almost a truism. It is generally easier to deal with a political agitation in its early and weak stages than when it has grown formidable enough to compel the Government to take action. But while both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon spoke vaguely, they said enough to give a great stimulus to the Congress movement, and there are many indications that the party to which they belong is preparing to give to that movement its ardent support. It cannot well withhold it. The principles on which it advocates Home Rule for Ireland are quite as applicable to India. The Indian reformers have been shrewd enough to see that if they put forward their demands while the Gladstonians are advocating Home Rule for Ireland, they are bound to secure the countenance of one British party. While its countenance, they are confident of success. They will probably find that in attaching themselves to one political party, and especially to a party rapidly driving on to the rocks, they have made a mistake. But they have at least succeeded in making the question of the future government of India a question of the day, and it is likely to prove a very serious one.

The chief ground for regarding the Indian question with anxiety is the general ignorance concerning it in this country. Suppose Mr. Gladstone, or the future Elisha of his party, were to go to the country with a proposal of representative government for India, and make his appeal, as in the case of Ireland, from the classes to the masses, are the classes qualified by knowledge to give judgment? They are not; yet if such an appeal were made, and based on the familiar ground of the right of every people to manage its own affairs, it is quite possible that a favorable judgment might be obtained. One of the great dangers of the future, and possibly of the near future, is that the method

(Age.)

It may be mentioned that Mr. George Yule is a Calcutta merchant, and was some years ago elected to the presidency of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and as soon as elected he showed that his was a mind of no ordinary activity, and his opening address reviewed the trade of India, dealing with the causes of depression in the currency and other important questions in a way that had hardly been previously attempted. Although there is a very little opportunity for such a man to obtain a publicly recognised scope for his self imposed labors, Mr. Yule was at once recognised as a man of mark, and he has sat, we believe, in the council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, if not in the vice-regal council. Even the mayoralty of Calcutta, or what corresponds to it, is filled by a paid official, so that the citizens of the metropolis as a body had no opportunity of obtaining Mr. Yule's services. However, his presiding at the Allahabad congress shows that his ability and devotion to the advancement of the people is recognised by the natives as well as by the European; indeed, we should not be surprised if his action in taking up the cause of the natives has led him to be regarded both by the Government and by the merchants as a dangerous man. That the natives have substantial grievances there is no room for doubt. That eight gentlemen, all appointed on enormous salaries (the Viceroy receives Rs. 250,000 per annum, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Commander-in-Chief Rs. 100,000 each, and the five ordinary members Rs. 80,000 each) can efficiently supervise the workings of every department in the Government of India, and watch the action of the local governments, no one can for a moment believe, and this difficulty is to a great extent enhanced by the fact that the Viceroy has no previous knowledge of the country (Lord Lawrence being the only one who ever had), and that two of the members of council are appointed from England to supervise the legislative and financial departments, and need never had set foot in India before.

Sir Edward Watkins Interviewed. ENGLISH RULE : THE FUNCTIONS OF JOHN BULL.

" You had ample opportunities of studying English rule in India. What is the sum of your impressions " asked the representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* ?

" Well," replied Sir Edward " I have followed Indian affairs pretty closely for many years, and my view of our position as rulers of 240,000,000 people is that England is the arbitrator between the superstitious Hindoo and the cunning Mohamedan and the only possible arbitrator. Once remove us and the hundred and one native races, with their hundred and one religions, would fall to and cut each other's throats pretty quickly. I never was one of those who fear that in a hundred years hence England will have to walk out. And after a personal inspection my views are puttersely : Here we are and here we intend to remain."

RUSSIAN GOLD AND THE NATIVE POLITICIAN.

"And Russia. Did you notice any alarming symptoms of Russian intrigue?"

"I was much struck by the numerous portraits of Tzar and the Tzarina, which are to be found in private dwellings in many of the places I visited, and I am strongly of opinion that Russian gold is being circulated, perhaps not in very large quantities, among these native agitators of whom you hear so much. You may compare it to the circulation of American dollars in Ireland."

"You speak of agitators. Do you refer to congressionists? Who are they?"

"I do. The State educates some 3,000,000 natives out of 240,000,000, of whom say one per cent. become professional agitators of politicians, or whatever you like to call them."

SIR EDWARD PUTS HIS FOOT DOWN.

"You don't seem to like them, Sir Edward. Surely you would not stop native progress?"

"Certainly not. But I should put my foot down and say, 'Now look here, my good friend, we're not going to give you all these advantages, and allow you, a handful of pushing agitators, who pretend to represent the wishes and the feelings of native races, to hold these congresses and conduct your agitations. Hold your meetings, as many as you choose, but we are not going to allow treasonable language. We don't do it at home, and you shan't do it here.'"

"Then on the whole, what do you think of our system of government?"

"Most benevolent rule—a most benevolent rule."

"What is your opinion about native industries there? Are they progressing?"

"I was greatly struck by the very remarkable vigour and go—headedness of India in agriculture, in manufacture, in stock raising. The textile industries struck me as being particularly flourishing and prosperous, with a fine future."

"Will the competition, say, of the Bombay cotton mills be serious to Manchester?"

"I cannot give an opinion off hand, but you must not forget that in India the hours of labour are not restricted, and labour is cheap.

Mr. A. O. Hume on Sir Edward Watkins' attack.

To the EDITOR of the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

SIR,—I see by the mail just arrived that Sir Edward Watkins, at an interview with one of your representatives, stated that "Russian gold was being employed for the agitation now going on in India in the same way that American gold was for Irish agitation," and that when asked if he meant that the

gold was being circulated among the Congressionists, he replied, "I do." As the general secretary of the Congress movement, through whose hands pass every paper and account connected with the twenty standing, two hundred odd divisional, and innumerable sub-divisional Congress committees, allow me to inform Sir Edward Watkins and the public that there is not one particle, and even that faintest lingering perfume of truth in these statements. One does not expect rigid accuracy from Sir E. Watkin, but it is amazing that even he (for he does not want to be looked up as a lunatic, I suppose) should make such thoroughly ridiculous and idiotic assertions. The success of the Congress movement means the destruction for ever of Russia's hopes (if she really entertains such) of (I will not say invading India, but) of giving England trouble by stirring up riots and risings in India, when England has, as she may any day have, her hands full elsewhere. It means the removal of all those causes of dissatisfaction which tend to alienate India from England, and the perfect consolidation of the union between the two countries. Taking India as a whole, there is but an insignificant percentage of disaffected persons, but in the Punjab the proportion is larger than elsewhere. Some of these are Sikhs, chiefly in the Jhung, Montgomery, and northern portions of the Mooltan district, who, ridiculous as it may seem, do secretly hope for the return of Dhuleep Sing. Some of these are Wahabis, avowed, or such in their hearts, who hate our rule, and dream of a future Wahabi ascendancy. Both these classes do keep up, through wandering fakirs, some sort of correspondence with persons supposed to be Russian agents, and the latter class from time to time send money contributions to certain rebel fanatics that live just outside our border. If any Russian gold is now coming to India, it is coming to these classes; but both of them are bitterly opposed to the Congress movement, and constitute in fact our only opponents in the Punjab. As Sheikh Mabbub Alum of the Punjab put it at the late Congress, "They do not want the causes of disaffection removed; they do not want the grievances of the people redressed. They want them to continue to vex and irritate the people, till these grow at last as disaffected as themselves." No, Sir, be sure of this, Russian gold may be employed to oppose the Congress, but never will one grain of it be given to support it.

No doubt the expenditure is large. I daresay last year that the real expenditure was fully £ 20,000, but not half of this was cash expenditure. Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets were printed gratuitously, for thousands of meetings rooms and lights and chairs were provided without charge; hundreds of men travelled about the country, one or two even going to England, all at their own cost, preaching the gospel of the Congress, which is Christ's gospel of love, and peace and goodwill among men. Of the cash expenditure every farthing of receipt and expenditure can be accounted for.

There is nothing secret in Congress arrangements; every farthing is booked, and any one may know how and where every rupee spent was raised. Every man interested in the cause gives something. Our people are poor; in one case 20,000 subscribers made up Rs. 7,000, but our numbers are vast, and as our organization perfects itself all necessary funds will be forthcoming.

I may add with reference to certain remarks in the *Spectator*, also to hand this morning, to the effect that the late Congress was under "paid European guidance." First, that practically the Congress is guided entirely by the natives; second, that the only European, who by any stretch of language could be said to have any share even in the guidance is myself—and that, so far from being paid, I last year spent in England and India (taking the rupees at an average of 1s. 4*½*d.) just £1.472 out of my own pocket on the cause.—

Yours truly,—A. O. HUME.

Mr. Bradlaugh Libelled.

The latest issue of the *Homeward Mail* waxes excited about the activity of th "Political Agency" of the National Congress at Craven-street. It notes with alarm the circulation of its "sensational literature," and makes the charge that "Mr. Bradlaugh and others" are being "paid to the lecture and write on its behalf."

This morning a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* had two minutes' conversation with Mr. Bradlaugh at St. John's-wood just as he was preparing to rush out after having got through his morning correspondence. He promptly and unreservedly declared the statement in regard to him to be absolutely false and suggested that our representative should question Mr. Digby at Craven Street.

"When Parliament is not sitting," Mr. Digby explained, "Mr. Bradlaugh is accustomed to deliver in the provinces several lectures every Sunday. In the course of each day he gives an address on the Indian question. He does this entirely disinterestedly. We do not even pay his travelling expenses. He meets these himself. If, however, there be any loss not covered by collections or door payments, that is for hall hire, &c., we have pleasure in meeting the deficiency; and this is the full explanation of our financial relations with Mr. Baadlaugh."

"He works for us" continued Mr. Digby, "with remarkable disinterestedness. Henry Fawcett was not in his advocacy more disinterested. He neither receives a penny from us, nor is there any engagement that he shall receive a penny. Indeed, when there was once a suggestion of some remuneration, Mr. Bradlaugh remarked, 'It is well that such a thing was not suggested when I began to help you, or it would have then and there put an end to our negotiations.'

"The *Mail* is quite right in declaring that 'Nothing is being done to oppose the mischievous action of the mixed band of too good-natured sentimentalists, Radical mischief-makers or visionaries, offusive Baboos and paid agitators which is bustling and intriguing for rash and premature changes in the form of Indian Government.' It is a very singular thing that though the great class in India that opposes our movement is largely composed of men of the very highest position, Princes and so on, this party is yet unable to get enough money with which even to distribute literature in this country. At Christmas, while the National Congress was being held in India, they did distribute a thousand or so pamphlets, but this is about their best bit of enterprise. Of course, where we can raise a rupee they ought to be able to get a thousand rupees."

"It is, perhaps, worth stating," continued Mr. Digby, "that all our work and our accounts are perfectly open. I even supply our opponent's representative in this country with all our publications."

"As to your issuing 'sensational literature'?"

"Very well; here, in this document in parallel columns, are the Congress proposals and Lord Dufferin's alleged recommendations. Surely the remarkable agreement between the two answers for the moderation and fairness of our demands. I yesterday showed this paper to Mr. Gladstone."

"What did Mr. Gladstone say?"

"He was remarkably struck and interested by this verifications of our moderation, and eagerly asked me to leave a copy with him."

{ Mr. Digby on Sir Watkin's attack.

To THE EDITOR OF THE *Pall Mall Gazette*.

SIR,—In the "interview" which Sir Edward Watkin, Bart, M. P., had with one of your representatives shortly after his return from India, he declared that the agitation being carried on in India—an agitation, be it remembered for moderate constitutional change conducted on a constitutional manner—was so carried on by the aid of Russian gold. Your representative, as well he might be, was amazed at the assertion; he asked Sir Edward if he referred to the Congessionists and Sir Edward replied, "I do."

As the agent of the Congress in this country, I wrote most courteously to Sir Edward, asking him to favour me with the names of the Congessionists who received Russian gold, and the circumstances under which the gold was paid, telling him also why I presumed to call him to account. I waited a long time for a reply: none came. I sent a reminder; Sir Edward's Secretary informed me that Sir Edward was on the Continent. A fortnight passed, I wrote again. This evening I received a statement from Mr. Seath, of London Bridge Station, S. E. to the effect that Sir Edward declines to say anything in reply to my letters, alleging that he has not the honor of my acquaintance. The alle-

gation may be correct but neither did Sir Edward possessed the honor of acquaintance of my friends whom he slandered.

Lord John Russell, when, in 1853, he chalked "No. Popery" on the walls of Parliament and ran away, was a brave man compared to this Baronet and M.P., who cherish such strange notions of what is fair that he can slander a number of his fellow subjects in a far off land, and, when asked for proof, decline to give an answer.

I also was in India at the same time as Sir Edward Watkin. Unlike Sir Edward, I attended Congress meetings, and mixed with Congress men. He, so far as I have heard, did neither. I challenged him to prove his assertion. More than that, I declare, from what I saw, and heard while in India last year, as well as from my nearly twenty years' experience of India and the Indian people, that a more atrocious libel was never uttered than that to which Sir Edward Watkin gave expression when he said that the Congress was supported by Russian gold. Lord Dufferin would not talk of the Congress in this silly way. The ex-Viceroy has ever been ready to assert that is much in the Congress movement which deserves sympathetic consideration at the hands of the authorities; this too while he takes exception to certain matters respecting which I believe, he is misinformed. Mr. Gladstone supplies a fitting term in which to describe Sir Edward Watkin's charge; the charge is a "fabrication of iniquity."

The matter will not be allowed to rest where Sir Edward Watkin would like to leave it.

I am, Sir your obedient servant,

WM. DIGBY.

Memorandum of Indian Political Agency on the Reform of Councils.

"East India (Grievances of the people).—To call attention to certain grievances of the Native population of India; and to move, that, in the opinion of this House, the time has come for another step to be taken in the policy of extending self-government in India, whereby natives of India of capacity, of influence, of education shall be able to take a still wider share in the administration of the public affairs of their own country. That to secure this end it is desirable that the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils should be enlarged in number and reformed as to produce: That a moiety of the members of each Councils should be elected by constituencies which shall include Indians of positions, of specified educational attainments, of members of municipal and other bodies, of European and Indian Chambers of Commerce, and the like; That to the enlarged Councils be given the right of questioning the authorities

on matters of public interest, the discussion of the respective Budgets, and the initiation of such legislation as shall not, first, deal with the foreign policy, or second, affect the finances of the Empire: And, there being a general agreement among Europeans, both official and non-official, and Indians, of all classes as to the reforms which should be granted, that the Secretary of State should take such steps as will enable the House to consider a measure embodying these opinions."

In the event of the Government not being prepared to accept the motion it will be pressed to a division.

In view of the above motion I crave permission to invite your attention to what, I suppose, cannot fail to be an important element in the debate—the proposals put forward by the Indian National Congress for Supreme and Provincial Legislative Council expansion and reform, and in other respects. As addenda to this Memorandum, I quote the Resolutions of the Congress passed at the Session held at Allahabad in December last, and the tentative scheme of reform put forward in 1886. I ask you, as an act of justice to the people of India, whose interests are in your hands, who can obtain what they ask for and what their country needs through no other channel than the honourable House of which you are a Member, to consider these Resolutions and to take such action in regard to them as may seem to you best.

I visited India last winter, primarily, to attend the Congress meetings and to see for myself the reality and strength of the movement. I may, perhaps, be pardoned for laying before you certain facts which will serve to show what the Congress' movement is and what are its aims and objects.

I shall send you in a few days a verbatim report of the proceedings at Allahabad from December 26th to December 29th, and beg that those proceedings may receive your carefully study. (It will be observed that the report sent is a part only of a publication to be hereafter circulated, a portion of which has not yet been received from India.)

I. *The extent of the hold which the Congress has upon the educated (non-English speaking as well as the English-speaking) people of India.*

It is believed that thirty millions of the Indian people are more or less acquainted with the aims of the Congress are in sympathy with those aims, and were represented at Allahabad in December last. As an instance of the way in which the country is being organised, note should be taken of what has already been done in Southern India (see quotation from Madras Standing Committee's Report, given at the end of this Memorandum). In the Central Provinces, in the North-West Provinces, and in Bengal, like work has been done. Bombay and the Punjab are comparatively backward, but are being similarly organised, particularly the Punjab. An English M. P. thus speaks of what he heard and saw in the Punjab in December of last year :—

"The Indian National Congress consist of a large number of educated native who meet every year. It professes to be representative of the Indian people, and invites cities, districts, or collectorates, to elect, in public meeting, leading native citizens who are able to discuss in the English language, as their representatives at the Congress. These meetings are generally convened at the instance of provincial associations. Here, in the Punjab, the movement is in the hands of the ' Indian Association,' whose headquarters are at Lahore. Its president is a sikh Sirdar, its secretaries a Christian native barister and a Brahmin, and its members include the great majority of the educated Indians of the city.

"The meeting to elect representatives from Lahore was held a few days ago, in the open air, and was attended by 1,500 persons. The meeting elected twenty-three representatives to the Congress, all of whom were nominated by the Indian Association, and included, as far as I can gather, everyone, no matter, whom, who was willing to go. Amongst them are three barristers, several pleaders, two Sirdars a college professor, a Hindoo and a Parsee merchant, and some newspaper editors, but no Mahomedan. In Jullundur, another important district of the Punjab, a public meeting of 800 elected eight representatives, two of whom were Mahomedans; and at Amritsar, the largest city in the Panjab, 2,000 people elected ten representatives, two of whom were Mahomedans."

"I conversed, while in India in December last, with men of all races and creeds, with those opposed to, as well as those in favour of, the Congress programme. I was amazed at the consensus of opinion in support: even those who opposed moderated their opposition when the reasonable demands of the Congress were explained. The Hon. Mr. Amir Ali, C. I. E., the leader of the younger Mahomedans in Bengal, on behalf of the Mahomedans in that Province, told me he was seeking *modus vivendi* with the leaders of the Congress, so that his co-religionists could join. He has since, at Hooghly (on January 10, I think), declared that Resolution XII, passed at Allahabad, provides the *modus vivendi*. I know Mr. Amir Ali is anxious himself to become associated with the movement, and that his co-religionists should likewise join the Congress. Of Mahomedan opposition, it is alleged by those who have had good opportunity of judging, that there is no 'body' in it. It is wholly an organization of prominent Mahomedans, and reckoned only a comparatively few of these. "Sir Ahmed," leader of the Mahomedan opposition, (says the Member of Parliament I have already quoted.) "has entirely failed to carry with him his educated co-religionists, and his 'Patriotic Association, though undoubtedly influential, is not numerically powerful."

The growth of the Congress is phenomenal. The following figures are interesting :—

Year	Place	No. of Delegates.
1885	Bombay	72
1886	Calcutta	400
1887	Madras	607
1888	Allahabad (say)	1,300 (1,500 elected).

Unless its claims are conceded, and its *raison d'être* removed, the Congress promises to increase year by year to a remarkable degree. Probably, however, never again will so many delegates meet as met last year. The number may be reduced to 1,000, but the electoral qualification will be increased, and the respective constituencies enlarged. The Congress will then be even more strikingly representative of the Empire.

2. *The loyalty of Congressmen and the mode of action of the Congress.*

No step has been taken which is not strictly constitutional. None other than constitutional steps will be taken or sanctioned in the remotest degree by the present leaders of the movement. An hon. member of your House has made assertions about Russian gold contributing to the Congress success, but, when challenged to prove his assertion, he was dumb. His statement was wholly inaccurate. Such Russian gold as reaches India for disloyal purposes is circulated amongst those opposed to the Congress, amongst men who dislike the moderate and constitutional procedure of the Congress.

No desire exists to weaken British supremacy. Quite the contrary. Upon nothing were the Congressmen with whom I talked so emphatic as in their assertions that all they desired was to strengthen the British administration of India, and to associate themselves in such a way with their rulers that the connection could never be broken. They saw in what was put forward, by themselves and in their behalf, that which would render impossible their ever taking up a hostile attitude to British supremacy. Concession of the extremely reasonable and modest proposals put forward would strengthen the loyalty now cherished, would bind the people to the British and ease those (in England and in India) responsible for the government of India of half their anxieties. Those anxieties at present, are too heavy to be borne—if justice is to be done.

No means are adopted as propaganda save those open to the eye of all,—viz, public meetings, the Press, the distribution of literature, and conversations whenever men assemble and have leisure to talk of the affairs of their country.

As to the Press there is no sedition or malice aforethought in the papers which support the Congress. Certainly I have seen none. Not because I have shut my eyes to it. Contrariwise, I have looked diligently, with both eyes earnestly, and have not found it. And when as I am told happens in the vernacular press occasionally, unfair criticism is indulged in, it is condemned by

Congressmen, who unfortunately, in certain English papers published in India find the worst remarks of the most inexperienced of Indian editors put out of mind by the violence and virulence of comments and criticisms frequently published. To any one who knows India, it is not necessary I should name names. Generally, what is called sedition is merely fair and reasonable criticism.

As to pamphlets, much has been said concerning the "Catechism" and the "Conversation" published with the Report of the Madras Congress Proceedings and not fairly said. Of these publications I may say that the author of the Catechism so little considers that he was uttering sedition that in his preface to a republication in Tamil he says that he was induced to prepare his Catechism in order that the people of Madras might throw aside their differences and jealousies and learned their duties as citizens of the British Empire. Of the Conversation I may say that so anxious was the author of it that nothing of a seditious character should appear in its pages, that, before publication, it was submitted to six of the most eminent publicists in India, all of whom are judges of one or other of the High Courts or members of one or other of the Legislative Councils, and also to two leading statesmen in England. No one of these persons considered there was anything of a seditious character in it. It was in circulation for more than twelve months, was read by many thousands of people in India and in England, was commented upon (in a favourable sense) by English journals: not one of the readers or the critics say anything seditious in it. Even now we deny there is anything which can be fairly termed seditious in any one of its passages.

To show the spirit of loyalty to the authorities which marks the conduct of the leaders of the Congress, the following fact, of which I had personal cognizance, may be cited. The place of meeting for the next Congress was under discussion. On the principle already acted upon the Panjab would have been chosen as the Province and Lahore selected as the place of assembly. The Panjabi delegates were anxious the Congress of 1869 should sit in their Province. They guaranteed, on the spot, a sum of money towards the expenses. The Congress leaders, however, decided not to go northwards. They are aware of the anxiety which the authorities are experiencing respecting that part of the Empire, and, rather than cause the Administration the slightest embarrassment, they determined the session of the Congress should be held at Bombay or Poona, and not at Lahore. This incident, I may add, is simply illustrative to the spirit in which everything is done; no one among the leaders of the Congress would say or would do anything which would add to the anxieties and responsibilities of the Government of India.

3. If the aims of the Congress were realised what would happen?

What are the aims of the Congress? The objects are, nearly, a dozen in number. (See appendix A.) Practically, all are embodied in the first resolution,

Give expansion of and enlarged powers to the Councils, and all or nearly all the other objects contended for could be urged in the Councils themselves, where the Government would be able to meet and overcome all opposition of a factious character, and, at the same time, ascertain, from elected members, what the people really wanted, and wherein existing arrangements needed reform.

The Maharajah of — — — at the beginning of December last, after having carefully read the Congress programme and considered one by one the resolutions submitted, said to a gentleman with whom I conversed while in India. "If these things are granted the British Government of India will last for ever." This exactly expresses our opinion, and this is the end for which both Europeans and Indians in the Congress are working. The Congress is really shifting the basis of our rule. It is changing (or will change, if only the authorities recognise and act upon the efforts of Congress-men.) India from a despotism to constitutional rule; it will take India from the shadow of the sword and range the people on the side of the Government, making them parties to our continued over-rule of the Empire.

The Government would greatly gain by the counsel at their command in the enlarged and reformed Chambers. The success which has already attended local self-Government in very part of the Empire would be repeated on a much larger scale.

Further, in the eyes of the world the British rule of India would be splendidly justified.

Proof is to be found as to the moderation of the movement and of the Congress programme in Lord Dufferin's attitude towards it. Lord Dufferin is generally believed, in consequence of his speech in Calcutta on November 30th last, to be hostile to the Congress. This it is said, is altogether a mistake. Lord Dufferin did not intend his observations to be so understood. He did not, there is reason for believing, speak against the Congress as such, or allude to its members in anything but respectful terms. His censures, so far as they can be called censures related to pamphlets I have already referred to, pamphlets which I cannot help thinking, Lord Dufferin wholly misunderstood, and which, I am compelled to submit, do not deserve his strictures. What the ex-Viceroy said amounted, so it is alleged, to no more than a kind and friendly warning that the programme of some members of the Congress was more ambitious than was compatible with the peculiar conditions of India. Lord Dufferin has, from the first, been so good a friend to the Congress, that I am anxious to believe this. Some colour is given to such an interpretation of a speech which was certainly not understood in this sense either in India or in England at the time of its delivery, by the publication in some Indian papers, and in the *Daily News* of the 16th instant, of what purports to be the views of Lord Dufferin regarding

Indian legislative reforms as embodied in the despatch which, the ex-Viceroy said on St. Andrew's Day, he had forwarded to the Secretary of State. I take those alleged recommendations and the Congress programme and place them side by side thus:

THE CONGRESS PROPOSALS.

SUPREME COUNCIL.

1. Larger number of Members.
- 2 To be partially elective.
3. Members to have the right of interpellation.
4. The Budget every year to be submitted for discussion.
5. Veto in the hands of the Viceroy, subject to appeal to the House of Commons.

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

1. Larger number of members.
2. Majority of members to be elected.
3. Members to have the right of interpellation.
4. All financial proposals to be submitted.
5. Veto, with right to appeal to Viceroy or House of Commons.

LORD DUFFERIN'S ALLEGED RECOMMENDATIONS.

SUPREME COUNCIL.

1.
2. No election; nomination to remain.
3. Interpellation on current domestic matters, as distinguished from imperial.
4. Budget to be submitted every year, whether new taxation is imposed or not.
5. Veto, without qualification, save as at present.

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL.

1. Councils to be enlarged.
2. Nominated members to outnumber elected—by how many not stated.
3. Right of questioning to be granted.
4. Financial proposals of all kinds to be discussed.
5. Governor to be empowered to over-rule Council, subject to what restrictions does not appear.

If the information concerning Lord Dufferin's view is as trustworthy as there is reason to believe it is; the moderation and fairness of the Congress, its aims and its objects, stand self-confessed. If the Congress is justified out of the mouth of the ex-Viceroy of India there can, one would think be little doubt of Mr. Bradlaugh's motion receiving the emphatic approval of the House of Commons.

On one point I am bound to speak without reserve. Any proposal of reform which did not involve proportion of elected members for the *Supreme*, as well as for the *Provincial*, Councils, would not give satisfaction. The elected members of the Supreme Council might be elected by the Provincial Councils, but election there must be.

4—Progress, along the line indicated by the Congress, is inevitable.

What the Congress asks for is not the first step in a course whereby the people of India should become associated with their British rulers in the administration of the affairs of their country. If it were, a pause and an examination of the possible issue would be justifiable. The first step was taken nearly fifty years ago, when the policy of education in India was decided upon. A still more important step forward was marked by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858.

Further steps were taken in Lord Mayo's time by the decentralisation of Provincial Finance, earlier in the establishment of Legislative Councils, again in the admission of Indian to the Covenanted Civil Service, in the selection of Indian judges for the High Courts, in the establishment of local Self-Government, in the enactment of the Penal Code which helped to make India one

country, in many of Sir John Strachey's reforms—notably his abolition of the Customs lines, etc., etc.

All these and many other things have made continued progress inevitable. The tide is flowing and cannot be stopped. It would be worse than mischievous to stop it, or to act up in the advice given by certain Indian newspapers, e. g. (1) the *Times of India*, which suggests the Congress meetings should be prohibited (2) the *Englishman*, which desires the Resolution of 1818 should be revived, and Mr. Caine, M. P., deported from India, and (3) the *Pioneer*, which wishes Mr. Hume, the General Secretary, to be deported, besides urging that other drastic measures should be adopted adverse to the agitation now being carried on. Such measure could do not good; they would only do harm,—that is to say, harm in the opinion of those who deprecate that movement. So far as the Congress itself is concerned, such action would tend to its greater influence and importance. For instance, if the *Times of India*'s proposal were carried out, one consequence would be that one at least of the Congress sessions would be held in London; hither, probably, five hundred leading Indians would come. To say nothing of the exasperation which prohibition would cause, the movement would certainly not be weakened by such a change of venue.

The other day one of the leading men in the House of Commons—a Front Bench man—while discussing the matters referred to in this Memorandum, asked whether, if the Congress programme were adopted by the authorities, the Congress, following the example of the Anti-Corn Law League, when Sir Robert Peel carried his measure, to cite a familiar instance, would be immediately dissolved. No one has authority to speak on behalf of the Congress, or to state what its leaders, under given circumstances, would or would not do, but I may express my belief that there is no desire on the part of any one to make it a permanent institution; further the best of the Congressmen would be the new legislators, and would find their time fully occupied in legislative work. It is, at least, probable that its programme accepted, the Congress as a permanent institution would not continue. But that is only my opinion. I am not authorised to make any statement on this point; as the question has never been raised before the Congress.

W. DIGBY.

Mr. Bradlaugh interviewed.

Mr. Bradlaugh has for many years directed public attention, chiefly by means of lectures and public addresses, to the affairs of our great Eastern dependency. Since the death of Mr. Henry Fawcett there has been in the House of Commons no "member for India;" but it is understood that Mr. Bradlaugh intends to devote a considerable share of his time and energy in Parliament to the promotion of the political interests of the natives of India. In view of the

discussion of this most important subject by the House on April 16, a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* called upon Mr. Bradlaugh at his apartments in St. John'swood, and found him, at 10 A.M., fresh and genial, with his heavy morning correspondence finally disposed of, although he had been engaged at St Stephen's until nearly two o'clock. The following conversation—or rather monologue, with reportorial interjections—took place :—

" What is the state of affairs, Mr. Bradlaugh, with regard to your resolution ? "

" Well, I am rather glad that you have called this morning, because I made a considerable modification in the notice I placed on the order-book about India. I obtained the other day first place in the ballot for Tuesday, April 16, and gave notice, in the terms of my motion of last session, for an inquiry; but after consultation with the friends of India in London; it has been deemed advisable to present to the House some clear issues which, we think, it may fairly decide without waiting for an inquiry, which would, of course, have delayed the matter for a year, at any rate. My motion, therefore, stands as follows :**

" But is not the 16th of April dangerously close Easter, Mr. Bradlaugh ? "

" Your observation is a fair one, and the night is awkward, as the House usually adjournes for the Easter holidays on Tuesday: but even with my luck it is not easy to choose first places; and if the advocates of women Suffrage are accurate in their supposition that Mr. Smith will not adjourn until the second reading of the Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill, which stands first for second reading on the following day, has been discussed, then the Indian motion is perfectly safe."

" Why have you adopted the particular propositions contained in your motion ? "

" I have," replied Mr. Bradlaugh, with a twinkling eye which suggested that he knew more than he cared to say, " I have every reason to believe that in the first and second paragraphs of my resolution there is practically a concurrence of the highest opinion in its favour. Sir W. W. Hunter and Sir Richard Garth have distinctly expressed themselves in print to this effect. Judging from the public utterances of the Marquis of Ripon, he is likely to strongly support it. The authorized report of Lord Dufferin's speech at Calcutta—I don't mean the mangled version of it which was telegraphed to the *Times*—shows that the late Viceroy must have submitted some such scheme to Lord Cross. There will be more difficulty probably on the question of whether a moiety of the members of the Council shall be elected? but no reform would be satisfactory which did not concede this to the natives of India."

" What is meant, Mr. Bradlaugh, by ' Supreme and Provincial Legislature Councils.' "

"The Supreme Legislative Council would man the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, and there are now five Provincial Legislative Councils—the last one which was created"—here Mr. Bradlaugh sought and referred to a Blue-book—"in January, 1887, being for the North-western Provinces and Oudh."

"Do you move in this matter with any authority from the natives of India?"

"On that I can give you the easiest answer by referring you to the speech of Mr. Bonerjee, one of the most eminent amongst Indian reformers, who, speaking at the great Indian National Congress at Allahabad, made the following reference to myself: I know I speak the sense of this vast assembly when I say that we are unfeignedly grateful to Mr. Bradlaugh for his masterly and able advocacy of our cause (cheers), and we hope that he will be pleased to help us in the future in the investigation of the resolution which I have submitted to you. (Cheers.)' That is from the *Hindu* of January 9, 1889; and in November last Mr. Eardley Norton, speaking at a public meeting over which Raja Rama Row presided, said: I am proud of Mr. Bradlaugh's co-operation, because I am proud to be associated with an honest and fearless man. (Loud cheers.) I am proud to work, no matter how humbly, with one who has never swerved a hair's breath from allegiance to the people's cause. (Cheers.)"

"Does the cause of reform in India arouse much public interest in this country?"

"Well I can assure you that very strong feeling is manifested in the country on the Indian question, as is fairly shown by the great meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where, without any attraction of great names, I addressed the largest meeting which has yet gathered in the Tyneside Theatre, every person paying for admission. The subject was, 'Our Empire in India; how we govern the natives, and how we ought to govern them.' I may add that Indians are excessively fortunate in their present agency in this country, Mr. William Digby, C. I.E., being thoroughly earnest and remarkably well-informed."

At this point the handmaiden entered and intimated that a distinguished military officer sought audience of Mr. Bradlaugh, and our representative retired, while expressing thanks for the courteous reception given to him.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

**Two letters of Mr. William Digby to the Secretary of State
on the report of the Public Service Commission.**

INDIAN POLITICAL AGENCY,

25 CRAVEN STREET, CHARING CROSS, LONDON.

March 19, 1889.

I.

MY LORD,

I crave leave to bring to your lordship's notice the grievous ill which it is certain will be done to the people of India if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission are accepted by you and a measure framed on those recommendations is placed before Parliament.

If I require any justification in addressing your lordship, such justification is to be found in the words used, by the Secretary of State when calling upon the Government of India to appoint a Commission of enquiry into the Public Service of India, and in the departure from the instructions given, which, I consider, the Report discloses. The object of the Commission was, "broadly speaking," "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service." With the object, as stated by the Secretary of State, the Governor-General in Council fully and cordially agreed. So far from this object having been attained, I submit to your lordship that the recommendations of the Commission, if they are adopted, will leave the Natives of India in a considerably worse position than they were before the enquiry began. Such a condition of things I am satisfied no one would so much deprecate as would your lordship. If I am able by reference to the Report itself, to show that I have correctly described what is proposed, I am satisfied your lordship will not consider that the duty imposed upon the Commission has been rightly carried out, and will hesitate to approve the recommendations laid before you.

The Commission recommends, briefly:

- a. That the present open competitive system be maintained;
- b. That simultaneous examinations in India and in England be not approved;
- c. That the minimum and maximum limits of age for Indian candidates competing in England for the Covenanted Service be 19 and 23 years respectively;
- d. That the Statutory Service be abolished; and
- e. That a new nomenclature of service and re-arrangement of Offices be made, whereby the present Covenanted Service would be replaced by an Imperial Service consisting of 832 persons, and a Provincial Service created in which would be included 108 appointments now

belonging to the Covenanted Service; that Statutory Civilians should be employed in the Provincial, and not in the Imperial, Service, and that the vacancies in the latter service be filled up partly by promotion from the Subordinate Services and partly by recruitment, all subjects of the Queen-Empress residing in India being eligible for this service on giving proof of the possession of the necessary qualifications. ("That Europeans resident in India be eligible, equally with Natives, for the Provincial Service".) In passing, it may be remarked that one probable effect of this change will, if silver remains depreciated, be to induce European officials to educate their sons in India instead of in England, with a view to their obtaining appointments in the Provincial Service. Such a state of things would still further tend to the disadvantage of the Natives of India. They cannot, in like manner, compete for English appointments.

The "grave political danger" referred to in paragraph 84, page 66, might be brought about under such circumstances.

The Commissioners further indicate that, if their recommendations are carried out, the full force of the advantages which they declare will accrue to the people of India will not be felt until all the men now eligible for office shall have passed away and at least half of the next generation are too old to receive any benefit. "If accepted," say the Commissioners of their proposal, "they cannot be completely carried into effect for nearly a generation of official life" (see concluding paragraph of Report)—that is to say, thirty years.

Even if the recommendations of the Commission were, as is claimed for them, a boon to the Indian people, the last statement should be a sufficient bar to their acceptance as they stand, seeing they would afford no benefit to the men of to-day and very little to those now commencing their education.

So far, however, from the Report providing for that reasonable finality your lordship's predecessor desired, and giving increased opportunities to the Natives of India, except in two respects, the exact contrary will follow.

Perhaps I cannot put the points of the Commissioners' recommendations better than by contrasting, in parallel columns, the slight gains with the many and grievous losses.

GAINS.

1. Raising of age to 23.
2. Opportunity given to men in the Subordinate Service of being pro-

LOSSES.

1. Retention of all examinations for open competitive service in London and consequent refusal of simultaneous examinations.
2. The abolition of the Statutory Civil Service, whereby there is,

GAINS.

moted to the Provincial Service on exhibition of exceptional merit and ability.) Although I put this as a gain, I do not forget that this privilege is already secured by the Rules of the Statutory portion of the Covenanted Service).

LOSSES.

to the Natives of India a distinct loss of 117 appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service for all time.

3. The establishment of an Imperial and provincial service, the former with its only door of entrance situated in England, and the latter which is open to all subjects of the Queen-Empress whatever their race.

4. The "killing slow" rate at which the proposals will be carried into effect, considerably less than half the rate at which appointments should be made under the present Statutory Rule.

5. Putting the 46 Statutory Members of the Covenanted Service into the Provincial Service, and thereby providing 62 new offices only for the people of India (Natives and non-Natives), and these sixty-two offices cannot be filled in less than thirty years.

The sum of these losses is that the Commission which was to find more offices recommends a great reduction in the number of offices, a deterioration in quality with increased difficulty of attainment, and slower operation of proposed changes.

Your Lordship will, perhaps, bear with me while I give some of the reasons for what I call in the right-hand column above, losses; and, while I prove from the Report itself, that what I have stated is the real outcome of the recommendations made.

I. The retention of examinations in England and refusal of simultaneous examinations. In Clause V, pp.—39-49, of the Report the Commissioners deal at length with this question, but in view of the instructions of the Secretary of State that the scheme was to possess an element of finality, the deliberations are insufficient and the conclusion of limited application. The

people of India are so severely handicapped by the conditions which force those desiring their sons to enter the Service to send them to England for education, before it has been ascertained whether they are likely to pass the examinations, that no scheme which fails to provide for the earlier examinations in the competitive course taking place simultaneously in England and in India can be accepted as satisfactory. The late Lord Derby, in 1853, expressed this objection in unexaggerated terms, when he said: "Let them suppose, for instance, that, instead of holding these examinations here in London, that they were to be held in Calcutta. Well, how many Englishmen would go out there, or how many would send out their sons, perhaps to spend two or three years in the country, on the chance of obtaining an appointment? Nevertheless, that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards the natives of India." The Special Committee of the India Office on Civil Salaries, reporting in January, 1860, dwell (paragraphs 4 and 5, p. 1) fully and frankly with this point. They declare that, though the law stated natives of India were eligible for Offices, practically they were excluded; "it is almost impossible", they said, "for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations in England." The fact that since 1853, out of 200 millions of people, only fourteen have entered the Service by competition, is a proof of the serious difficulties referred to by the Committee. During that period over one thousand Englishmen have joined the Service. The Committee proceeded to indicate that there were two modes by which the object could be attained. (1) Allotting a number of appointments yearly, and (2) "to hold, simultaneously, two examinations—one in England and one in India—both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners." The Committee had no hesitation in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest.

Had the Public Service Commissioners refrained from creating a new Service, had they allowed matters in this respect to remain as they were, and reported in favour of simultaneous examinations in India and in England, limiting (if need be) the number of appointments which could be obtained by successful Indians to, say a moiety, there would then have been that element of finality in the proposals which they now conspicuously lack. As it is, by cutting down the number of members of the higher service, and by recommending the abolition of the Statutory Service, they wholly fail to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of State, which instructions were that they should "do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service." In fact they seem to have read their instructions backwards, and have taken away not a few of the positions which had already been secured to the people of India by statute.

2. The remark just made will find abundant proof in the pages of the Report itself. The abolition of the Statutory Civil Service takes away from the people of India 227 appointments in the Covenanted Service, and gives them in place thereof such offices as they may obtain, in competition with other subjects of the Queen Empress residing in India, in the Provincial Service, which Provincial Service is the present Uncovenanted Service plus 108 appointments taken from the Covenanted Service. I do not for a moment suppose that this was what the Commissioners intended. The phraseology of the Report is too generous and fair to allow of such an opinion. Nevertheless, such is the only possible result of their proposals.

"The number of appointments to be made each year under the Statutory Rules must not exceed one-fifth of the total number of Civilians appointed by Her Majesty's Secretary of State to the Covenanted Civil Service in that year. The practical effect of this limit, when calculated upon the regular annual recruitment of Covenanted Civilians fixed as appropriate for each Province, is to give 7.56 as the total yearly number of Statutory appointments for the whole of British India, distributed over the several Provinces thus:—

Madras	...	...	...	...	...	1.17
Bombay	...	...	...	...	...	1.05
Sind	...	...	...	...	...	.16
Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	1.72
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	...	...	1.67
Punjab	...	...	...	...	...	.78
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	.43
British Burma	...	...	...	...	...	.34
Assam	...	...	...	...	...	.24
Total						7.56

"The number of appointments up to and including the year 1886 made under the Rules, full details of which are given in Appendix I to this Report, has been 48, or an average of six a year, distributed thus:—

	Hindus.	Mahom-medans.	Parsis.	Sikhs.	Burmans.	Total.
Madras	...	6	2	...	...	8
Bombay	...	5	2	2	...	9
Bengal	...	9	2	...	...	11
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	...	6	5	...	...	11
Punjab	...	3	...	2	...	5
Central Provinces	...	1	1	...	...	2
British Burma	2	2

"The total number of Hindus appointed under the Statutory Rules of 1879 has therefore been 27, of Mahomedans 15, of Parsis 2, and of Sikhs 2, to whom must be added 2 Burmans" (Paragraph 45, pp. 20—21).

The effect of these remarks (which effect the Commissioners do not seem to have considered) is, in the course of a generation, to give to Statutory Natives 227 appointments in the Covenanted Service. I arrive at this number, thus : 7·56 appointments per annum for 30 years = 226·80 (say 227).

This being so, it is impossible to understand by what process of reasoning the following passage in chapter viz. paragraph 77 has found its way into the Report :

"The effect of these proposals is to remove about 108 appointments from the list of appointments at present reserved in the Schedule and by the orders of the Secretary of State, a number in excess of the proportion of one-sixth of the same appointments thrown open under the Statutory Rules."

I do not quarrel with the remark in the first clause of the sentence, but I am wholly at a loss to understand how 108 "reserved appointments" can "provide for the *more extensive employment* of Natives of India in Offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service" (paragraph 77, lines 5 and 6), when paragraph 72 distinctly abolishes a system whereby 227 appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service would, according to law, and due course of time, be given to Natives of India.

There are relevancy and logic in the passage cited only if it be understood that Parliament, having made a particular provision in the Services of India for the people of that country, in redemption of solemn pledges frequently repeated, can abrogate that provision without granting something of, at least, equal value to take its place. Of course Parliament *can* if it wills, do this. It is omnipotent in Indian affairs. But I am satisfied your Lordship would not desire for a moment to place a measure containing such a suggestion before either House, particularly as your Lordship's wish, I cannot for a moment doubt, is the same as that of your predecessor by whom the Commission was appointed, namely, "*to do FULL justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service*". In a matter of this kind, I respectfully submit, there can be no retreat from any position once occupied.

I am aware that the Commissioners (pp. 50-51) consider the effect of the Statute of 1870 was to admit persons to specific appointments only, and not to membership in an organized Service. (As to that, I hope to be permitted shortly to address your Lordship at length on behalf of the aggrieved persons and, therefore, will make no observations upon it now.). Even if that contention be correct, the question affected is one of promotion only; the number of appointments, 7·56 per annum, remains untouched. It would seem as if the Commissioners, having recommended the abolition of the Statutory Service,

proceeded to make further recommendations as if the Service had never existed, and as if its abolition was of no importance, carrying with it no responsibility towards those in whose behalf it had been created.

The corollary of the abolition of the Statutory Service, I submit, is the establishment of simultaneous examinations in India and in England, and the throwing of all Indian services open to all British subjects, thereby indicating the inclusion of India within the ranks of the Empire as one of many countries ruled by one and the same Sovereign, on, practically, an identical principle. If they are admitted to perfect equality the people of India will make no complaint. All they ask is a fair field ; they neither seek for, nor require, any favour.

If I am correct in my citations from the Report and in the conclusions I have based upon those citations, it is clear (what I have several times already, in other words, said in this letter) that the recommendations of the Report are of a retrograde, and not of a progressive character, and that they wholly fail in the first condition required of them by the terms of the Commission.

Should they be accepted, they will cause keen disappointment, they will be the occasion of much agitation and trouble, to the Indian people, who would feel, and most persons would think rightly feel, they had been trifled with. In the words of the Report of the India Office Committee on Civil Salaries in 1860 (para. 4) the Secretary of State and Parliament would be " exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the last and breaking it to the hope". Nay, it is more than that : it would be deliberately taking away 117 appointments which, otherwise would, in the course of years, become theirs.

I have not, in the remarks I have ventured to address to your lordship, expressed any opinion upon the question from a race point of view, nor have I alluded to the pledges and promises of her Majesty herself, of her successive Secretaries of State, of many statesmen, and of others alike in Parliament and in the Legislative Councils of India. Such a course would, doubtless, be in order if I were not addressing one who is fully acquainted with all that his predecessors have said and written upon the claims which the Indian people have for consideration in respect to service in their own country. I may add that, so far as I can learn, there would be no objection to Europeans and others in India competing side by side with Indians themselves, if only the same principle were acted upon throughout, if simultaneous examinations were provided for, if the rights of the whole people as represented in the appointments preserved by statute were safe-guarded and if the vested interests of the Statutory Civilians themselves were respected.

Your lordship is aware of the keen interest which the people of India take in this question. It is not to them one of the emoluments of office merely; this consideration, I can confidently assert, is not the foremost one in their

minds. They are, in the National Congress and by other means, asking for a larger share in the administration of the affairs of their country in enlarged and reformed Councils. In so doing they are conscious that their representation cannot adequately and fruitfully discuss the questions which may come before them unless the knowledge and experience to be gained only by familiarity, not merely with the modes of Government but also, with the detail of administrative positions, both low and high, is made possible of attainment. The Report, understood in the sense I have ventured to express to your lordship, has caused keen disappointment in India. The disappointment has as yet found only partial expression, because it is felt that until the recommendations have received your lordship's approval they are simply matter for discussion and criticism.

I trust I may not be misunderstood as arguing that the Report does not contain some good points as affecting the Natives of India, but these points are few in number and are greatly overborne by the loss of valuable rights and privileges conferred by the Imperial Legislature.

If your lordship finds I have correctly stated the outcome of the Commissioners' recommendations, I venture to express with much confidence the hope that those recommendations will not receive your lordship's sanction, and that they will not be submitted to Parliament to form the basis of an enactment which, if passed, could not fail to be disastrous to the Indian people, and to be in flagrant contradiction to the objects for which the Commission of enquiry was formed.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

Wm. DIGBY.

II.

May 8th, 1889.

MY LORD,

I thank you for your letter, in which you inform me that my letter to you of the 19th of March had been laid before your lordship's Council. May I be permitted, in continuation of that letter, to mention certain matters other than those I have referred to, which prevent the recommendations of the Commission, if they are accepted, ensuring that element of finality which the Commission was instructed to endeavour to obtain? Those recommendations, on the contrary, will produce dissatisfaction and great disappointment.

I.—Simultaneous Examinations in India in England.

In asking for the examinations for the Covenanted Civil Service to be held simultaneously in India and in England, solely on the grounds of equal justice to the Indian and English subjects of the Queen-Empress, the people of India are simply taking up the position provided for them by the Special Committee of the India Office which sat and reported in 1860. That Committee recom-

mended, as being only fair, the holding, "simultaneously, two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature." They further recommended that those who compete in both countries should be "finally classified in one list, according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners." "Were this inequality removed," added the Committee, "we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." The proposal for simultaneous examinations had its genesis in your lordship's office, those who proposed it were English officials, and, in asking for its adoption, Indians are merely acting upon the sense of justice of Englishmen highly experienced in Indian affairs.* It will be obvious, therefore, that such a claim as is put forward is compatible with perfect loyalty to the maintenance of the connection between England and India. The Committee, as will be seen on reference to their Report, were not unanimous in all their conclusions, but on the point I have referred to there was perfect unanimity.

On the question of simultaneous examinations, the Public Service Commission reported, in brief, as follows : "That it is inexpedient to hold an examination in India for the Covenanted Civil Service simultaneously with the examination in London" (*Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations Para. 128, p. 140*). I refer, in this letter, to the summary rather than to the detailed statements in the Report, as I do not at present wish to contest each statement in Paragraph 60. Should, however, such an examination become necessary, a criticism in detail of the observations made by the Commissioners cannot, in view of what follows, be less condemnatory than the remarks to be made upon the summary.

The recommendation of the Commissioners, my lord, on the question of simultaneous examinations is against the weight of evidence taken by them. An analysis of the opinions expressed by the witnesses and of the witnesses themselves reveals the most startling results. Evidently the Commission has not examined the evidence, or taken it into due consideration. There are too certain grave incidents in connection with the manner in which this portion of the evidence was obtained, and the foregone conclusion to which at least one highlyplaced Member of the Commission had committed himself, as to render it more than ever improbable that the Report of the Commission can be held to be deserving of your lordship's confidence or commendation, and which wholly militate against legislation being undertaken to give the recommendations, or some of them, the force of law.

I will take the witnesses examined Presidency by Presidency and Province by Province, and show in what direction the balance of testimony lies.

* The members of the Committee were : Mr. J. P. Willoughby, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir W. H. Arbuthnot, Mr. Ross D. Mangles, and Sir E. Macnaghten.

1.—BENGAL.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	195
For simultaneous examinations	...	143	
Against " "	...	35	
Majority for	...	101	...
Neutral or doubtful	...	17	— 195

2.—MADRAS.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	100
For simultaneous examinations	...	63	
Against " "	...	25	
Majority for	...	38	...
Neutral or doubtful	...	12	— 100

3.—BOMBAY.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	112
For simultaneous examinations	...	64	
Against " "	...	38	
Majority for	...	26	...
Neutral or doubtful	...	10	— 112

4.—NORTH-WEST PROVINCES AND OUDH.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	68
For simultaneous examinations	...	31	
Against " "	...	29	
Majority for	...	2	...
Neutral or doubtful	...	8	— 68

5.—THE PANJAB.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	80
For simultaneous examinations	...	36	
Against " "	...	26	
Majority for	...	10	
Neutral or doubtful	...	18	— 80

6.—CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Total number of witnesses examined	...	...	42
For simultaneous examinations	...	24	
Against " "	...	10	
Majority for	...	14	
Neutral or doubtful	...	8	— 42

SUMMARY.

Provinces.	For.	Against.	Doubtful.
1. Bengal	143	35	17
2. Madras	63	25	12
3. Bombay	64	38	10

Provinces.	For.	Against.	Doubtful.
4. North-West Provinces and Oudh	31	29	8
5. The Panjab	36	26	18
6. Central Provinces	24	10	8
TOTAL...	361	163	73

Majority for ... 198, or 68·8 per cent.

,, over Against and Doubtful 125, or 60·4 per cent.

Of the 361 in favour it may be remarked, 59 or 13·5 per cent. were Europeans not from any one part of the Empire, but from all parts of India.

In their Report the Commissioners have not published any statistical information of the kind given above. To obtain it the evidence of every witness, whether his evidence were oral or written, has been examined.

The case against the Report, however is only imperfectly shown even in the statement submitted in the above tabulated particulars. A closer analysis reveals much of great interest and of the highest value. What is revealed increases one's wonder that, in face of the evidence they took, and in view of the instructions they received, the Commissioners could have reported in the sense they adopted. An examination of the following figures will well repay any time bestowed upon them :—

1.—BENGAL

Class of Witness.	EUROPEANS.			INDIANS.		
	For.	Against.	Doubtful.	For.	Against.	Doubtful
1. Covenanted Civilians	... 6	14	2	4	—	—
2. Statutory ,	...—	—	—	3	—	1
3. Uncovenanted Service :—						
a.—Judicial and Executive...—	2	1	22	5	1	
b.—Educational Department,	3	—	9	—	2	
c.—Others	...—	3	—	1	1	1
4. General Public :—						
a.—Barristers, Vakils and						
Solicitors	... 1	2	1	39	1	1
b.—Zemindars	...—	—	—	20	1	—
c.—Merchants	...—	—	3	2	—	—
d.—Others	... 1	2	2	8	1	—
5. English Newspapers	... 2	—	—	5	—	—
6. Vernacular ,,	...—	—	—	10	—	—
7. Associations and Societies ...—	—	—	—	6	—	—
8. Secretary, Government of						
India, & High Court Judges—	—	2	1	—	—	—
TOTALS	...13	26	11	130	9	6

An examination in detail of the facts summarised above shows that

- (1) among Europeans the Hon. H. J. Reynolds, C.S.I., Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, Mr. H. M. Kisch, Mr. H. Beveridge, and Mr. C. B. Garret, all civilians of high position, Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., a retired official of great experience, long service, and almost unequalled knowledge of the country and the people, and
- (2) Sir A. W. Croft, K.C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction for Bengal, and Mr. C. H. Tawney, M.A., Principal of the Presidency College, Calcutta, among Educationalists,

were in favour of simultaneous examinations. Of the Indian figures it may be stated that in Class 3a against the proposal two of the witnesses were Mahomedans, in Class 4d the solitary individual was a Mahomedan, and in Class 4e the same thing is true, with this difference, that the witness was a gentleman holding a high position in a Native-Indian State, being Secretary to the Council of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. As much is made of Mahomedan opposition to simultaneous examinations, it may be added here that the principal Moslem officials of Hyderabad were examined—one at Calcutta, one at Madras, others at Bombay. I think it is due that I should state in detail the Indian witnesses in Bengal who gave evidence in favor of simultaneous examinations: a scrutiny of their names and the positions they hold will unmistakably show that the leading men of wealth, attainments and position—alike in the professions, in commerce and in society, are heartily in favour of their countrymen being permitted, by a first examination in India, to compete for the highest places in the gift of the Government of India. They, who have most to lose, are not afraid of ill consequences following. Nearly all that is eminent, learned, energetic, and loyal in Bengal is to be found represented in the following list. A more remarkable consensus of opinion than is afforded in this list could not be obtained in regard to any matter of high importance in any country. I lay the more stress upon the testimony of Bengal for this, probably sufficient, reason. In the Lower Provinces alone in the Empire is there, on any large scale, private property in land. Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement and the creation of a large body of Zemindars have, in Bengal, called a wealthy class into existence. If anywhere in India it is in Bengal that men are most interested in the maintenance of a strong, efficient, and stable administration. Elsewhere in the Empire the ryotwari system of land tenure does not admit of the growth, on any extensive scale, of a wealthy and cultured class connected with the land. Yet it is in Bengal, where, as I have already said, men have most to lose, that there is the heartiest support, from Hindus and Mohomedans alike, of the proposal for holding simultaneous examinations in England and in India. To anyone acquainted with the personnel of Indian Society

in Bengal, the names of the Maharaja Jotendro Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I., the Maharaja of Durbhunga, Babu Joykishen Mukerji, - Kumar Nil Krishna Deb, Nawab Willayat Ali Khan Bahadur, among Zemindars; Rajah Durga Churn Laha among Merchants, himself the Prince of Indian Merchants; the Hon. C. M. Ghose, High Court, Calcutta, the Hon. Dr. Mohendro Lal Sircar, C.I.E., Nawab Abdul Latif Bahadur, C.I.E., (whose weight and influence with a large section of his community it is impossible to over-rate), among Judicial officers; the thirty-nine barristers, vakils, and solicitors mentioned in Class IV^a., and the gentlemen whose names are given in all the other classes, will be held to represent the flower of wealth, culture influence, and weighty good sense among seventy millions of people. Of one hundred and forty-four witnesses examined in Bengal.—

129 were for Simultaneous Examinations,

9 „ against,

6 „ doubtful.

That the British Indian Association should have given evidence in favour of the change is, from the point of view of security, of great importance. Its action is as if the Carlton, the Junior Carlton, the St. Stephen's, and the constitutional Clubs of London were to make a deliverance to the Government of the day on some important matter. Whatever might be said of such a deliverance it could not be called revolutionary. Considering that Bengal has a third of the whole of the inhabitants of British India within its borders, that Hindu witnesses were ten to one in favour, that nearly one-half of Indian Mahomedans live in this Presidency and that of fourteen witnesses of this faith examined,

10 were for Simultaneous Examinations, and only

4 „ against,

the testimony is of so remarkable and so weighty a character as to unprejudiced minds, I submit, irresistible. To scorn, or set aside on insufficient grounds, such a representation is to invite discontent.

Of Europeans who were examined in Bengal, it is true, there were forty-three against to fourteen in favour. It would be invidious for me to set names on either side against one another, but if this were permissible the force of experience and authority would clearly tell in favour of the smaller numbers.

The list of Indians is as follows:—

* * * * *

The authorities who would lightly set aside such an expression of opinion would incur a most serious risk. The very significant fact is elicited by this examination of evidence that, as I have already remarked, there are actually ten Mahomedan witnesses in favor of simultaneous examinations against four

who object to them; or are neutral. Thus, in the largest province in the Empire, where nearly half the Mahomedans in British India are located, there are twice as many Mahomedan witnesses in favour than there are against! This circumstance robs the following sentence from the Report of much of its value:—"Under the second [i.e., evidence 'given by others who feel that, in the present circumstances of the country, important classes of the community are practically debarred from success in examinations designed mainly as tests of educational fitness'] may be included the majority of the witnesses belonging to the Mahomedan community," (Paragraph 60 of Commissioner's Report.) The statement is technically correct, but in its essentials is strangely misleading. As I shall shortly have occasion to show the evidence of Mahomedan witnesses was taken in a manner which causes grave suspicion as to perfect fairness. For example, fifteen Mahomedan gentlemen were considered sufficient to express the opinions and views of twenty-three millions of Bengal Mahomedans; fifteen (the same number) were thought necessary to perform a similar duty for six millions in the Punjab, while sixteen were called in the North-Western Provinces, where there are less than twelve millions of Moslems. Fairly dealt with, and all the considerations taken into account, the utterance of the Commissioners respecting Mahomedan evidence which I have quoted, is scarcely fair, inasmuch as it deals with a set of facts differing, in important particulars, in each Presidency or Province. The mere enumeration of figures in such a case would be gravely misleading. Yet this is what the Commission appears to have done.

The tables in regard to the other Presidencies and Provinces I give without comment. The details, however, at your lordship's service should they be desired. Those details are omitted solely from a wish not to make this communication too long. An examination of them shows me that what I have said of Bengal might be said of the other parts of the Empire.

2.—MADRAS.

Class of Witness.	INDIANS.					
	For	Agt.	Neutral.	For	Against.	Neutral
1. Covenanted Civil Service ... 3 2 3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1a. Military Officers in Civil Employ, 1	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Statutory Civil Service ... — — —	1	1	—	—	—	—
3. Uncovenanted Service:						
a—Judicial and Executive ... 1 1 —	13	—	—	—	—	—
b—Educational Department ... 1 5 2	3	1	1	—	—	—
c—Unclassified ... 2 1 —	4	5	—	—	—	—
4. General Public:						
a—Barristers, Vakils, and						
Solicitors ... — —	5	10	—	—	—	—

5.—THE PANJAB.

Class of Witness.	EUROPEANS.			INDIANS.		
	For.	Agt.	Neutral.	For.	Agt.	Neutral
b—Zemindars	...	—	—	—	—	—
c—Merchants	...	—	—	1	—	—
d—Unclassified	...	1	1	—	8	5
5. English Newspapers	...	—	—	—	2	—
6. Vernacular Newspapers	...	—	—	—	2	—
7. Associations and Societies	...	—	—	—	7	2
8. Members of Council and High Court Judges	...	—	1	1	3	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTALS, ...	9	11	11	54	14	1

3.—BOMBAY.

1. Covenanted Civil Service	...	5	16	—	2	—	—
1a. Conservator of Forests	...	—	—	1	—	—	—
2. Statutory Civil Service	...	—	—	—	2	1	—
3. Uncovenanted Service :							
a. Judicial and Executive	...	—	3	1	9	4	—
b. Educational Department	...	3	4	1	5	2	1
c. Unclassified	...	—	—	—	1	—	—
4. General Public :							
a. Barristers, Vakils, and Solicitors	...	—	—	1	7	1	—
b. Zemindars	...	—	—	—	—	—	—
c. Merchants	...	—	—	—	—	1	—
d. Unclassified	...	—	—	1	11	3	2
5. English Newspapers	...	1	—	—	3	—	—
6. Vernacular Newspapers	...	—	—	—	5	—	—
7. Association and Societies	...	2	—	—	6	2	—
8. Members of Council and High Court judges	...	—	—	2	2	1	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals—	11	23	7	53	15	3	—

4.—NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

1. Covenanted Civil Service	...	1	8	3	—	1	—
2. Statutory	...	—	—	—	1	1	—
3. Uncovenanted Service :							
a. Judicial & Executive	...	1	—	1	4	7	—
b. Educational Department	...	—	1	1	—	—	—
c. Unclassified	...	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. General Public :							
a. Barristers, Vakils, and Solicitors	...	3	1	1	4	1	1

5.—THE PANJAB.

Class of Witnesses.	EUROPEANS.			INDIANS.		
	For.	Agt.	Neutral.	For.	Agt.	Neutral.
b. Zemindars	...	—	—	9	3	—
c. Merchants	...	—	—	—	—	—
d. Unclassified	..	—	—	1	2	—
5. English Newspapers	...	—	—	—	—	—
6. Vernacular Newspapers	...	—	—	—	1	—
7. Associations & Societies	...	1	—	5	2	—
8. Members of Council, and High Court Judges	..	—	1	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals—	6	11	7	25	18	1
1. Covenanted Civil Service	...	1	9	2	—	—
1 a. Military Officers in Civil Employ	...	—	2	—	—	—
2. Statutory Civil Service	...	—	—	4	1	—
3. Unconvenanted Service	...	—	—	—	—	—
a. Judicial & Executive	...	2	3	—	10	2
b. Educational Department	...	3	—	1	2	—
c. Unclassified	...	—	—	—	—	1
4. General Public:	—	—	—	—	—	—
a. Barristers, Vakils, & Solicitors	...	—	1	—	3	—
b. Zemindars	...	—	—	—	—	—
c. Merchants	...	—	—	—	—	—
d. Unclassified	...	—	—	2	1	6
5. English Newspapers	...	—	—	—	—	1
6. Vernacular Newspapers	...	—	—	3	1	2
7. Associations & Societies	...	—	—	7	4	—
8. Members of Council & High Court Judges	...	—	1	—	—	—
Totals	...	6	15	3	30	11
	—	—	—	—	—	15
6.—CENTRAL PROVINCES.						
1. Covenanted Civil Service	...	1	2	3	—	—
2. Statutory	...	—	—	—	—	1
3. Unconvenanted Service:	—	—	—	—	—	—
a. Judicial and Executive	...	—	—	3	5	5
b. Educational Department	...	—	2	—	1	—
c. Unclassified	...	—	—	—	—	—
4. General Public:	—	—	—	—	—	—
a. Barristers, Vakils, & Solicitors	...	2	—	—	4	—
b. Zemindars	...	—	—	—	2	—
c. Merchants	...	—	—	—	3	—
d. Unclassified	...	—	—	—	1	—
5. English Newspapers	...	—	—	—	2	—
6. Vernacular	...	—	—	—	3	1
7. Associations and Societies	...	—	—	—	—	—
8. Members of Council, and High Court Judges	...	—	—	—	6	—
Totals	...	3	4	6	21	6
	—	—	—	—	—	2

Summary of above Tables.
EUROPEAN S.

Presidency or Province.	1. Governmental Civilian Service.		2. Slaughtering.		3. Education.		4c. Merchants.		4d. General Public Utilities Unclassified.		4e. English Newspapers.		6. Vernacular Newspapers.		7. Associations and Societies.		8. Members of Councils and High Courts Judges.		
	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	For.	Ag.	
1. Bengal ...	6	14	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	2	3	0
2. Madras ...	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
3. Bombay ...	5	16	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5. N.W. Provs. and Oudh...	1	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
5. The Punjab...	1	9	0	2	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. Central Provinces ...	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals ...	17	61	1	2	0	0	4	9	10	15	2	4	6	0	0	0	2	3	4
																		0	0
																		3	0
																		0	2

Europeans : For
Against

96
1.39

INDIANS.

RESIDENCY OF
PROVINCE.

RESIDENCY OF PROVINCE.	S. Members of Council and High Court Judges.												
	1. Government Civil Service.				2. Special Officers.				3. Indian Services.				
Bengal	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	For Ag. For Ag. For Ag. For Ag.	
Madras	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
Bombay	2 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
N.W.P. & Oudh,	0 1 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
The Punjab	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
Central P.	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0
Total ...	6 1 0 0	0 11 5	63 5	23 19	4 6	6 6	67 3	31 4	3 1	33 12	10 0	22 2	34 11
European Witnesses. For, Against, Total, 139													
Indian do. do. do.	361	312	312	312	73	73	73	73	73	385	385	163	163

The Summary shows, as might have been expected, a decided preponderance of opinion among European Covenanted Civilians and Special Officers against simultaneous examinations. The numbers are 18 for 55 against, or three to one against. It is surprising, all things considered, there should have been so many Europeans in favour of a proposal which, while it will do nothing to weaken but much to strengthen, the connection of India with England, will certainly, when carried out, lessen the number of Europeans employed in India. When the examination of these tables is farther proceeded with, and the Uncovenanted and non-official Europeans * are taken into account, the great disparity of numbers largely passes away. While there is still a majority of Europeans against, it is comparatively small; the numbers are nearly equal, being 31 for, 37 against. When these numbers are set opposite to those of Indians on both sides, the result is, I venture to submit, overwhelming in its significance.

FOR OR AGAINST SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS.

EUROPEANS.

INDIANS.

FOR AGAINST.

FOR AGAINST.

Covenanted Officials ... 18	... 53	Covenanted Officials ... 17	... 6
Uncovenanted and non- Officials ... 31	... 37	Uncovenanted and non- Officials ... 295	... 67
... — ... —	... — ... —	... — ... —	... — ... —
TOTALS ... 49	... 90	TOTALS ... 312	... 73

Thus, while of Europeans witnessess there are considerably less than two to one against, of Indians, including the disproportionate "cloud of witnesses" of the Mahomedan faith introduced in Madras, the North-West Provinces, and the Panjab, there are more than four to one for. From the tables given on pp. 38 it will have been seen that there is not a part of the Empire in which the majority of witnesses, European and Indian counted together, were not in favour of simultaneous examinations. It should not be forgotten that four-fifths of the witnesses examined were summoned as being persons whose opinions were of special value. Here it may be well to set out the names of the Europeans who gave evidence in favour. They are as follows:—

Hon. H. J. Reynolds, C. S. I.	G. W. Forrest.
Sir A. W. Croft, K. C. I. E.	G. Geary.
H. Beveridge, C. S.	Hon. Justice West.
C. H. Tawney, M. A.	J. Monteath, C. S.
H. J. S. Cotton, C. S.	Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart.
C. B. Garret, C. S.	J. Clarke.
H. M. Kisch, C. S.	A. Cotterell Tupp, C. S.
A. O. Hume, C. B.	W. C. Nibbet.

* I group these together, as under the scheme of the Commissioners, it is intended they shall have the same privileges as Indians in regard to entrance into the Provincial Service.—WM. D.

F. J. Rowe.	F. C. Lewis, M. A.
J. Kemp.	Col. Holroyd.
Hon. P. O'Sullivan.	Carr Stephen, C. S.
J. H. Garstin, C. S. I.	J. Sime, M. A.
H. E. Stokes, C. S.	G. Lewis, B. A.
E. Gibson, C. S.	W. Coldstream, C. S.
J. H. H. Ellis	C. S. Arthur Wixon.
J. R. Upshon.	J. P. Geodridge, C. S.
Col. T. G. Clarke.	F. W. Dillon.
H. G. Turner, C. S.	A. Ewbank.
Hon. F. Brandt.	F. Wyer.
G. Maddox.	W. M. Elliot.
W. Wordsworth.	Rev. D. Mackenzie, M. A., D. D.

Record of Evidence according to Nationality.

Presidency or Province.	Euro-peans.		Hindus.		Parsees.		Mahome-dans,		Population.		
	For.	Agt.	For.	Agt.	For.	Agt.	For.	Agt.	Hindus.	Mahome-dans.	
			For.	Agt.	For.	Agt.	For.	Agt.			
1. Bengal	14	26	118	5	1	...	10	4	45,452,806	22,704,724	
2. Mahrat	9	11	54	5	...	...	...	9	28,497,666	1,933,571	
3. Bonbay	11	23	27	6	20	3	6	6	17,834,985	3,774,360	
4. North-West Provinces and Oudh	6	11	21	6	...	1	4	11	38,555,121	6,162,900	
5. Panjab	6	15	23	2	...	...	7	9	9,252,295	11,662,434	
6. Central Provinces	3	4	21	2	...	...	4		8,703,110	285,687	
Totals	49	90	264	26	21	4	27	43	118,295,963	46,023,676	

The record of evidence according to Nationality shows that Europeans and Mahomedans are in a majority, adverse, the proportions curiously being nearly the same—in both cases less than two or one against. The Hindus were ten to one in favour, the Parsees five to one. Such an expression of race opinion should, I submit, have been ascertained by the Commission, should have been mentioned in the Report, and due weight should have been given to it in the recommendations made. There are one hundred and fifty millions of Hindus in British India: representatives of the various Hindu races by ten to one are in favour of a particular course; there are fifty millions of Mahomedans, less than two are against this particular course to one in favour. All are Indians, all are Indian subjects of the Queen Empress. They work cordially together in the every-day affairs of the Empire. They are good neighbours. Their numbers ought to be counted together. In the United Kingdom Scottish votes are not separated from English votes. Carry out this fair principle in the present instance, and it will be found the Indian votes are four to one in favour. Nevertheless, the Commission—whose Report, of course, should be according to the

evidence [otherwise, why trouble about taking evidence?] makes recommendations in a contrary sense, declaring there was no consensus of opinion. A Report built upon such shifting sand cannot possibly stand.

Among those, in the above enumeration, designated Neutral or Doubtful, it is only fair to the cause I am urging that I should state are some who make suggestions which, if acted upon, would find place in the Covenanted Service for a large proportion of Indians. For example :—

Mr. Larmine, Commissioner, Dacca Division, "Some posts, should be reserved exclusively for Europeans—the rest for Indians;"

Mr. Elliott, Public Prosecutor, Cuddapah, would give one fourth of appointments to Indians ;

Hon. M. Melvill, C.S.I., Member of Council, Bombay, would give one-fourth of appointments to Indians.

" A. Ewbank, Esq., Principal of the Patna College, proposes the Statutory Service should be enlarged and recruited by nomination followed by real examination till it reaches a third of the Civil Service ;

. F. Wyer, Esq., Civil Service, Collector and Magistrate, Dacca, objects on account of practical difficulties in the examination, advocates equal apportionment of appointments on political grounds, the Indian appointments again divided according to the religions of India ;

Honourable P. O'Sullivan, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate-General, Madras—"If it is found to be practicable, this [simultaneous examinations] might be done;"

W. M. Elliot, Esq., Pleader and Public Prosecutor, Cuddapah, Madras—If an apportionment of appointments be made, he has no objection to a simultaneous examination ; he would give one-fourth of the apportionment.

Rev. D. Mackenzie, M.A., D.D., Principal, Free General Assembly's Institution, Bombay, wants the service to be recruited considerably by graduates.

It may, further, be remarked that the majority of the objections expressed to simultaneous examinations was owing to what is called the present insufficient educational advantages in India. No attempt seems to have been made by Sir Charles Aitchison or by Sir Charles Turner (they took the lead in examining on this point) to bring out the undoubted fact that—given the examinations in India the teaching standard would, in time, necessarily be raised to the requisite height and fulness. All the consequential benefits were likewise ignored. That advancement all along the line, in every walk of life, advancement in which the backward classes would share, must result, and every profession in India incidentally gain, were wholly ignored. Equally was it ignored that an immense impetus would be given to provision of educational facilities by Indians themselves, the Government thereby, in a measure, being relieved of a portion of the burden of higher education. Again, when it was so frequently

tacitly assumed that Indians were not fitted for high alministrative and executive posts, no one asked the obvious question how this could be known or how the difficulties in the way of overcoming it, if it existed, could be conquered until a trial was made. As a matter of fact so far as trial has been made and Indians have been appointed to positions of responsibility, it is freely acknowledged that they have satisfied all expectations and have discharged their duties with ability and integrity. What the Duke of Argyll has called the still more important point than that of efficiency even, namely, how the pledges of the British monarch and Legislature and British statesmen as to equality of treatment could be fulfilled, was completely ignored. No more valuable branch of enquiry than this can be imagined, if equity, is to mark our rule in India. The loss to Europeans of some places in the Covenanted Service is as nothing compared to our reputation for good faith. "I would sacrifice Gwalior, or any frontier of India, ten times over," said the Duke of Wellington in 1802, "in order to preserve our character for scrupulous good faith." Very little, if anything, was done by the Commissioners in the putting of questions, calculated to elicit favourable observations on this branch of the inquiry, while it is not going too far to say that the tendency, of the examinations was to elicit objections.

How to some extent, this came about, and how it was that the clear and emphatic preponderance of evidence in favour of simultaneous examinations seems never to have struck the Commissioners, would be hard of understanding were it not that the Proceedings of the Commission itself afford an answer, to which answer it is with no little regret I now find myself compelled to ask your lordship's attention.

12.—The Main Recommendations of the Report a Foregone Conclusion before any Witnesses were Examined.

The Recommendations, in brief, are these :—

- a. The present competitive system to be maintained and simultaneous examinations refused;
- b. Age to be raised to 23;
- c. The Statutory Service to be abolished; and
- d. A new nomenclature of service and a rearrangement of offices made.

The Commission was appointed by a Resolution of the Government of India on the 4th of October, 1886. Sir Charles Aitchison, K. C. S. I., Lieutenant Governor of the Panjab, was appointed President. On the 7th of July, 1884, exactly two years and four month previous to the appointment of the Commission, Sir Charles Aitchison, in a Minute [India (Civil Service Candidates), House of Commons Paper, c. 4580, 1885] on Raising of Age of Candidates, expressed opinions which, inferentially, committed him against simultaneous examinations,

seeing that he set forth certain objects as sufficient to meet the claims of Indians to fair and just treatment. Simultaneous examinations were not among the objects set forth. He expressed himself then as being in favour of raising the age of candidates, and most strongly denounced the Statutory Service. (Sir Charles condemned the Statutory Service in terms so inaccurate as to necessitate later a disproof of his statements.) Later, on the 14th of November, 1885, eleven months before the Commission was appointed, Sir Charles reiterated his formerly-expressed views and recommended such a rearrangement of the Services as was finally adopted by the Commission itself (*Proceedings of the Public Service Commission*, vol. i., p. 40). Practically, the Report could have been written by the President in 1886, before ever a single witness was examined. It is, to say as little on the point as possible a startling coincidence that the views of the gentleman who became President of the Commission, those views being placed on record long before the Commission was appointed, should be identical, in all essential features, with the recommendations eventually made. The holding of decided views, such as he enumerated, would make the Lieut.-Governor of the Panjab an admirable, probably an essential, witness, but so biased a mind as they clearly indicate, made him unfit for the judicial position he was called upon to occupy. It is unnecessary I should illustrate the point by incidents from contemporary history the mere statement of the fact suffices. Regarded in the light of the President's prepossessions what before was occasion for surprise and wonder in the Report vanishes, and the curiously inconsequential proceedings of the Commission can be understood.

As if the possession, by the Commission, of its President's previously expressed matured views on the subject-matter of the enquiry were not enough, before ever an independent witness was called the views of the various subordinate Governments were obtained by interlocutory proceedings. The opinions of the Government of the Panjab meant the opinions of Sir Charles Aitchinson. The opinions asked for were given. No emphasis wanting in the expression of the views held. Two extracts from the "Answers by the Panjab Government" (Vol. I of the Commission's Proceeding pp. 19 and 25), will prove this:—

Simultaneous Examinations

Suggested Changes,

"Q. 351.—Do you advocate a competition in India for the Civil Service simultaneously with the competition in England, the same question papers being used at both examinations?—
No; the system would be impracticable."

"Q. 239.—How would the Native Community regard the following —

- "(1) The Covenanted Civil Service to be reduced to a fixed number of appointments to be filled by competition in England, to which Natives and Europeans alike would be admitted

"(2) The appointments taken from the Covenanted Civil Service to be filled by appointment in India, both Natives and Europeans being eligible?—Uncertain, but would probably be looked upon with favour.

"Q. 240—How would you regard such a scheme?—The Lieutenant Governor is strongly in favour of it."

Possessing the views thus expressed with much sincerity and conviction. Sir Charles was clearly unfitted for that calm and judicial investigation and the weighing of rival statements which, it goes without saying, is anticipated when the Government of India appoints a Commission of this character. It is astonishing that a gentleman of Sir Charles Aitchison's sensitiveness of character did not perceive this, and that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab did not refuse to occupy a judicial position in respect to a matter to which it was possible for him to bring an unbiased mind.

Added to the other objections to which Sir Charles Aitchinson (in the Commission's Proceedings) compels attention is the bias he, without any concealment or circumlocution, exhibits against the adoption of what was the fundamental object in the mind of your lordship's predecessor in determining to institute the Enquiry. That object was "to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service." Sir Charles's utter want of real sympathy with the object is shown in two expressions he uses in a letter dated 7th November, 1885 (p. 40, vol. i., Proceedings P. S. Commission):—

"The raising of the age would, in his opinion, enable "the Natives to compete on fair and equal terms" with Englishman. That is to say, Englishmen and Indians competing together in London are, in Sir Charles Aitchinson's view, on an equality. Equality! And yet the Indians have had to travel six thousand miles to reach London reside in a strange country, are examined in a foreign tongue, are separated from kindred and friends during the most impressionable years of life, when friendly, not to say paternal, countenance counts for most, and when success or failure in examination may depend upon encouragement in the home circle! All this, too, to be done at the risk of failure. Such "fairness" and such "equality" meted out to Englishmen would have denied to India many of her ablest Civil Servants. Would even Sir Charles Aitchinson, himself have competed for the Indian Civil Service if the examination wherein he did so brilliantly had been held in Calcutta and were carried on in an Indian tongue?

b. The Statutory Service is thus described:—"It was an ill-considered provision adopted at the eleventh hour of discussion of a Bill introduced for a totally different object, and suddenly tacked on at the fag end of it." Such is Sir Charles Aitchinson's statement. The facts it professes to summarise, but with which it has no connection whatsoever, must be stated here in some detail owing to the bearing they have on the whole question of the admission

of the people of India to high office in their own country. Sir Charles was apparently, unacquainted with the circumstances I am about to narrate. Otherwise it is impossible he could have expressed himself in the terms I have quoted.

In 1833, by Parliamentary enactment, all disabilities under which Natives of India had hitherto suffered were removed. In 1858, a Conservative Government being in office, (Lord Stanley (now the Earl of Derby) Secretary of State for India) the Queen's Proclamation, a document of singular beauty and royal breath, affirmed that "our subjects, of whatever race or creed," shall "be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education ability, and integrity, duly to discharge." In 1862 a measure passed through Parliament giving to the Government of India certain powers of appointment of Natives of India. One appointment only was made; it was made in the same year the Act was passed, and Bombay was the scene. That appointment was, I believe, soon after cancelled. Nine years passed in which nothing was done to give effect to the Queen-Empress's gracious words. On August 21st, 1867, the East India Association memorialized Sir Stafford Northcote, then Secretary of State for India, asking that the competitive examination for a portion of the appointments to the India Civil Service should be held in India under such rules and arrangements as he might think proper, and expressing an opinion that, after the selection had been made in India by the first examination, it was essential that the selected candidates should be required to come to England to pass their further examinations with the selected candidates for this country. Sir Stafford Northcote introduced a clause in the Bill he submitted to Parliament; the Bill was entitled "The Government of India Act Amendment Bill." In introducing the measure the Secretary of State made some most important remarks. They are as follows:—

"The impression of myself and the Council is that the Uncovenanted Service should be, as far as possible, a Native Service, though no doubt certain appointments should be given to Englishmen. In explanation of the large proportion of Europeans in the Uncovenanted Services, I may mention that appointments were given to many Europeans who rendered services during the Mutiny, and other appointments were given to the sons and relatives of old officers. Still, I feel that the Uncovenanted Service is a dangerous service for Europeans, as it affords a scope for jobbing, and we ought to confine it more to Natives than to Europeans. In addition to this, I think it desirable that we should provide some mode by which Natives should be admitted into the Covenanted Service; and I therefore propose to introduce into the Bill a clause to open to a certain extent a door for that purpose. At present there is an Act by which a certain number of choice appointments are reserved to members of the Covenanted Civil Service, which can only be entered by competitive examination in this country, but there is also by a section of that Act power

given to the authorities to appoint other persons, provided they have resided in India a certain number of years, and have passed certain language tests. This latter provision, however, not being thoroughly effective, I propose to introduce a clause declaring that nothing in that Act shall prevent the authorities from appointing any Native of India to any post in the Covenanted Service, subject to such regulations as may appear expedient to the Governor-General, and as shall be approved by the Secretary for India and the majority of his Council. Such a provision will afford a safeguard against the powers being abused to the detriment of the Covenanted Civil Service. I propose also to define a Native India as being a person born of parents habitually resident in India, and not of persons merely established there for a temporary purpose."

The Bill was brought forward and read the first time on April 23rd. Mr. Fawcett, according to the notice given by him previous to this date, on the 5th of May submitted a motion, which was in the following terms:—

"That this House, whilst cordially approving of the system of open competition for appointments in the East India Civil Service, is of opinion that the people of India have not a fair chance of competing for these appointments as long as the examinations are held nowhere but in London; this House would therefore deem it desirable that simultaneously with the examination in London the same examination should be held in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras."

A long debate followed the proposing of this motion. Mr. Fawcett, at the end of the debate, said that "after the speech of the right hon. gentleman, he would not divide the House on his motion. The right hon. gentleman did not seem to impugn his motion, but simply wished to try something else first. He should be doing an injustice to the questions by now dividing, and he would have the opportunity of expressing his opinion when the Bill to which he Secretary of State to India had referred was before the House. He should support a scheme to enable the Natives to take a part in the Government of their country." Owing to a change of administration the Bill was not proceeded with. The object it had in view, however, was not permitted to drop.

On March 11th, 1869, the Duke of Argyll moved the 2nd reading of the "East India (Laws and Regulations) Act," Clause 6 of that measure empowered the Governor-General, under such restrictions and regulations as might be agreed to by the Government at home, to select, for the Covenanted Service of India, natives of India, although they might not have gone through the competitive examination in England. Speaking upon this clause, which he described as "one of very great importance," "involving some modification in our practice, and in the principles of our legislation as regards the Civil Service of India," his Grace made the following significant observations: "It may be asked how far this provision is consistent with the measures adopted by Parliament for securing efficiency in that service; but there is a provision, and in my opinion, a much more important, question which I trust will be considered—HOW FAR THIS PROVISION IS ESSENTIAL TO ENABLE US TO PERFORM OUR DUTIES AND FULFIL OUR PLEDGES AND PROFESSIONS TOWARDS THE PEOPLE

"OF INDIA With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the government of their country, in the Covenanted Service formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made."* There can be no doubt as to the noble Duke's meaning ; later, in the same speech, he said : "I believe that, by competitive examinations conducted at Calcutta, or even by pure selection, it will be quite possible for the Indian Government to secure able, excellent, and efficient administrators." The Act did not become law until the 25th of March, 1870.

Thus the clause to which Sir Charles Aitchison referred in misleading terms, terms which evidently owe their use to his acquaintance with the subject on which he expressed himself, was under the consideration of Parliament for two years before it became law.

It is a leading clause in a measure introduced with so much dignity, considered with so much patience and commented upon with such fulness at the second reading, that Sir Charles Aitchison says : " It was an ill-considered provision, adopted at the eleventh hour of discussion of a Bill introduced for a totally different object, and suddenly tacked on at the fag end of it " ! The public have a right to expect better treatment of an historical matter by an officer of Sir Charles Aitchison's standing and ability. The Duke of Argyll has occasion for unbounded wonder at his alleged " ill-considered " action, and his Grace may ask how this particular provision could have been " adopted at the eleventh hour of discussion ", and " suddenly tacked on the fag end " of a Bill, when it was before Parliament for three years, and, further, was discussed at the second reading of the measure more than twelve months before that measure received the Royal sanction ! Considering what the question is which was thus strangely described by the Lieut.-Governor of Punjab, it is clear that the conduct of so important an enquiry as that into the reform of the Public Services should not have been placed in the hands of Sir Charles Aitchison.

In respect to the Act of 1870 it may be remarked that five years passed before the Government of India found time to submit rules for consideration by the Secretary of State, and nine years before a single appointment was made ! The provisions of the Act, even then, were carried out in a halting fashion. The letter of the law has not been followed; the spirit of the Act has been ignored. At the rate fixed under the Rules there should have been, when the Committee reported, sixty statutory civilians; there were only forty-eight (paragraph 45, pp. 20, 21, Report). This, alas ! is only symptomatic of the way in which we deal with affairs in India where the people of the country alone are concerned. The steps leading to the recognition and partial performance of our

duty to the Indian people in this matter are—

1833—

1858—

1862—

1867—

1870—

1879 ?

Forty-six years, more than a generation and a half of men, between giving a pledge and partially redeeming it ! Four years before her Gracious Majesty ascended the Throne, the promise was made; she was within a few years of her jubilee as a monarch before the pledge was only partially redeemed! And the Indian people remained patient through all these years of disappointment. Such progress is surely slow enough for the most cautious of Indian statesmen. A quicker pace could now do no harm—nay, rather, is absolutely necessary. What, however, even though it were merely a small instalment, it took forty-six years to obtain, and, when initiated, was set in operation under ill-considered rules which carried failure on their face, as they left out the most important element of all—tested educational requirements Sir Charles Aitchison, with a light heart, would wholly thrust aside after less than seven years' trial, and add one more, and this the most glaring and most indefensible of all, to the unfulfilled duty and promises and engagements " of which the Duke of Argyll complained ! It almost passes comprehension that so strong a partisan should have been selected to preside over and guide the deliberations of the Public Service Commission, which, it should never be forgotten, was appointed for a two-fold purpose :—

" to devise a scheme which may be reasonably hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality " ; and

" to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service."

Neither of these purposes has been achieved, or even remotely approached, or fairly attempted.

III.—Summary of the Points Raised.

In bringing these matters to your lordship's notice I trust I may be acquitted of any feeling but one of a sincere desire to serve our fellow subjects in India, I have referred to the President of the Commission only in his position as such. For Sir Charles Aitchison personally and for his services to India through a long and honorable period of administrative work I have much admiration and entertain the highest respect. It has been painful to me to write of any act of his in the strain I have been compelled to adopt. But I have remembered that the issues involved are of such importance, the legacy of "unfulfilled duty and promises and engagements," is so great, that no consideration for an officer, how,

ever eminent, whose acts go to swell that legacy, could be allowed to prevail with me in the discharge of a simple but most urgent duty

Although it will, to some slight extent, be travelling over ground already traversed in my letter to your lordship of March 16th, I hope I may be permitted to set forth in parallel columns how grievously the Commissioners have failed to carry out the instructions they have received, and how, so far from making the slight improvement in the position of the Indian people as regards the Public Service,, how instead of providing for "*higher and more extensive employment*", and *doing full justice*, they have really made proposals which will leave her Majesty's often-disappointed Indian subjects much worse off than they already were.

THE POSITION OF AFFAIRS BEFORE THE COMMISSION REPORTED.

First.—The Indian People, under the Rules ed in accordance with the Act of 1870, are filled (Para. 40 of the Report) to 756 appointments every year. Before the first year's batch is open again, after 30 years of service, 227 appointments in the Covenanted Service must be picked by Indians.

Second.—These 227 appointments are not, in any case, restricted. If the holders are found to be nified the Government has the power to appoint to any office to which Covenanted Civilians are titled, or for any higher employment. In other ds, the whole Covenanted Service or any higher ement is open to them, even to the Lieutenant-Governorship of a Province, or some of the seats on Viceroy's Council. The Resolution appointing Committee, in clear language, put this beyond doubt. "It may be observed," it is stated, "that, statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and generality, and it empowers the Government of India, and the Secretary of State acting together to frame, les under which natives of India may be admitted" into the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service; and that it would appear that there is practically no method of selecting natives for higher employment in India, which its provisions could not allow to be attempted." The Commission was instructed to improve on a condition of things thus described and already existing. To improve! and, behold, more than the half of what is already possessed is taken away!

... "POSITION REPORT IS ACCEPTED. ASSUMING THE REPORT IS ACCEPTED, THE LOSS TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE."

First.—108 appointments in the Covenanted Service added to the Provincial Service, and the 756 annual appointments abolished. That is, 108 inferior positions are offered in place of 227 with the best possibilities of promotion, already secured by Act of Parliament, after 30 years of service. Parliaments,

Second.—Instead of the whole Covenanted Service or higher employment being legally open for promotion (according as the Government is satisfied) to ability displayed and character sustained, the 108 appointments are confined to certain posts only. That is, it is now proposed to deprive the people of India of what they already possess by Act of Parliament, by nullifying an Act of "remarkable breadth and liberality", "providing for admission to any of the office hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service; and" in which "it would appear that there is practically no method of selecting natives for higher employment in India which its provisions would not allow to be attempted".

Third.—119 appointments, to which Indians are now entitled by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, in the Covenanted Civil Service, are taken from the Indian people. Instead of *more* places being secured, as was intended when the Commission was appointed, many now open to them are taken away. "From him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away."

Fourth.—The quality, the liberality, and the scope of the appointments already reserved by law greatly and sadly reduced.

(Continued.)

Fifth.—These 297 stipulations were referred in natives only (as defined in the Act of 1810), as small instalment of the pledges given by the British Parliament, and successive Scores given, the British Parliament, and to divide them with Europeans. If a strict system of examination is not adopted (the Report makes no provision for this) the probability is—judging from recent experience in India—that out of the 108 cases of State and leading statesmen in England, in words already quoted, the Duke of Argyll definitely stated that our duty had not been fulfilled, our promises and engagements had not been kept. This provision was made in partial redemption of the many unfulfilled pledges.

Sixth.—It is proposed to treat the legislation of 1810 as negligible, and the solemn statement of the Duke of Argyll as though it had never been made. It is intended to take from the children of the soil rights and privileges conferred by Parliament, and to divide them with Europeans. If a strict system of examination is not adopted (the Report makes no provision for this) the probability is—judging from recent experience in India—that out of the 108 cases of State and leading statesmen in England, even the Indians will secure a small portion only owing to the pressure of influence which will be exerted on behalf of English youths.

Seventh.—The right to compete in England by the side of Englishmen to the age of nineteen.

Eighth.—The 108 to be shared with Europeans, when even the 227 secured by Act of Parliament were allotted to Indians alone, as a partial fulfilment of long-neglected pledges and forgotten solemn obligations.

Ninth.—Age raised to 23. [Although I record this a gain, as a matter of fact in recommending it the Commissioners are only reverting to a former arrangement which was injudiciously disturbed.]

It is clear from this comparison that if the recommendations of the Commission are accepted by your lordship, and legislation in which they are embodied follows, the loss to the Indian people will, in every way, be serious. That branch of the two-fold object which was to provide "*higher and more extensive employment*" for Indians has not been regarded. There is no gain. There is serious loss. As for the other branch of the two-fold object, a reasonable hope of finality in the recommendations made, that is farther off than ever. Gross injustice will have been done, and grievous disappointment and dissatisfaction will be felt.

As I ventured to remark in my former letter to your lordship, the matter under discussion is one in which there can be no going backwards. Regarded from the view of English interests in India only the legislation of 1870 cannot be revoked. It is a principle of English political procedure, with which your lordship is familiar, that when one Government displaces another, in all affairs of what I may term high politics, continuity is maintained. The Act of 1870, proposed by so honoured a member of the Conservative Administration of the day as the late Lord Iddesleigh, and carried into effect by a Liberal Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, honestly administrated, is to the people of India what many Acts of Reform in all Departments of our Public life are to the English people. Rights which have been brought into being by Act of Parliament in the United Kingdom are always respected. In the case of India there are not only Parliamentary rights to be safe-guarded, there are solemn pledges also to be fulfilled. Faith is kept with the people of these realms. I am fully satisfied your lordship will not, for a moment, willingly become a party to any legislation which would treat the people of other races and in distant realms, specially committed to your care, differently from your own people, whom in so many ways and for so many years you have served. It is practicable to change the form in which the rights and privileges granted to India in 1870 may be made available to those in whose behalf that measure of "*remarkable breadth and liberality*" was passed. It is not practicable, it is not honourable, it may not be attempted, that one jot or tittle of what is even now only a partial fulfilment of solemn pledges should be withdrawn. The whole object of the Commission was to give something *more*, to do full justice to the claims of Indians, and to bring about a *reasonable finality*.

The people of India are not exclusive or selfish in their claims. They are most patient and eminently reasonable. If the rights of existing incumbents are saved they agree to the abolition of the Statutory Service (which, if it has failed, through no fault of theirs, but owing to the defective rules which were made without their co-operation in framing those rules having been sought) on condition that Simultaneous Examinations are held in England and in India, open to all British subjects. They only ask, as I stated in my former letter, a

fair field ; they seek no favour. They do not beg for special concessions. They plead simply for that equality which is their due, which has been pledged to them over and over again. The Indian people wish to be recognised as standing on the same footing, in all matters of this kind, with their fellow-subjects in other parts of Her Majesty's Dominions. They ask nothing for themselves which they are not prepared to share with others on an equal footing. Simultaneous Examinations alone provide an element of finality. All else is gauntlet and quicksand. Whether the exact mode of working out the change be the adoption of a single list and all candidates placed in the order of merit, or whether, as the next best plan half the appointments be competed for in each country, is a matter which, though of much importance, may not, under present circumstances, be too jealously considered by the Indian people. By Simultaneous Examinations, and by these alone, can satisfaction be given to our Indian fellow-subjects, England's honour be maintained, England's plighted word be kept, and "full justice" be rendered to their claims.

The observations I have addressed to your Lordship have, of necessity, applied to the Covenanted Civil Service only. Similarly, to reach reasonable hope of finality, the same plan will be needed for the other Covenanted Services also—that is to say, for the Public Works, the Telegraphs, Forests, Medical and other Departments for which examinations are held in England.

The patience with which delays prolonged over many years have been borne by the Indian people may no longer be expected in the same degree. Patient they will always be, but, with the spread of education, the largely-increasing and more influential Press, and the exercise of constitutional agitation, our Indian fellow-subjects will more frequently knock at the doors of Parliament. In the second Resolution passed at the National Congress held at Allahabad in the last week of December, 1888, the Congress felt "it necessary to put distinctly on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India." While never going outside the law in making their appeal the Indian people will not rest satisfied with a proposed settlement of a great question—a question of supreme importance to them, both as a matter of sentiment and of public duty, and bearing most importantly on the economic and material condition of India—so obviously unfair to them as it that proposed in the Report of the Public Service Commission. Nothing but the equality so frequently promised to them equality ensured in the shape of simultaneous examinations, can give satisfaction.

I have the honour to remain,

Your lordship's obedient servant,

WM. DIGBY

**Mr. William Digby's interview with Right Hon.
W. E., Gladstone**

[The following is a report of an interview between the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. in his room at the back of the Speaker's Chair, House of Commons, on April 8th, and Mr. William Digby, C. I. E., the Agent in England of the Indian National Congress.]

After a cordial greeting to his visitor, and after compliments Mr. Gladstone said : you have come Mr. Digby to tell me about the Indian National Congress.

MR. DIGBY—Yes, sir. And first I wish to tell you of the great enthusiasm which marked the Congress on the 29th December when it was proposed to send a congratulatory telegram to you on your birthday. The whole audience rose as one man to acclaim the proposal, every one added his benediction.

MR. GLADSTONE—It was very good of the Congress, and I greatly appreciate their kindness. I have always had good will towards the Indian people and have done for them, from time to time, all that has seemed to me possible.

MR. DIGBY—I wish at the outset to say that while the people of India are anxious you should become acquainted with their great organisation, they also are aware of the many claims upon your attention. They would shrink from burdening you overmuch. Nevertheless, they wish you to know what it is they are striving for. As for the Congress itself, I want, if possible, Mr. Gladstone, to make it clear to you that if ever there was any organisation in the British Empire which deserved the hearty support of all English Liberals, it is this of the Congress. From the first day of its establishment until now nothing of violence, of intimidation, of sedition, has marked any part of its proceedings. It has asked for moderate reforms, it has asked for them in moderate language, it has acted in a peaceable and constitutional manner. The Congress wants a measure of representation of varied interests, through election by qualified persons. It has been perfectly loyal. Indeed, I am speaking sober truth when I say there is no loyalty in the British dominions more sincere than that of the Indian reformers. They do not want to drive the British out of India. They see the need of an over-lord in the land to direct the affairs of the many peoples in the Empire ; they have never had an over-lord who on the whole has done so much real good to the Empire as has Britain. Our over-lordship has, it is to be regretfully stated, been accompanied with economic conditions of a most unsatisfactory character. Conditions which to describe now would take up more time than you can spare me, and upon which, therefore, I will not enlarge. Side by side with this drawback, however, England has one great thing to be placed to its credit, it has made or at least is making of a congeries of nations in India—one nation. What Sir John Strachey and others have said and are still saying of India as an agglomeration of States without cohesion is no longer true. The Supreme Council for making Laws for all India, the Penal-Code, the system of education, to mention some things only, have all had a marvellous effect in this respect, and none are so ready to recognise this as the people of India themselves.

MR. GLADSTONE—Is it really the case, Mr. Digby, that there is a sentiment of nationality such as you describe? I am most glad to hear it. What else is conducing to this nationality? Is there any army for all India?

MR. DIGBY—No, sir. The presidency army system still continues, but I think it is in its last days. I had the pleasure of travelling last autumn to India in the same ship with Lord Lansdowne. One of the matters on which he did me the honour of conversing with me was this very question of one army for India. It happened to be one of the subjects in which I had taken an interest while in India. I expressed some of the objections to the presidency system and gathered that one of the reforms Lord Lansdowne hoped to carry out while in India was the abolition of the divided armies and the creation of one military force for the whole Empire.

MR. GLADSTONE—I hope Lord Lansdowne will carry out this reform. I have been struck, during my visits to Italy, with the wonderful unity which exists there. Italy, is now as much one country as is France, and more so than is Germany. I attribute this largely to formation of an army for Italy as a whole. This has broken down provincialism and has had marvellous results in making Italy the united nation it is now.

MR. DIGBY—Here, Sir, an instance in support of what I say about the feeling of nationality in India. I mixed freely with the members of the Congress Hall. You would have been surprised at the combination exhibited in our military encampment and our democratic manners at Allahabad. In race the people differed from one another as much as the Spaniard differs from the Norwegian. The Sikh and the Madrasi have scarcely anything in common. [Here Mr. Gladstone interpose a question about the religion professed by the Sikhs, and having received a reply, gracefully apologized for the interruption] Certainly nothing more in common than have Russian and the Belgians, yet they were all content to be called Indians, to assemble as citizens of one Empire, and to call themselves by the generic term of Indians. A real Indian nationality has sprung into existence in India, thanks, chiefly to the one head of British authority and to the principles of rule carried out. The people are, too, loyal, sincerely loyal, and all charges of sedition are untrue. The Congress also has done its part in bringing about what has already been achieved.

MR. GLADSTONE—I am pleased to know all this. Much of it is what I should have expected. I am glad to hear—I should have expected to hear—of a certain loyalty to the Administration, not exactly the loyalty which would develop feelings of confidence in our rule. Has it not been a distinct advantage to India, her being brought under the direct rule of the Crown? There cannot now be annexation of the native States which, at one time caused so much trouble. I refer particularly to that.

MR. DIGBY.—There has, in many ways, been great gain to India in being brought under the direct rule of the Crown. Lord Dalhousie's policy, for example, is impossible now-a-days. You will remember, sir, the debates in the House of Commons more than twenty years ago regarding Mysore and the rendition of the Province, which was brought about solely because appeal could be made on behalf of the native princes to the House of Commons. In that respect there has been gain.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Referring again to what you say about the loyalty of the Congress, there must, of course, among such a number of people as live in India, be some who are disloyal and disaffected. Now I should suppose that such an organisation as the Congress would naturally absorb these men: they want opportunity to express themselves, here is such an opportunity. I should not think any the worse of the Congress if it were so, so long as these men did not dominate its policy, so long as they were kept in their place.

MR. DIGBY.—I can assure you, sir, that such men as you refer to have not been members of any of the Congresses. There are disaffected persons in India, not very many, I think, and they are confined to one part of the Empire, the Punjab. They are not with us. As Mr. Hume, in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, has recently pointed out, they are not in favour of the constitutional courses which alone the Congress follows.

MR. GLADSTONE.—But they could attend the Congress meetings if they chose, and take part in the proceedings, could they not?

MR. DIGBY.—No sir. Certainly not. No one attends the Congress as delegate who is not elected by some association—or organisation in sympathy with reform, or at some public meeting. A delegate has to produce his credentials before he is admitted, and contribute Rs. 10 to the Congress funds.

MR. GLADSTONE.—I did not understand that the Congress was representative in this respect.

MR. DIGBY.—That is the very essence of its existence. It is that or it is nothing. Each year that passes, the organisation is improved in this respect. One point I have not pressed so much as I could have wished, though I think I mentioned, it incidentally at starting. That is the strong, even over-powering objection which is felt against the system of nominating members to the various councils. Lord Dufferin would give up nomination and establish election for the provincial councils, but not for the Supreme Council. As a fact it is needed, if anything, more at the top than elsewhere. Lord Ripon, when he was Viceroy, exercised as much care as any man could in selecting members of his Council, but he told me in November last, just before I started for India, that on looking back he was conscious he had made mistakes owing to want of exact knowledge. A remarkable instance of the need of elected members, fully acquainted with the country in the Viceroy's Council, has just occurred. During one of the years when Lord Ripon had a good surplus and could remit

taxation, be abolished, what, is known as the patwari cess in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Within the past two months the cess has been re-imposed, not because the finances of Empire were in such straits that it was necessary to reimpose this particular tax, but because it was found a mistake had been made in the object sought to be achieved had not been achieved. Had there in 1882 or 1883—I am not certain in which year the tax was remitted—been two or three elected members for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh in the Viceroy's Council, the local knowledge required would have been available and the mistake could no have occurred. You referred just now sir to the possibility of some extreme men attending the Congress meetings, saying injurious things and doing harm. But that, if it happened, you further said, would not necessarily make you think ill of the Congress as a whole. As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind has happened. The proceedings of the Congress from the first meetings in Bombay in 1885 to the last in Allahabad in 1888, may be scrutinized with ever so much keenness and nothing found in them of a violent or seditious character. Indeed, they have been so scrutinized first by Sir Auckland Colvin and next by Lord Dufferin. Sir Auckland went so far as to say that he approved of what was done at^{at} Bombay and Calcutta, but changed his opinion after the Madras meeting was held. That however, was not because of seditious speeches or unwise resolutions in the Congress itself for he cited no speeches which were objectionable, and the resolutions were with a few unimportant exceptions, merely reaffirmation of previous years' conclusions. He founded his objections upon certain pamphlets published with the report of the Madras Congress. So, also, I have reason to believe, did Lord Dufferin complain of the pamphlets and not of the Congress proceedings. Lord Dufferin, by the way, I am compelled with all respect to him to say, acted very wrongly in making his strictures upon the Congress at the place where he did, namely, at a Scotch dinner on St. Andrew's Day when no native of India could possibly be present to hear his remarks upon their great representative organisation. Now, as to those pamphlets, all deny there is anything seditious in them. The writer of the Catechism, Mr. Vira Raghava Chariar of Madras, in the preface to a Tamil edition, declared that his object in writing it was to persuade his countrymen in Madras to lay aside all their jealousies and bickerings and to learn their duties as citizens of the British Empire, not an Indian Government dissociated from Britain, but the British Empire.

MR. GLADSTONE—Surely Lord Dufferin could not object to such a statement as that.

MR. DIGBY—I am not sure that Lord Dufferin has seen this preface. But the spirit of the observations is manifest in all the pages of Mr. Vira Raghava Chariar's pamphlet. Then in regard to the other pamphlet, a conversation

between certain Indians on the affairs of the country, it was written by Mr. A. O. Hume, whom you will remember as the son of the late Joseph Hume.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Oh, yes; I know.

MR. DIGBY.—Well, Mr. Hume was so anxious that nothing of a seditious nature should appear in his pamphlet that, prior to publication, he submitted it to most experienced men in India and in England, and only published it after it had passed through their hands.

MR. GLADSTONE.—And they found nothing seditious in its pages?

MR. DIGBY.—Nothing whatever! More than that, the conversation had been in circulation more than twelve months before anybody thought there was sedition in it. To revert, sir, with your permission, to point I mentioned a little time ago, I should like to ask your kind consideration of this fact. My point was that the Congress movement was essentially a moderate one, that there was nothing wild or violent about it. Note this, sir, (producing a printed document). It proves that Congress consisting of the most advanced men throughout India has so fine a sense of what is possible as well as what is desirable that when the proposals in regard to the greatest of all the reforms advocated—the enlargement of the councils and the extension of their powers—are placed side by side, they are found to be only slightly in advance of those which Lord Dufferin from quite a different stand-point, has urged upon the Secretary of State for India.

MR. GLADSTONE, (surprised): Eh, what is that?

MR. DIGBY.—You see here, sir, in paralleled columns the Congress demands on this particular matter and Lord Dufferin's alleged recommendations. I say "alleged," because the despatch in which they appear has not yet been published. But I have good reasons for stating the recommendations authentic.

MR. GLADSTONE.—This is most interesting. Can you leave this document with me?

MR. DIGBY.—With pleasure, I gladly leave it. I press this point, sir, because it is a fair sample of the whole doings of the Congress men. Their doings are wholly reasonable. Indeed, they might be expected to be such. The Congress is, practically, to the whole of India what the National Liberal Federation is to the Liberal party. The opposition to it is chiefly from Mahomedans, and only a portion of them.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Yes I have seen it stated that there were three hundred Mahomedans at the last Congress.

MR. DIGBY.—That report is not quite exact. The corrected delegations lists are not yet published: when they are, I think it will be found that the number of Mahomedans was between 200 and 250.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Is it not a fact that some of the principal men concerned with the Congress are dismissed officials ?

MR. DIGBY.—I am not aware of any such instance. But if there be an isolated case, it does not affect the loyalty and good sense of the Congress as a whole.

MR. GLADSTONE.—I am told the Native Press is seditious and often contains writings of a disloyal character. What do you say to that ?

MR. DIGBY (smiling).—If you will excuse my using a remark you frequently have to make to correspondents respecting absurd charges made by Conservatives concerning your character, I would reply by remarking that when any body makes a statement of this kind he should be called upon to produce the proof. With the proof in one's possession, one could judge as to the correctness of the statement. I know of no such instances, and I probably see as many Indian newspapers as almost any man in England. But as a matter of fact District officials in India are such irresponsible despots that they resent all comment on their actions however mild, and call that sedition what probably any unprejudiced person would say fair criticism.

MR. GLADSTONE.—I can well believe that, but as to the Native Press as a whole, do you think it has improved ? When Lord Salisbury passed his Gagging Act I, from what I saw of the evidence adduced which was held to justify its passing, was not satisfied that the Act was needed. I did not think there was occasion for it. Has the Press at all improved since then ?

MR. DIGBY.—I am afraid my answer to your question will be a little long. Adopting a remark of Sir John Strachey's, I should say the Indian-conducted papers now bear the same relation to the crude efforts of Indian journalists thirty years ago that the English journalism of to-day does to the journalism which you will remember as represented by the *John Bull* of fifty years ago.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Really, is that the case ?

MR. DIGBY.—That sir, is my honest opinion, an opinion based upon an unprejudiced examination of their circumstances. We deny there is any sedition in the Indian papers. At the same time none are so desirous of stopping seditious writing if there be any than are the Congress men themselves. On my return from the Congress to Bombay I travelled a part of the way with several delegates from Madras, including the Editor and Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*, the only Indian daily paper in Southern India. We discussed this very point. It was suggested that the standing Congress Committee should for six months, make an abstract of the contents of the native journals published within their respective localities, and at the end of that period report the result. The Indian gentlemen I have referred to were so satisfied as to the result of the inquiry that they were ready to undertake the duty and be judged by what the reports might reveal.

MR. GLADSTONE—What was it they proposed to do ?

MR. DIGBY repeated the incident and Mr. Mr. Gladstone nodded approval.

MR. GLADSTONE—You mentioned Lord Lansdowne's name a little while ago. I hope he will be successful during his stay in India.

MR. DIGBY—So far as I could judge from what I saw of His Excellency on the voyage, and from what I have seen and heard since, I have great hope of his doing usually well.

MR. GLADSTONE—here intimated that he had an engagement, and he and Mr. Digby rose from their seats. While they were standing.

MR. DIGBY said—You are aware, Sir, that Mr. Bradlaugh has a motion on the paper regarding Indian reform which unfortunately cannot be taken up on th¹ 16th as we had hoped. Could not the Opposition Front Bench take up the question ?

MR. GLADSTONE—In the present stage of the question, I think you cannot do better than let it remain in the hands of an independent member. It is in very good hands now.

MR. DIGBY—I thank you for that observation, but what I wish further to say is this:—Mr. Bradlaugh's motion calls for immediate action. But we also remember that the English people understand very little about India and they might think some inquiry was needed. Could it not be proposed from the Opposition Front Bench, when Mr. Bradlaugh's motion is before the House, that a Parliamentary Committee be appointed to inquire into this matter.

MR. GLADSTONE—I remember when we were last in office, we were considering the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the whole administration of India. You now only suggest inquiring on one point?

MR. DIGBY—We make that suggestion only because we think that English people generally might wish to see in the shape of evidence placed before a committee, what arguments could be urged in favour of reform as well as the objections, if any, to action being taken. We think the case is clear as it stands, but we should be quite ready to fall in with a committee. I have already spoken on this point with Mr. Jhon Morley.

MR. GLADSTONE—Yes, yes. Such a committee would certainly be desirable.

MR. DIGBY—May I hope that such a committee will be moved for from the Opposition Front Bench when the motion of which notice has been given, comes on ?

MR. GLADSTONE—As I have said, I think for the present your cause is better in an independent member's hand and you are well off in this respect. I am glad to have had this talk with you and am pleased to have heard all the information you have laid before me.

MR. DIGBY thanked Mr. Gladstone for his kindness in granting the interview, and retired.

Nottingham Liberals and Indian Reform.

A well-attended and influential meeting of the committee of the Mapperley Ward Liberal Association was held at Sycamore-road Board Schools on Wednesday night, the 10th April 1889, when Councillor Bennett, the president, occupied the chair.—After the usual formal business of the committee had been transacted, Mr. Atkey, in introducing the question of "Indian Reform," pointed out the responsibility of every Englishman in the government of India. He first dealt with the question historically, showing how in 1833, when the country took over the government of India, the English statesmen of that day did not shut their eyes to the responsibilities which they were incurring. This was proved by the clause which provided for the same treatment of native Indians as any other British subjects. After the mutiny this was in no way repealed. Nay more, the Queen in her proclamation of 1858 emphatically endorsed that clause. Mr. Atkey then went on to point out the grievance against which the National Congress is a protest. He said that, although there was no law to prevent natives from entering the Civil Service, yet the conditions of their entry were such as to practically exclude them. They had to come to England to pass an examination, and that was a proceeding which few could or would adopt. The government of India, by legislative councils, on which the natives had practically no voice, was in reality a government by officials. The viceroys were changed every five years, and that was just when they began to get an insight into the government of the country. The taxation of the country too, was most arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive. The minimum of income tax, being fixed at £34 per annum, fell upon certain small traders, &c., and often just swallowed up the margin of profit which made decent living possible. The administration of the law by magistrates, who were judicial functionaries as well, was a grievance which caused endless disaffection, in consequence of the repeated and gross miscarriage of justice. Then, too, in addition to these "negative" grievances, there was one which in his opinion was a standing disgrace to Englishmen. That was the establishment of shops for the sale of intoxicating liquors on purpose to obtain the revenue derived therefrom. It could be proved that whereas the native Indians are an extremely temperate people, and naturally averse to drink, they become, when tempted to excess by the establishment of these grogshops, more like madmen. This was a rough sketch of the present government of India, and Mr. Atkey then proceeded to describe the National Congress and its aims, showing how it consisted of practically all the enlightened and educated native Indians, whose only object was to agitate for reforms which should tend to strengthen rather than loosen the bonds between that country and England. He contended that the present government was absolutely a despotism. The policy of England at the present time

was draining India of her wealth. She was the poorest country in the world, so poor that at the slightest breath of famine millions perished of hunger. He concluded by saying that it was a disgrace that when, as last year, the business of India was discussed in the House of Commons, and the destitute of 200 million British subjects were in the balance, only some 26 members out of 670 were present. As politicians and as Liberals it should be the duty of every one to see this state of things altered. He moved:—"That this meeting of Mapperley Ward Liberal Association hereby expresses its hearty approval of Mr. Bradlaugh's Indian motion, and trusts the House of Commons may accept the same." Copies to be sent to the three local members of Parliament, Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Bradlaugh.—This was seconded by Mr. J. M. Proctor, supported by Messrs. Burton and Simons, and carried unanimously.

The Hull Radical Club and the Congress.

On the 28th March, the following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Hull Radical Club, on the motion of Mr. N. B. Billany, seconded by Mr. T. Turner: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, the motion of which Charles Bradlaugh M. P., has given notice that he will move on the 16th of April next to secure for the natives of India, of influence; of education a wider share in the public affairs of their own country for enlarging the provincial legislative councils, feeling satisfied the greater the freedom enjoyed by the subject politically the safer the empire, and this meeting urges upon the members for the three divisions to be in their places on that date, and support the junior member for the Northampton by voting for the motion, and this resolution be sent to our M. P.'s and W. H. Smith."

The following reply was subsequently received from Mr. H. S. King, M. P.:—

[Private.]

" 65, Cornhill, London, 4th April, 1889.

Mr. C. J. Gill, 63, Blake-street, Hull.

" DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of March 30, conveying copy of a resolution of the Hull Radical Club with reference to Mr. Bradlaugh's motion relating to the admission of natives of India to a large share in the Government of their own country, and the enlargement of the Legislative Councils.

" I am not aware that Mr. Bradlaugh has ever been in India, or is competent to pronounce any judgment on the manner of its government, and should, therefore, hesitate to pledge myself to support any proposals he may advance. Even Mr. Gladstone has expressed himself with reserve on the advisability of making any serious change in the form of a Government adapted to the peculiar conditions of India, and my own impression is that, inasmuch as only a small percentage of the natives have even the rudiments of education, and since out

of 200 millions probably not one million have any idea whatever of the forms or principles of Western self-government, it is premature to talk about conferring on them such political rights as are enjoyed by educated communities. I agree however, that our aim should be to prepare them for larger liberties.

I am, yours faithfully,

" H. S. KING."

The following letter was then forwarded to Mr. King by the Secretary :—

" 63, Blake-street, Hull, April 6 h, 1889.

" Dear Sir,—I duly received your letter of the 4th inst., and I regret that your letter is marked 'Private.' The resolution of the H. R. C. distinctly named those natives of India of capacity, of influence of education; and if you look at the motion of which Mr. Bradlaugh has given notice, a moiety of Indians of position, of specified educational attainments, can only be eligible for election on supreme and provincial legislative councils; therefore, there can be no danger of any swamping by natives of those councils monopolised by Europeans; that on matters of foreign policy, and the finances of the Empire, is carefully guarded. We shall esteem such reply from you as may be published in the local press a favour.—Yours, &c.

C. J. GILL."

The following letter was received on Saturday by Mr. Gill :—

" 65, Cornhill, London, 13th April, 1889.

" Mr. C. J. Gill, 63, Blake-street, Hull.

" Dear Sir,—The marking of my reply to your letter of the 30th March 'Private' was a mistake of my secretary. I have no objection to your making it public along with the present one.

" It is manifest from your second letter, of the 6th inst., that the Hull Radical Club neither appreciates the magnitude and difficulty of the problem of Indian Government nor the meaning of my reply. Before writing to you, I had carefully considered Mr. Bradlaugh's motion, and observed that it was proposed to have 'a moiety' of the Legislative Council, composed of 'natives of capacity, influence, and education,' or if you please, 'Indians of position,' &c.

" Many men are now going about seeking to destroy institutions of which they have no knowledge, and I dare say many of the members of your club, who are now addressing me on a question to which, as deeply concerned in the welfare of India, I have given much attention, are not aware that at the present moment 'native Indians of position,' as well as 'of capacity and education,' are to be found on the Legislative Councils of the Indian Empire, and of the various provinces. On the Legislative Council of the Viceroy of India, out of 12 members, six are eminent natives; there are four natives of the Council of Bengal, four on the Council of the North-West Provinces; four on the Council of Madras; and seven out of 12 on the Council of Bombay. These men are selec-

ted by the Government as representatives of Indian interests to assist in the work of legislation.

"Mr. Bradlaugh's resolution, which drawn up for him by a paid agency in London of the Congress agitation in India, asks that "a moiety" of members of enlarged councils should be elected by "constituencies," which constituencies in defiance of the Radical ideas of popular government are to consist, not of the people of India, who are admitted to be totally unfit for the exercise of the franchise, but of that small fraction of the classes who have had some English education, *e.g.*, members of municipal bodies and of Chambers of Commerce, &c. In other words, it is proposed to give a large share of political power to a proportionately small privileged class—a principle against which the Liberal and Radical parties in all countries protest. That is to say, you propose to have certain class interests represented, whereas at present the Government of India is administrated on the whole with much skill and honesty for the general benefit of two hundred millions of people.

"I am, naturally, not prepared for any scheme so unprincipled, and, if you think it over, you will find that your reiteration in your second letter of the terms of Mr. Bradlough's resolution, has no cogency in answer to my reply to your first communication.

I am, yours faithfully,

"H. S. KING."

MR. N. H. BILLANY the mover of the resolution in his defence addressed the following letter to the *Hull News*.

Sir,—In the Hull Radical Club on the 28th of March last I moved a resolution in favour of the extension of the franchise to the natives of India, and asking the members for the three divisions of Hull to support the motion of the hon. member for Northampton, in support of the expressed wishes of the Indian Congress. Mr. H. S. King, M. P., replied to our resolution questioning the competency of Mr. Bradlaugh to pronounce any judgment on the question, seeing that he had not been in India. If not having visited a country is to bar judgment, then not a single member of the Government which settled the Afghanistan frontier were competent, neither is Mr. King competent to pronounce judgment regarding Burmah or South Africa. The *Daily Mail* favoured the Hull Radicals with a little wholesome reproof and advice. In a brief leaderette he told us it is easy to meddle with a thing with which we are imperfectly acquainted. The *Mail* supplies frequently examples of the fact, and we hope he will put in practice the advice he offers to us. We have the advantage of knowing that Mr. H. S. King is deeply interested in Indian affairs in more senses than one; and, relying upon his very extensive knowledge of Indian matters, nothing more fitting than he should instruct his constituents. The Radicals are always ready to learn and have their imperfect understanding

enlightened, though we may have to requisition the services of our M. P. for Central Hull, Mr. King's reasoning and remarks about Mr. Bradlaugh's resolution being drawn by a paid agency in London is unworthy of the member for Central Hull, and if we desired to attribute motives for Mr. King's antagonism to the Indian Congress we could find many spacious reasons for the proprietor of the *Overland Mail* and his (Mr H. S. King's) advocacy of Anglo-Indian interests. If the Hull Radical Club has erred by passing the resolution in question, I am the chief sinner, and while admitting Mr. King's competency to pronounce judgment, I may venture to have confidence in the equal ability and competence of authorities as Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, who have recommended that the councils be enlarged; that a system of election be adopted. Mr. King is correct in the statement that at the present moment there are native Indians of position as well as capacity and education, to be found on the legislative councils of India, but his statement "that on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy of India, out of twelve members, six are eminent natives," is misleading, for they are six to fourteen. The twelve members he mentions are in addition to eight Europeans, who are the *ex-officio*, and of the other Europeans nominated, all are officials excepting two, thus it happens that in the Supreme Councils of the Empire, with two hundred million of British subjects, *there are only six Indians*, and they not elected by their countrymen, but are nominated by the Viceroy, whose knowledge of the country and the people is necessarily imperfect, and so badly is this system of nomination conducted, that men have been put in the councils that did not know a word of the language (English) in which the business was carried on. Rajah Rampal Singh, of Allahabad puts the matter thus, "We the people of India are permitted nominally, to send a certain limited number of our countrymen, who are elected by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governors, to these existing Councils. It is very kind of them to take this trouble off our shoulders, but with their permission we would rather do it ourselves." The defect which lies in the present system is this, the natives who sit in the Council are chosen by the Governors, and Lieutenant-Governor, whom they look to as their constituents, and not are likely therefore, to bring forward the views of the people, whom they in no way represent and whose suffrages they are in no way dependent. Necessarily those men who are mostly the favourites of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors think of nothing but pleasing their patrons. He relates, talking to native member of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, but who knew not a single syllable of English, he was a Maharajah of north-west-provinces. Asked how he managed to vote he said it was difficult at first not being allowed to take any one with me to explain what went on in the council, but as I received it through the favour of the Viceroy, I raise my hand when-

ever the Viceroy raises his, and I hold down mine whenever the Viceroy holds down his hand. Is not that just what Mr. King practically does in the House of Commons? When did he vote against his chief? and what are the proposals of the Indian Congress to which Mr. King so strongly objects? 1st. Larger number of members. 2nd. To be partially elective. 3rd. Members to have the right of interpellation. 4th, The Budget every year to be submitted for discussion. 5th, Veto in hands of the Viceroy subject to appeal to the House of Commons. These are the reforms asked for in the supreme council. In the provincial councils.—1st. Larger number of members. 2nd. Majority of members to be elected. 3rd. Members to have the right of interpellation. 4th. All financial proposals to be submitted. 5th. Veto, with right of appeal to Viceroy or House of Commons. Is there anything unreasonable in those demands? The insinuation that the people of India will not elect but Chambers of Commerce and Municipal Councils, will elect members for Supreme and Provincial Councils. Even Radicals consider that it is more just and reasonable for even a corrupt corporation to elect a Mayor than that a Mayor, however trusted, should appoint the Council. We believe that if the tentative reforms be given that the India we hold by force will be a source of strength instead of weakness to the Empire that the infusion of the best qualified to aid by council, based upon intimate knowledge of the people, will be the most reliable guarantee of stability.

Mr. C. W. Whish on the Congress.

At a well-attended meeting of the members of the East India Association, was held on 25th March at the Westminster Town-hall, under the presidency of Sir Roper Lethbridge, M. P., Mr. C. W. WHISH read a paper on "The Indian National Congress and the Indian Patriotic Association." He remarked that the Indian National Congress might perhaps be described as the first attempt on the part of British India to demand a constitution and to aspire to representative self-government. Its members, among whom might be found representatives of nearly all the various races and creeds of Hindustan, claimed that they formed an Indian national party. Certain definite demands for reform in administration had already been formulated, including an examination for the Indian Civil Service in India itself, the practical abolition of the Arms Act, separation of judicial and executive services, facilities for the attainment of commissions in the Army by natives in India, and the permission of native volunteering and representation through elected members in the council of the Empire. Some of the methods employed by the reforms in furthering their views appeared particularly objectionable. The Government must do one of three things—either oppose, encourage, or compromise the congress. The contingency existed and must be faced. The English Government in India was peculiarly in need of some agency by which it could be brought into touch

with the people. It was to be feared that far too wide a gulf separated the rulers from the ruled for the former to be able rightly to understand the feelings, needs, and aspirations of the latter without some intermediary. However, there was much in the Nationalist programme which no Government ought to permit to continue; and it was the deliberate opinion of many by no means extreme politicians that the political propagandism of the Congress must put a stop to, if a catastrophe was to be averted. Whichever way one turned a difficulty came to view, leading to the conclusions that a compromise was inevitable. This might take the form of a voluntary abandonment by the Nationalists of the objectionable items of their programme, in return for the concession of such as were reasonable. It would certainly seem that the powers of the Congress for evil were much enhanced by moderate men standing aloof from it, and it could hardly be doubted that if moderate men would join and direct the movement, over-eager reformers might be induced to abandon the most untenable of their views and the most objectionable of their methods. Thus guided, the movement might become a source of support, instead of danger, to the Government. Early action, however, was desirable in the matter if any good was to be done. Not only was public attention directed at the present time to India, but if the question was made, as it certainly would be made, a party one, its merits might become so obscured as to produce the most disastrous consequences. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN remarked upon the paramount importance of the subject which, he said, had attracted the attention of all persons interested in India for years past. The Government of India had never been placed in a more difficult position than it was now, and up to the present it had behaved very wisely. The time, however, had come when the movement which had been described that day could no longer be ignored. It was the natural outcome of the educational system which had been introduced by Europeans, and there could be no possible doubt as to the loyalty and good sense of the originators of the movement. He urged that the Government should take up these moderate demands. The circulation of pernicious pamphlets was, however, a disgrace to the movement, and it was time that some distinct line was taken on the entire question by the Government. The movement should certainly not be suppressed, but a compromise should be arranged, and, as the reader of the paper had suggested, there should be a full and impartial inquiry—possibly in the form of a Royal Commission.

GENERAL MACDONALD, MR. MARTIN WOOD, and several other speakers joined in the discussion, which was eventually adjourned.

Another meeting of the Association was held on 29th May at which Sir Roper Lethbridge, C. I. E., M. P., presided who having opened the meeting.

MR. J. N. BANNERJEE spoke strongly on behalf of the Indian Congress.

Mr. Whish's paper, he considered, whilst thoughtful and creditable, would have been more to the point fifty years ago than it was to-day. Referring to the claims of the Congress party, he touched upon the necessity for the separation of the judicial from the executive offices, the alliance of which would not be tolerated in England. The Congress was, he maintained, anything but seditious in its tendencies; and, as to the suggestion that it should devote itself to the discussion of social matters, it was not at all idle or neglectful in this direction. It was headed by men qualified in every way for leadership; and he challenged Mr. Whish to point to any important speech of the Congress which could be considered seditious, inflammatory, or even objectionable. The Patriotic Association, which was opposed to the Indian Congress, was characterised by a profound desire to pander to the vanity of patricians in India; it was "patriotic" in nothing more than name. He did not place much faith in the suggestion of compromise. If those of the Congress were legitimate claims, they should be acceded to; if they were the reverse, the Government would be justified in suppressing them. It was simply a question of right or wrong. The National Congress should be encouraged. It was as loyal as anybody in India. Its supporters were of the same Aryan race as the English, though their skin might be darkened by the rays of an eastern sun; they were proud of belonging to the great British Empire, and would do everything in their power to contribute to that Empire.

MR. RAJ NARAYEN contended that the Congress movement was the logical and necessary outcome of education: of people understanding their rights and duties. It was associated with the best educated men India possessed. Regarding the assertion as to "European influence" in the matter, if by that term was meant English influence, he was agreed; but, if any other Power was meant, he could not see any reason to think about it. He protested against violent language, whether from one side or the other, but than that of the Congress, more loyal and moderate language could not be used. There was the might of English officialdom against the Congress; if the Government decided in favour of the movement, all opposition would be at an end.

SURGEON-MAJOR INCE expressed his sympathy with the Congress, which was the product of English rule during the past twenty-five years—the outcome of education. The position of young men of twenty-five, under the care of their nurses, was that of the people of Bengal in particular, and the cry for a share of self-government was a national psychological development of the Indian mind. The relations between the Indians and ourselves rendered discussion on matters of this nature delicate. The main feature of the native movement was good, but there were always those who gathered round such movements in the manner of blue bottles round a fine piece of meat; and Lord Dufferin's much discussed speech was, he thought, not meant as a downright condemnation of

the Congress, but the outcome of a thoughtful desire to repress too much eagerness. It was the duty of the leaders to suppress any rowdyism amongst their followers; if they did not do this then they deserved suppression themselves.

DR. G. W. LEITNER (late Principal of Lahore College) suggested that the Government would do well to encourage a system of Provincial Congresses which should be attended by men who possessed the traditions of rule, who were distinguished by merit, sobriety, and experience. Compromise was not statesmanship, and some lessons might be taken by this country from the manner in which the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been cemented. He retorted, in reply to a previous speaker, that, if the Patriotic Association was patriotic alone in name, the same might be said of the "National" Congress.

MR. SAUNDERS said that there were three courses open to the Government to pursue—suppression, encouragement, or compromise. Compromise seemed the only reasonable plan. He suggested that a House of Lords for India would serve as a proper counterpoise. The men who came over here from India had been created by ourselves; they were excellent men, but they were not representative. To those who held 92 per cent, of the land was due the voice in the management of Indian affairs. How was it these men, with some of whom few of our own nobility could be compared, did not come forward?

SIR WM. PLOWDEN, M. P., could not agree with the suggestion of the last speaker, but advocated an extention of the system in force at present, in which existed the germ of a popular system of government. It would not be possible to give the Indians Parliamentary government for some time. He sympathised with the native aspirations for a larger share in the control of Indian affairs, and thought that in years to come a thoroughly popular Government would be possible. It was absurd to speak of the Indian population as disloyal: they were not all loyal, but this was a cause for regret in England as well as in the East.

MR. NIHAL CHUND, in a lengthy criticism of Mr. Whish's paper, said that, whilst the author was apparently opposed to the National Congress, he was in reality in favour of it. As to the suggestion of a journal, the English interest was already well represented, and concerning the proposition of Mr. Saunders, they did not want the anomaly of an Upper Chamber in India. If a House of Lords, was objected to in England, why should it do for India?

MR. WHISH in replying to the discussion, thought that after all, no serious objection had been raised to his paper. Mr. Bannerjea's statement was met by the fact that India was at least half a century behind Europe. Religious fanaticism was very inflammable, and this was the agency that might be resorted to in a dangerous manner. The present state of affairs was deplorable.

The Government and the Congress acted and reacted with ensuing evil. The Government might meet the moderate portion of the native movement half way. It was necessary to keep the subject well before the public, and it was desirable in the extreme that some well-digested and definite plan should be prepared in view of a Parliamentary inquiry being decided upon. He classified the matter of reforms under three heads—possible, impossible, and debatable. Under the first head came an amendment of the Arms Act, a reduction of the income-tax to a minimum of £100 or its equivalent. Secondly, the separation of the judicial and executive offices of police was necessary and desirable, though, owing to considerations of finance, outside, what he might term the range of practical politics at present. Thirdly, he thought certain changes might with advantage be made in the Civil Service, the army might be opened up to the native aristocracy, native volunteering encouraged, and a system of relief of over-assessed estates introduced. In conclusion, wealth should be considered as desirable to the country before education; the question of sanitation was a most important matter; and legislation for women should be left to the natives themselves. We had great difficulty in gauging accurately what took place beneath the surface of this native moment, and to some extent the pessimistic theories put forward might be allowed for, but it must not be lost sight of that sentiment still ruled the world, and unless that sentiment were recognised, this country might sink eventually to the level of a fourth-rate Power. He advocated a governmental inquiry with open doors.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE claimed consideration for the suggestion of Dr. Leitner and Sir W. Plowden.

Votes of thanks brought the proceedings to close.

Mr. J. Dacosta's notes on the Assessment and Collection of the Land Revenue in India.

PREFACE

LONDON, May, 1889.

A Commission was appointed in 1861 to inquire into the causes of the famine which had recently afflicted the north-western provinces of India. In an exhaustive report upon the evidence collected, and the conclusions to which it led, the Commission recommended the permanent settlement of the land tax as the measure best calculated to mitigate the effects of drought and scarcity in a country where agriculture is the staple industry of the people. Comparing the famine of 1860 with one which had occurred in the same provinces in 1837, when the number of deaths from starvation and the general suffering of the people had been much greater, the President of the Commission stated in his report:—

"Foremost among the means whereby society in Northern India has been so strengthened as thus to resist, with less suffering, for heavier pressure from drought and famine in 1860 than in 1857, I place the creation, as it may almost literally be called, of a vast mass of readily-convertible and easily-transferable agricultural property. I have before described the condition of agricultural property antecedent to the existing settlements, and it will probably be admitted without serious qualification, that a state of things more likely to weaken the society living under it could scarcely be conceived. To great and unequal pressure of public burdens and arbitrary interferences have succeeded assessments rarely heavy, titles recorded and easily understood, long leases, and the enjoyments of all the profits during the currency of such leases. The natural results of such a change in so vital a part of the social economy have grown more and more apparent. Land has obtained an increasing marketable value. Its value as a security has, doubtless, been largely made use of in mitigation the pressure of famine. Such, then, having been the general results of the protracted fixity of the public demand, the security of titles, the general moderation of assessments, the recognition and general record of rights—the inference seems irresistible that, to intensify and perpetuate these results, we must proceed still further in the same healthy and fruitful direction. The good which has been done by partial action on sound principles is both a justification and an encouragement to further advances; and entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interest and popular interest will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step first and, as I believe most important measure I have respectfully to submit for consideration is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity."

This recommendation was strongly supported by the highest authorities on the subject, including Sir George Edmonstone (then Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces), his successor the Hon. Edmund Drummond and Sir Wm. Muir, and Mr. Money of the Board of Revenue; and Lord Canning, in giving it his entire adhesion, suggested as further measures towards the same end the sale of waste lands free of land tax, and the permission to redeem the existing land revenue by the payment of an adequate sum of money.

The Resolution of the Governor-General stated:—

"His Excellency in Council sees no reason to doubt that, as far as either measure might take effect, it would be in every way for as either measure might to take effect, it would be beneficial. As to waste lands, there could be no question. . . . His Excellency in Council has still less doubts as to the beneficial results of permitting a redemption of the land-revenue. He believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while, under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire."

The Secretary of State, in replying to the above suggestion, in a despatch dated July, 1862, said—

"After the most careful review of all these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue, not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of land revenue, in order to attain

them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure, dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to insure to the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country."

The above-mentioned despatch authorised a permanent settlement to be granted to every estate where four-fifths of the cultivatable area had been brought under cultivation and assessed according to the existing settlement. These conditions were upon subsequent investigation found to have already been fulfilled in a number of estates, and the owners of other properties set themselves at once, on the promulgation of the despatch, to the task of complying with its requisitions. Meanwhile Lord Canning had retired and died, and a change of Ministry having taken place at home, the new Secretary of State for India was persuaded by certain Indian officials (who assured him that a permanent settlement would entail a great sacrifice of prospective land revenue) to stop the execution of the despatch of his predecessor. Loud protest ensued against this breach of public faith, and against the abrogation, upon merely speculative grounds, of an important measure, which had been sanctioned after mature deliberation and been pronounced as highly beneficial to all classes of H.M. subjects in India.

It soon became apparent, however, that the despotic power vested in an Indian Secretary of State rendered it hopeless to contend with his fiat. The new Indian Minister, however, was unable to formulate any tenable ground for repealing his predecessor's order; so he left the despatch in abeyance until the authorities in India should provide arguments for strengthening the hands of the Home Government in the matter. This task was one of considerable difficulty, seeing that Lord Canning's suggestion had been supported by the highest revenue authorities in India, and rested upon grounds which could not be controverted. Great pressure had consequently to be exercised, in order to obtain from some of those authorities the expression of views contrary to the convictions they had previously uttered. This endeavour naturally met with strong resistance, but compliance was ultimately yielded in some high quarters, and a despatch was forthwith framed in Downing Street, in 1865, not actually repealing the despatch of 1862, but burdening its purport with new conditions which virtually rendered it of no effect.

One of the new conditions stipulated that, when an estate had complied with the requirements of the despatch of 1862, a permanent settlement should be granted to it *only* if, the opinion of the authorities, our irrigation works were not likely, within twenty years, to be so extended as to benefit that estate to the extent of twenty per cent. No freer course, no greater encouragement could have been afforded to arbitrary decision; and the contrivance, accordingly succeeded. Voluminous correspondence followed for several years, and the despatch of 1862 remained a dead letter.

This tortuous proceeding, however, inflicted far greater injury on the country than even a prompt and peremptory cancellation of the despatch of 1862 could have produced; for the people were kept in long years of suspense regarding the actual burdens to which their lands were to be subjected, and the application of capital to agriculture was thus most effectually hindered. Settlement operations, moreover, with all their demoralizing influences, were indefinitely prolonged, resulting in a state of things which will be found briefly but most graphically, described in a passage of Sir Auckland Colvin's *Memorandum* of 1872.

The greatest evil of all was the loss of confidence in the good faith of the British Government, which resulted from the disavowal of the pledge given in the despatch of 1852. The Hon. Edmund Drummond, Lieutenant-Governor, referring to the subject, and alluding to a calculation that £2,00,000 might eventually be added to the land revenue if a permanent settlement were withheld, said, in writing to the Secretary of State in 1866:—

"Even if this calculation were adopted, I cannot think that for such a sum as this we should, at the last moment, hesitate to fulfil the expectations we have raised and withdraw the promised boon of a permanent settlement; nor does it appear to befitting a great Government to seem to grudge a sacrifice which is as nothing when compared with that which must result from the future rise of prices and enhanced value of land generally, which has been freely accepted. . . . To sum up briefly the conclusions to which I have been led after full and anxious consideration of the difficult subject, I am of opinion that, a measure of large and enlightened policy, the permanent settlement of these provinces should be carried generally unhampered by further conditions."

These sad episodes in the history of land administration of India have a direct bearing on the present state of things in that country, seeing that the settlement to which they relate (as well as the assessments in other provinces) will soon have completed their period and come under revision. The Indian National Congress has already called public attention to the subject, and the notes in the following pages have been compiled with the view of placing in a concise form, before those who may feel interested in the matter, the main facts and arguments connected with the important question at issue.

J. D.

Agriculture is the principal industry of the people of India, and the revenue of the country being derived in a great measure from a tax on land, it is most important that the means employed for assessing and collecting that tax, should be devised so as to avoid any prejudicial interference with the development of the national industry.

The system of the indigenous rulers in India, was to take a portion of the produce of each field, the respective share of the ruler and the cultivator being sanctioned by ancient tradition. This system, which required the ruler to store and sell his share, when it was needed for the purposes of administration, was

not unsuited to the conditions of the small principalities into which the country was divided; and it even survived the Mahomedan invasion, as the conquerors generally left the collection of the tribute (as well as much of the internal administration) to the native organisations of the country.

The British Government, however, found it impossible to construct, over its vast territories, trustworthy agencies for carrying out operations which require so much care and scrupulous dealing, as the fair division of the produce upon millions of farms, and the sale and conversion of the Government share into money. The *Batai* or share-system, was, therefore, rapidly superseded by a money demand for the equivalent of the ruler's portion. Here our difficulties commenced. In order to fix the money value of the Government share of the crop, it was still necessary to ascertain the exact quantity of each kind of produce raised in every farm, as well as its market price on the day on which the tax was due, and it was soon found that the operations necessary for determining with any degree of accuracy the net produce of the land were hopelessly complicated and practically impossible, the experiments made having led to absurdly erroneous solutions.

Lord Wm. Bentink, referring in 1833 to the proceedings instituted by a Revenue officer for fixing the basis of assessment in his district, observed :—

"The gentleman took the greatest possible pains to introduce a system of minute inquiry into the produce; he pointed out every possible mode of ascertaining the requisite information, and even suggested that experiment should be made by European officers themselves collecting different kinds of produce varying in quality, and appraising the value by ascertaining the market prices, after deducting all expenses. From the above extract it will be seen how entirely his expectation has been disappointed. To ascertain profits, or in other words, to convert gross into net produce, seems to be decidedly impracticable."

The Government was thus left to act by guess-work and conjecture; and the assessors, although still professing to regulate the State demand upon ascertained data and fixed principles, were, in reality, guided partly by the character of the season, and the prices current in the neighbouring markets; but chiefly by the reputed ability of the landholder, in each case, to bear the burden that was intended to be imposed on him. As information on this point could only be obtainable through confidential enquiries, a system of secret report sprang up, from which great mischief soon ensued. Underlings in the Revenue Department were able to extort money from cultivators by threatening to have their assessments unduly raised; and landholders were induced to offer bribes to subordinate officials, in the belief that these men could influence the settlements in their favour. Thus great injury has been done, both to the financial interest of the State and the moral sense of the people.

Moreover, the revenue officer who was required, in finally settling assessments, to decide fairly between the Government and the landholders, was placed in the most unfavourable position for acting impartially; for it was

impossible that he should not sometimes be biased in favour of the Government whose interest he was bound to protect, and upon whose good will his prospects greatly depended. To what extent this anomalous arrangement led to overtaxation will be seen in the next chapter.

BOMBAY.

The following passages in Settlement Reports of 1840-50, which have been partly reproduced at page 10 of the "Blue Book" of 1878, entitled *The Deccan Ryots Commission*, record the evil results, in the Bombay Presidency, of the system of temporary assessments referred to in the preceding section.

"The over-estimate of the capabilities of the Deccan, acted upon by our early collectors, drained the country of its agricultural capital, and accounts for the poverty and distress in which the cultivating population has ever since been plunged.

"Even now, little more than a third of the arable land is cultivated.

"In the Ahmednagar District, the rates adopted in 1818-19 proved much too high, and it was necessary to resort to remedial expedients to save the ryots from ruin.....the more unfavourable character of the results must be attributed to the greater degree of over-taxation."

The general prevalence of oppressive assessments at that period also appears, from the instructions which the Government found it imperative to issue at the time, for a general reduction in the fiscal demands upon land; and the following passage, in an official minute of 1841, shows how fully the Government had realised the fatal consequences of their error :—

"No unnecessary reduction can injure the country, and the Government revenue can only suffer to the extent of the reduction. An error upon one side involves the ruin of the country; an error on the other, some inconsiderable sacrifice of the finance of the State, and with such unequal stakes depending, can we hesitate as to which should be given the preponderance?"

This recognition of the error of over-taxation, brought about by a diminution in the revenue, led to moderate rates being sanctioned in the new settlements; whereby agriculture was afforded the encouragement it so greatly needed; and latter, when the Crimean war and the civil war in America created an active demand for Indian produce in the home markets, a remarkable period of agricultural prosperity resulted from the wise course of action which the Government had adopted in sanctioning moderate assessments.

On the 26th of July, 1864 the Government of Bombay wrote :—

"There never was a time during the known history of Western India when land suitable for the growth of grain was in greater demand . . . It may be said, with almost literal truth, that not a thousand acres of land which had been cultivated during the memory of man are now to be found uncultivated in the Deccan and the Konkan."—(Parliamentary Paper, C. 2071 of 1878).

The Indian cultivator obtained unprecedentedly high prices for his crops, and was able, not only to satisfy the land revenue demand in full, but to improve his farm and his dwelling, to increase his stock of cattle, to excavate irrigation wells, and even to lay by savings. These happy results will be found recorded

at pages 11 and 18 of the Blue Book already quoted, and from which the following passages afford very striking illustrations of the episode :—

"The re-action agricultural prosperity under light assessment and a system at once simple and rigid, was as rapid, as the decline of the district had been under opposite conditions. During the period which followed, the district reached a very high standard of prosperity before the year 1860. In 1862 began the period of extraordinary prosperity, caused by the rise in the price of cotton, which followed the American blockade. In those years, the ryots would under ordinary circumstances, have suffered severely from the constant deficiency in the rainfall during five successive seasons. In 1862, the Poonah and Ahmendnagar Districts had enjoyed fixed assessments, the former for 20 years and the latter for 10 years."

In the midst of this prosperity the land settlements, which had been concluded in the Bombay Presidency thirty years before, began to fall in. The Government of India had, meanwhile, been transferred to the Crown, and the State expenditure under the new *regime* having greatly increased, strenuous efforts were being made for raising additional revenue. The Government of India, regardless of the transient nature of the circumstances whence the agricultural prosperity of recent years had chiefly arisen, and casting aside the experience so dearly bought by the disastrous effect of the assessments of earlier dates, peremptorily directed that the new settlements should be based upon enormously increased assessments. The rates were thereupon enhanced, in some instances to one hundred per cent. and more, and, on the whole, to fully sixty per cent. above the rates of the settlements that had just expired.

The restoration of peace in Europe and America had meanwhile caused the produce markets to relapse into their normal condition, and the cultivators were no longer able, with the diminished value of their crops, to satisfy the suddenly enhanced demand of the Government. For a time the savings of previous years were used in staving off eviction and immediate ruin, and, when these were exhausted, assistance was obtained from the money lender. The village bankers, however, were not slow in perceiving that they had no chance of recovering their advances so long as the increased land-tax was maintained—they accordingly refused to grant further loans. This caused at once the revenue to fall into arrears; whereupon the Government directed the defaulting landholders' farms to be put up for sale, but purchasers would scarcely be found at any price for land subject to the new settlement. Large tracts of country were thus thrown out of cultivation, and much agricultural capital was wantonly destroyed.

In a minute of the Government of Bombay, on the report of the Collector of Sholapore for 1872-73, it is stated :—

"The Government has read, with much concern, the opinion expressed by the Collector as to the undue pressure of the revised rates, in consequence of which a large quantity of land has been put up for sale in default of revenue, much of which found no purchasers."

Another official report of the same year states :—

"The difficulty of recovering the Government demand, which was considerable in 1871 and 1872, culminated in 1873."

In Guzerat (which has often been called the Garden of India, on account of its rich soil and careful cultivation), no less than 7863 farms, measuring 25,035 acres, were thrown out of cultivation in 1873; and in the Surat Collectorate 10,880 acres of land had been similarly abandoned during the previous year. In the district of Poonah things assumed a still darker complexion, the Collector stating in his annual report that the amount of revenue unrecovered had been very considerable, and that, in order to realise the amount actually recovered, he had found it necessary to sell up many farms or occupancies.

The widespread distress, engendered under these circumstances, soon manifested itself in disturbances of a very serious nature. The cultivators, in their desperate state of insolvency, being pressed by the Government for the payment of the land-tax, and by the bankers for the re-imbursement of their loans, rose against the latter as the weaker adversary, broke into their houses, maltreated their persons, and destroyed the records of their loans ; and troops had to be called in before these disturbances could be quelled. This occurred in 1874. A Commission was afterwards appointed to inquire into the cause of the riots, and a minute of Sir Auckland Colvin, who had been appointed a member of the Commission, stated that the pressure of the land-tax, at the revised rates, was among the chief causes of the disturbance.

Such was the state of things when the drought of 1876-77 overtook the country. Thousands of families, stripped of their savings, plunged into debt, and, turned out of their homesteads, spread over the land, struggling for existence. Can it be wondered, then, that millions amongst that wretched agricultural population should have perished, during those direful years, of actual hunger and exposure, or of disease brought on by insufficient food ?

Such have been the disastrous effects of a system which was introduced in the expectation that the periodical revision and arbitrary enhancement of the land-tax would enable the Government to add to its revenue, as, with time, the resources of the country were developed and national wealth had accumulated. The error was to suppose that time alone was needed to produce these beneficial effects. Agriculture, which is the main source of wealth in India, is by its very nature, exposed to vicissitudes far greater than those attending most other industrial enterprises. In trade and manufactures, success depends in a great degree upon sagacity and prudence. These qualities may prove unavailing to the cultivator against a succession of bad seasons. Money laid out in the improvement of land in India, as elsewhere, slow in yielding its full results ; and when, as in the case of periodical settlements, the fruit of the money and labour expended on a farm is exposed to be absorbed in the Government demand at the

next revision of the tax, a most effectual obstacle is placed against the application of capital to agriculture, and consequently against the development of the chief industry of the people.

It is worthy of particular notice that, although the danger involved in the system in question was recognised and acknowledged by the Government more than forty years ago, it became possible for a succeeding administration to disregard the experience so dearly bought, and to wantonly repeat the error which had been denounced thirty years before. This fact must be ascribed entirely to the defective constitution inaugurated in 1858, which vested the supreme control of the Government in a Cabinet Minister unacquainted with India and people, and exposed in Parliament (the only body to which he was made responsible) to the influences of different sections of the people of Great Britain, each striving to promote interests and projects often adverse to the interests of India.

While the system of temporary settlements in Bombay thus inflicted the most serious injury on agriculture, it entirely failed in its *sole* purpose, that of increasing the land revenue. Accordingly, while the revenue collected in Bombay in 1868, when the new settlements were about being introduced, amounted to £3,612,612, the average collection of the ten years, ending with 1877, was only £3,588,676. (*Vide Statistical Abstract for British India, No. 12.*) Furthermore, this financial result of the system was aggravated by an expenditure of several millions in the relief of the famine which that system had so fearfully intensified.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

THE injurious effects of temporary settlements noticed in the preceding section, have been reproduced in every part of India where such settlement prevailed. In the North-Western Provinces, the country being mostly held in large estates by individual owners or brotherhoods, the assessments are professedly based on the rental, and the settlement work would be comparatively simple if the rent rolls of the owners could be accepted; but these documents would not be a safe guide as to the productive value of the land, seeing that many leases have been granted at low or nominal rents, in consideration of relationship or personal services, or for religious purposes. An investigation has therefore to be made at each settlement, as minute and inquisitorial as in the case of Bombay. The deleterious effects of these operations will be seen from the following passage in Mr. (now Sir) Auckland Colvin's Memorandum of 1872:—

"In 1874, twenty-six years will have elapsed from the date on which the two first of the districts now comprised in North-West Provinces were placed in the hands of a settlement Officer. Others were begun twelve years ago, and are not yet sanctioned; one of these is not yet even completed. These facts are significant to those who know what the settlement of a district means; the value of property depreciated until the exact amount of the new assessment is declared, credit affected, heart-burning and irritation between landlord and tenant, suspicion of the intentions of

the Government, a host of official underlings scattered broadcast over the vexed villages. Nothing can equal the injury inflicted by a slow, uncertain settlement, dragging its length along, obstructed by conflicted orders and harassed by successive administrations, and finally threatened with annihilation at the moment when it seems to have nearly finished its course . . . Little wonder that we hear of the land needing rest?"

The hesitations, uncertainties, and delays alluded to by Sir A. Colvin, are unavoidable, so long as India is governed by a Viceroy and his Council in their mountain retreat at Simla, acting under the directions of a Secretary of State in London unacquainted with the country, and harassed by conflicting rumours and opinions. The situation is more clearly elucidated in other passage of the same paper where the writer says:—

"In the course of the settlement great and unforeseen circumstances led to a marked, though ephemeral, increase in the price of agricultural produce. . . In the financial panic there grew and rapidly strengthened a conviction that the assessments in the N.-W. Provinces were inadequate, and that the State was not receiving its proper share of the public revenues. The views of 1861 had fallen into discredit, and great pressure was put on the public officers to show cause why their calculations should not lead to the assumption of a larger rental."

MR. BIRD, another distinguished revenue officer, stated in a report of anterior date:—

"The district of Budaon was in a state of great distress and disorganization. The revision of the settlement took place at a period when the disposition to over-assess was far from being allayed. It is impossible that, in a district so greatly injured by oppressive assessments and great mismanagement, the mistakes and evils which have arisen can be redressed at one operation. No slight benefit will have been gained if the Government and its servants are convinced, as I trust they now are, of the actual loss of money which is certain to follow over-assessment."

These extracts show on what vague and uncertain data, and under what baneful and fluctuating influences the important and delicate operation of assessing the land-tax is carried on.

Before closing this chapter it may be useful to quote from a few more official documents, in order to show that the injury inflicted on these provinces by land settlement, has been as deep and as widespread as in Bombay.

The Lieutenant-Governor, in his administration report published in 1873, state that he had been forcibly struck, while travelling, by the wretched condition of the Lullutpore district, in which many estates were so depopulated, and so much land had fallen out of cultivation, that the assessments pressed most severely; and, referring to the coercive measures which landlords had been compelled to take against their tenants, in order to raise sufficient money for the discharge of the Government demand, His Honour said:—

"The antagonism of classes whose interests lie so closely together, and who have hitherto been connected by so kindly a bond, is one of the greatest political dangers of the day."

About the same time the Collector of Cawnpore recorded the following observations on the condition of his Collectorate:—

"This district has the benefit of water communication by both the Ganges and the Jumna—it is intersected by the East Indian Railway and is partly traversed by the Ganges

Canal; yet land is only worth five years' purchase, and the state of the average cultivator is one of hopeless insolvency and misery."

From the report of the Collector of Allahabad it appeared that a number of landowners, who had failed to pay up the revenue, had not only their estates attached, but their persons imprisoned, and their personal property seized and sold; and the Commissioner of the division adverting to the depressed condition of the Futtahpore district, stated that the addition of ten per cent, which had recently been made in the land-tax, "fell heaviest on the villages which were least to bear it; that many villages had broken down, and many more were threatened with ruin."

Innumerable cases of a similar character are to be found in the reports of district officers.

MADRAS.

The land in this province is occupied chiefly by small cultivators, whose fields are designedly assessed at such high rates that the tax can be realised only after an exceptionally abundant harvest.* There is consequently an unrealised balance at the end of each year when the Collector remits such portion of the accumulated arrears of previous seasons as he considers to be hopelessly irrecoverable, and holds over the remainder for realisation when possible.

It will doubtless readily be admitted that a more effectual plan for keeping an agricultural population in hopeless indebtedness and misery could scarcely be devised. As a consequence of this condition of things, methods of great severity have to be employed in the collection of the revenue in this Presidency. The processes are not described in the official reports which are destined for publication, but certain figures of an alarming character found their way into the Administration Report, published in 1881, from which it appeared that the arrears of land-revenue recovered through the eviction of cultivators and the sale of their lands had been increasing annually, and had risen from Rs. 31,800 in 1865 to Rs. 665,091 in 1878. It was attempted to explain away this ugly feature in a Local Government Resolution, in which the following passages occur:—

"High prices have caused an increase in the cultivation and much risky speculation in land. Any person can obtain land by applying for it, and a desire of becoming a landowner is strong and general."

A glimpse of the truth, however is to be had in a subsequent passage of the same document, where it is stated:—

"Another cause is the reduction of the remissions granted, and the gradually increasing charge for waste."

* The land revenue in Madras "is fixed on each field to be paid for good crops; if the crops fail, the revenue is reduced, and there is an annual settlement on cultivated land."—*East India Progress and Condition in 1872-73*, page 26.

This simply means the enforced collection of a larger portion of that oppressive assessment, the nature of which has been explained at the commencement of this chapter.

The reader will now feel no surprise at learning that more than 3,000,000 acres of arable land were lying uncultivated in the Madras Presidency, according to the Administration Report for 1877-78; and he will apprehend the signification of the remark contained in the above-mentioned Government Resolution, that "every person can obtain land by applying for it."

The following extracts from the Blue Book on the moral and material condition of India, throw further light on the land revenue system of Madras, called Ryotwari and on its effect upon agriculture :—

"The land revenue collections for 1876-77 are returned at £3,296,575, shewing a decrease of £1,248,438 below the previous year. Large remissions of the ryotwari revenue were rendered necessary on account of the decrease of cultivation and failure of crops.

"Considering the adverse nature of the season, the collection of revenue was very satisfactory; but collectors had to resort to coercive processes to a much greater extent than in the preceding twelve months, the number of defaulters having risen from 336,226 to 1,242,877, and the amount of arrears from £306,947 to £833,236. The value of property actually attached was £194,700, as compared with £164,009 in the previous year."

The only bright spot in this dark picture of oppression and misery, is the statement in the same Blue Book, that no remission had, as a rule, to be granted in respect of the permanently settled portions of the province, and that the people in those portions needed no relief during the recent famine. These statements refer to a number of states which were permanently settled portions of the province, and that the people in those portions needed no relief during the recent famine. These statements refer to a number of estates which were permanently settled towards the end of the last century on assessments aggregating about £500,000. The revenue from those estates has ever since been collected with remarkable regularity, and the people have been able to lay by savings, which enabled them to tide over the famine period without needing eleemosynary assistance.

BENGAL.

The condition of Bengal differs materially from that of our other Indian provinces, owing to the widely different principle which has regulated her land administration. When the country came under our rule in the second half of the last century, wars and the rapacity of conquerors had reduced it to a very low ebb, and extensive tracts lay entirely uncultivated. There was no inducement for the proprietors of these waste regions to reclaim them, seeing that the arbitrary and oppressive exactions to which they were subjected by the rulers, left them no hope of deriving any benefit from the enterprise. Under these circumstances, Government experienced the greatest difficulty in recovering the land-revenue, and were unable to realise more than a small and uncer-

tain portion of their demand ; while the landowners, in order to collect even such small portions, had to resort to very oppressive measures against their tenants.

In this critical and distressing state of things, a drought occurred in 1770, which resulted in a famine of so terrible a character, that many millions of the inhabitants perished of hunger within a short space of time. This greatly added to the difficulty of collecting the revenue, and the Governor-General wrote on the 18th September, 1783 :—

" I may safely assert that one-third of the company's territory is now jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear that jungle and encourage ryots to come and cultivate his lands, when at the end of that lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for the newly cultivated lands or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labours, for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid ? "

Every question relating to the administration of the land was then very carefully considered by the Government of India, and also by the most eminent statesmen of the day at home ; and the conclusions arrived at in both countries were to the following effect. It was considered unreasonable to expect the owners of the waste tracts to clear jungles, make roads, build markets, advance money to settlers for erecting dwellings, draining swamps, digging wells and tanks, purchasing seed, cattle and food until crops were raised and realised—in short, to expend large sums of money and undergo much labour of mind and body, without any guarantee that the fruit of their outlay should not be taken from them. Such guarantee they certainly had not, so long as the Government retained the power of arbitrarily regulating its demand on land. It was, therefore, thought necessary that this arbitrary power should be abandoned, and a solemn pledge be given by the Government to abstain from further enhancing the land tax. The measures framed upon these conclusions remained under anxious consideration for ten years and were ultimately enacted in 1793, in a number of regulations, in which the necessary pledge was given in the most unambiguous and solemn terms, and provisions were framed for giving due effect to the compact thus made by the State with the owners of land in Bengal.

The Preamble to Regulation II. of 1793, which is hereunder reproduced *in extenso*, will afford full information regarding the sound principle on which the measure was carried out :—

" All questions between the Government and the landholders respecting the assessment and collection of the public revenue and disputed claims between the latter and their ryots (tenants), have hitherto been cognisable in the Courts of Maal Adawlut or Revenue Courts. The Collectors of revenue preside at these Courts as Judges, and an appeal lies from their decision to the Board of Revenue, and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor General in Council in the department of revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure, whilst the revenue officers are vested with these judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these Courts from their irregular, summary and often

exparte proceedings, and from the Collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties, it is obvious that, if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed, the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals, who have been wronged by them in one capacity, can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them from administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security, therefore, must be given to landed property and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Government must divest itself of the power of infringing, in its executive capacity the rights and privileges which, as exercising the legislative authority, it has conferred on the landholders. The revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed under the Regulations, must be subjected to the cognisance of courts of judicature superintended by judges who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants. The collectors of the revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding upon their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts of judicature, and collect the public dues, subject to a personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount which they are authorised to demand on behalf of the public, and for every deviation from the regulations prescribed for the collection of it. No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the Regulations can be infringed or the value of property affected. Land must in consequence become the most desirable of all property, and the industry of the people will be directed to those improvements in agriculture which are as essential to their own welfare as to the prosperity of the State."

Before proceeding to narrate how fully the expectations on these founded measures have been fulfilled, it might be useful to compare the legislation of 1793 with certain recent enactments introduced in the North-West Provinces and Bombay, where the assessments enforced about 1870 had as already shown, proved excessively oppressive. The proclaimed basis of those assessments was to fix the demand at fifty-five percent, of the rental in the North-West Provinces, and at one-sixth of the productive value of the land in Bombay; but the landholders alleged that those limits had been greatly exceeded, and a few among them appealed to the Civil Courts for redress. Thereupon, the Government prepared Bills removing all rent and revenue cases from the cognisance of the Civil Courts and vesting revenue officers with power to adjudicate on all such cases. These retrogressive measures, tending to place the provinces above-named under the same conditions as those which had proved so fatal to the prosperity of Bengal before 1793, were highly repugnant to the authorities in India, but the Secretary of State laid down the rule that the Government in India were bound to introduce any measure sanctioned by him, and that every official member of the Legislative Council was equally bound, irrespective of his personal convictions, to vote in favour of such measure.* Accordingly, two

* The Government must hold in its hands the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the members of his Government to vote for it.—*Duke of Argyll's despatch of 8th November 1870.*

of the Bills relating to the North-West Provinces were introduced in August, 1873; and while no member came forward to justify them, yet all voted for them. The President and the financial Member of the Council refrained entirely from explaining the principle involved in the Bills, and the military member voted for them *on trust*. The law member confessed that, "before drawing the Bills he had to divest himself of those principles with which he had been familiar, and that much of the matter was to him of great obscurity, complexity, and uncertainty," meaning, probably, that the measures violated those principles of justice which, as an Englishman and a lawyer, he had been taught to respect and uphold. The member for Madras, after expressing doubts on the necessity and soundness of the measures, voted for them as *in duty bound*, adding these ominous words: "I can only express a hope that, when these Bills become law, they might prove an exception to our past experience in regard to enactments affecting land tenures." The member in charge of the Bills, after supporting some of their clauses by merely specious arguments, manifested his antagonism to their principles, by saying: "In reference to the peculiar powers taken for officers engaged in the revision of settlements, I hope to see the time when the revisions of the land revenue will not occur with the same frequency as they now do, and that existing settlements will be prolonged; or, if a certain enhancement of the revenue were deemed to be justified and necessary, that it might be assessed upon some other procedure involving less of inquisition and interference with the agricultural classes, than is inherent in the present system." Lastly, the members for Bengal and Bombay (the attendance of non-official members having been dispensed with by holding the Session at Agra), expressed their disapproval of many clauses in very forcible language.

It thus became apparent that the members, through whose instrumentality the Bills were passed, were actually opposed to them, and that the result obtained, was due entirely to pressure from above.

The effect of the above enactments would be to enable the Government, when levying an illegally assessed tax, to prevent any judicial investigation being made in the matter. That such was also their actual purport is more clearly shown in the Bill relating to the Bombay Presidency, which was avowedly introduced because a landholder had sued the Government for an illegal assessment and obtained, on appeal to the High Court, a re-adjustment of the demand. Accordingly the member in charge of the measure, in urging the Legislative Council to pass the Bill, observed:—

"If every man is allowed to question in a Court of Law the incidence of the assessment on his land, the number of cases which might arise is likely to be over-whelming."

The character of these enactments show the danger which is involved in the system of Government inaugurated in 1858, under which India is being

despotically ruled from Downing Street, by a Cabinet Minister exposed to influences often adverse to the interests of India.

Reverting now to the results of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, it may be briefly stated that, while a number of landholders lost their estates through their inability to discharge the revenue with the punctuality exacted in the new order of things, a powerful stimulus was given to agriculture, and the province was gradually converted into an almost uninterrupted sheet of cultivation. Its agricultural population rapidly increased and their condition improved steadily, as will be seen from the following passage in a speech which the Hon. Sir Ashley Eden delivered in 1877, shortly after being appointed Lieutenant Governor of Bengal :—

" I have just returned from visiting the Eastern districts, and I may say on this occasion, when my administration is only at the commencement, what I could not well say at a late period, without seeming to seek credit for the Government of which I am the head :—Great as was the progress which I knew had been made in the position of the cultivating classes, I was quite unprepared to find them occupying a position so different from that which I remembered them to occupy when I first came to the country. They were then poor and oppressed with little incentive to increase the productive powers of the soil. I find them now as prosperous, as independent and as comfortable as the peasantry, I believe, of any country in the world ; well fed, well clothed, free to enjoy the full benefit of their own labours, and to hold their own, and obtain prompt redress for any wrong."

This improvement in the condition of the tenants could result only from the landlords gradually relaxing their pressure, as the extension in the cultivation of their lands enabled them to satisfy the Government demand without resorting to the severe measures they had before been compelled to employ.

Furthermore, the revenue has for a long series of years been collected with regularity and at a comparatively small cost, while famine has been prevented or mitigated by the agricultural classes being allowed under the legislation of 1793, to lay by savings in favourable years, and thus be provided with means for tiding over seasons of scarcity. These statements find their confirmation in the following quotations :—

" The revenue of the permanently settled estates in Bengal has for years been realized with great punctuality. Losses sometimes occur through famine, epidemics, the devastation of cyclones, and other calamities of the seasons ; but under the conditions of this settlement no such plea can be urged as excesses for non-payment, and as a rule the large present-excess of the annual rental over the Government demand enables the present holders to meet that demand even in the most disastrous years."—*Administration Report for 1872-73.*

" The deficiency of the collection consequent on the famine, was very small, and such suspensions of revenue as were granted were given as a reward for exceptional exertions in relieving distress. The result is creditable to the working of the permanent settlement."—*Administration Report for 1873-74.*

It should be observed here that, although the drought of 1873-74 in Bengal was very severe, the scarcity did not amount to famine, seeing that no deaths accrued from want of food, and the revenue did not materially suffer on that

occasion. It may also be well to state (seeing that misconceptions have taken place on the subject) that the province of Orissa, which was desolated by famine in 1866, did not belong to us in 1793, and was not included, therefore, in the Permanent Settlement. The Orissa mentioned in our official documents of the last century was adjoining tract, now called the Midnapore district.

One more extract may suffice to show how fully the expectations of 1793 have been realised :—

"The Bengal of to-day offers a startling contrast to the Bengal of 1793—the wealth and prosperity of the country have marvellously increased, increased beyond all precedents, under the permanent settlement. A great portion of this increase is due to the zamindars body as a whole, and they have been very active and powerful factors in the development of this prosperity."—*Commissioner of Burdwan's Report, Gazette of India, 20th October, 1883.*

The opponents of the Permanent Settlement point this prosperity, and argue that the difference between the revenue fixed by that settlement and the larger sum which, they assert, might be levied on the land in its present prosperous condition, constitutes a loss which the compact of 1793 has inflicted on the State. They ignore that the increased rental of Bengal consists chiefly of the returns made by the capital and labour bestowed on the land, and that these would not have been so bestowed without the encouragement and security afforded by the compact of which they complain. In short, they view the question as theorists or as fiscal officers, not as statesmen. Their attention seems concentrated on the comparatively trifling increase of revenue which enhanced assessments and stringent modes of collection might, they believe, bring in for a time; and they overlook the greater, the permanent, the growing income which would accrue to the state from the prosperity of the people and the accumulation of national wealth. In 1793 the revenue of Bengal consisted solely of the land tax, and even this could only be recovered under heavy deductions. At present, customs, excise, stamps, salt and provincial imposts yield twice as much as the full amount of the land tax. This Government was relied upon by Lord Cornwallis when, in reply to the charge that a permanent settlement would involve a sacrifice of prospective revenue, he wrote on the 6th March, 1793 :—

"If at any future period the public exigencies should require an addition to your resources, you must look for it in the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the country, and not in the augmentation of the tax upon land."

His anticipations in regard to drought and inundation have likewise been most completely realised in the drought of 1873-74, and in the ravages of the extraordinary cyclone and sea-wave which overwhelmed the south-eastern districts of Bengal on the 31st October, 1876. Lord Cornwallis wrote on the 3rd February, 1790 :—

"There is this further advantage to be expected from a fixed assessment, in a country subject to drought and inundation that it affords a strong inducement to the landholder to exert himself to repair, as speedily as possible, the damages which his land may have sustained from

these calamities. His ability to raise money to make these exertions will be proportionately increased by the additional value which the limitation of the Public demand will stamp upon his property ; the reverse is to be expected when the public assessment is subjected to unlimited increase."

CONCLUSION.

The great advantages which flow from fixity in the State demand upon land, are not denied by the opponents of permanent settlements in India ; their sole contention is, that the Government by retaining the power of periodically enhancing the land tax, are able materially to increase their income. Apart from the immoral character of a system which thus enables the Government to appropriate the fruit of the cultivator's capital and labour, the contention itself is refuted by our experience of a century in the administration of India. Not only have temporary settlements most effectually hindered the accumulation of national wealth, whence the State might legitimately have derived additional revenue, but the very expectation of an increasing revenue from land has everywhere, under such settlements, been entirely disappointed.

An attempt was made in the *Financial Statement* for 1888-89 (page 44), to show, by means of a table exhibiting land revenue receipts in 1856-57 and 1886-87, that such receipts had during the intervening period, increased at the rate of Rs. 166,000. But the comparison was most defectively established, seeing that the proceeds of waste lands, which were largely sold since 1860, together with the capitation tax in Burma, the receipts from fisheries in Assam, and the value of estates confiscated after the mutinies, were all entered under the head of Land Revenue Receipts. The comparison was further vitiated by the mutiny year, when the country was abnormally disquieted, having been taken as its basis. For these reasons, the results exhibited in the above-mentioned table cannot be accepted in any inquiry respecting the effect of temporary settlements upon the revenue from land.

On the other hand, the tables A. and B. in the Appendix, will show that during the last nineteen years, the land revenue in India, far from increasing, has been steadily on the decline ; that while the receipts in 1870 amounted to £21,088,019, they averaged only £ 20,811,276, in the years 1870 to 1878 and similarly, that the net revenue which was £19,363,477, in 1879, averaged only £19,016,773 in the years 1879 to 1888.

How much of the decline occurred in the provinces under temporary settlements, whose circumstances have been cursorily reviewed in preceding pages, will appear from tables C, D, and E, from which it will be seen that the net land revenue in 1879 amounted

In Bombay to	...	...	...	£3,028,354
„ N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	...	...	...	5,268,632
„ Madras	...	...	...	4,281,447
Total	...	...	...	12,578,433

whence it follows that, had the settlement been permanently fixed in 1879, the revenue of these provinces during the ten years, 1879 to 1888, would have amounted to £125,784,330, while the actual revenue recovered during those years was only £119,781,296, thus :—

In Bombay	...	...	£32,721,646,
„ N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	...	...	49,896,406
„ Madras	...	...	87,163,244
Total	...		119,781,296

or £6,003,034 less than a permanent settlement, had it existed in 1879, would have produced.

The serious injury to the country, which has been shown to result from the system of arbitrary assessments prevailing over the greater part of the Empire, is not unknown to the Government, for it has repeatedly been proclaimed by the highest authorities in India. The Indian Secretary of State, however, whose tenure of power depends, not on the success of his Indian administration, but on the political situation at home, which raised him to his position, finds himself exposed to the temptation, and sometimes to the necessity, of sacrificing Indian interests to those of his political party, or to the safety of the Cabinet on which his official existence depends. Reform, under such conditions, becomes very difficult or almost hopeless, while even danger has been disregarded, in the hope, doubtless, that the threatening catastrophe may fall on some succeeding administration. Let us remember, however, that in the case of Oriental races held under despotic rule, the most violent storms have not unfrequently, broken forth from a serene sky. Under these circumstances it behoves all who are interested in the safety of our Indian Empire to raise their voices in favour of a reform which is more urgently needed than almost any other, seeing that it involves the well-being, the contentment—nay, the very lives—of the millions who subsist by the cultivation of land in India, and whose labour and enterprise, in country chiefly agricultural, are the main instruments of national wealth.

P. S.—*1st June, 1889* :—

Since writing the above I have seen a report of the speeches which were delivered at the National Congress at Allahabad in December last on the subject of extending permanent settlements in India. One of the speakers on that occasion observed that John Stuart Mill's opinion, as to the unearned increment of land belonging to the State, was contrary to the principle of such settlements. No doubt it is so; but while that opinion might be accepted in abstract theory, it has been found quite incapable of practical application. No attempt has accordingly ever been made to act upon it with regard to the millions on millions of acres in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and other vast territories which have fallen to the British Crown, and in dealing with

which the authorities sold the land for a capital sum, without any reservation or stipulation as to future claims of the State. In short, the central principle of the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was strictly adhered to in all those transactions, the Government looking to the expansion of commerce and the accumulation of wealth which would accrue from the unfettered condition thus secured to agriculture, for meeting the future wants of the Administration. The result has entirely justified their expectation.

The impracticability of Mr. Mill's theory in India appears as soon as an attempt is made to carry it in effect. Take, for instance, the increase which occurred in the productive value of cotton lands in Bombay during the civil war in America, and of jute lands in Bengal from the development of jute manufacture in Dundee. In both cases the increment would, under that theory, be classed as unearned—but how is its amount to be ascertained? Besides, it should be remembered that the money and labour which a cultivator bestows on his fields do not represent his only claims to remuneration. In circumstances like those in the above cases (and instances of the same kind constantly recur) the cultivator ventures, at no small risk of loss, on an extension of his operations, which he would certainly refrain from doing if he knew that any profit which his enterprise might eventually yield would be taken from him.

Professor Fawcett, who was a personal friend and an admirer of Mr. J. S. Mill, would not have impugned his opinion except under the strongest conviction: yet he recorded his views on the "unearned increment" theory in the following terms in his invaluable paper, entitled the *Nationalisation of the Land* :—

" If the State appropriated this unearned increment, would it not be bound to give compensation if the land became depreciated through no fault of the owner, but in consequence of a change in the general circumstances of the country? If the State in prosperous times appropriates an increase in value, and if in adverse times the falling off in the value has to be borne by the owner, land would at once have a disability attached to it which belongs to no other property. If we purchase a house, a manufactory, or a ship, we take the purchase with its risks of loss and chances of gain; and why with regard to land, and to land alone, should a purchaser have all the risks of loss and none of the chances of gain? If we associate with the ownership of land any disability or disadvantage which does not belong to other kind of property, a direct discouragement is offered to the investment of capital in the improvement of the soil."

Readers in India will at once perceive how completely the propositions in the above extract have been verified in that country. A very remarkable feature in the case of India, however, is that the same Secretary of State, who used his power for enforcing the legislation of 1873, depriving landholders of the protection of the civil courts against illegal demands of fiscal officers, expressed himself in the following terms on the principles which should regulate the Government demand upon land :—

"I observe with much satisfaction that the Lieutenant-Governor discourages the notion that whatever is gained by the owners of land in the shape of rent is so much lost to the State. The best wealth of government is to be found in the growing wealth of its people; and the feeling which leads it to grudge all that does not fall into the hands of its tax-collector is a very short-sighted feeling, and must lead, if followed, to a very short-sighted policy."—*Despatch of 22nd May, 1873.*

And again :—

"There are some principles of universal application, because they rest on the nature of man, and can never cease to operate on the wealth of nations. One of these is the close connection which obtains between the progress of industry and the certainty of enjoying its results."—*India under Lord Canning* by the Duke of Argyll.

The inconsistency of the action taken in 1873 with the opinions expressed in these passages should perhaps be ascribed to the anomalous position of an Indian Secretary of State who sometimes finds himself constrained to disregard his own convictions, when these militate with the interest of the Cabinet to which he belongs.

APPENDIX.

The following tables have been compiled on the *Statistical abstract for British India* for the years ending in 1887; and the figures for 1888 were obtained from the *Supplement to the Gazette of India* of 16th March, 1889, and the *Gazette of India extraordinary* of 27th March, 1889. As the net revenue affords a clearer view of the financial result, it has been stated whenever the necessary information could be had. The *Statistical Abstract*, however, does not contain the collection charges incurred for the years 1870 to 1878, hence the gross receipts only are mentioned in table A.

TABLE A.
LAND REVENUE RECEIPTS OF INDIA.

In 1870	...	21,088,019	Average £20,811,276
" 1871	...	20,622,823	
" 1872	...	20,520,937	
" 1873	...	21,348,669	
" 1874	...	21,037,912	
" 1875	...	21,296,793	
" 1876	...	21,503,742	
" 1877	...	19,857,152	
" 1878	...	20,206,036	
<u>£187,301,483</u>			

TABLE B.
LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.

	£	£	
In 1879 ...	22,823,868		
Charges... 2,960,391			Net 19,363,477
" 1880 ...	21,861,150		
Charges... 2,937,316			" 18,923,834
" 1881 ...	21,112,995		
Charges... 2,983,817			" 18,129,178
" 1882 ...	21,948,022		
Charges... 3,003,904			" 18,944,118
" 1883 ...	21,876,047		
Charges... 3,042,596			" 18,833,451
" 1884 ...	22,881,191		
Charges... 3,329,206			" 19,032,693
" 1885 ...	21,882,211		
Charges... 3,863,387			" 18,468,824
" 1886 ...	22,592,371		
Charges... 3,414,292			" 19,178,079
" 1887 ...	23,055,724		
Charges... 3,464,252			" 19,591,472
" 1888 ...	23,189,292		
Charges... 3,86,685			" 19,702,607
		£ 190,167,733	

Average £ 19,016,733

£ 190,167,733

TABLE C.
LAND REVENUE OF BOMBAY.

	£.	£.	
1879.—Receipts	3,689,165		
Charges ...	660,811		Net 3,028,354
1880.—Receipts	3,900,729		
Charges ...	651,630		" 3,249,099
1881.—Receipts	3,744,845		
Charges ...	646,991		" 3,097,854
1882.—Receipts	3,854,746		
Charges ...	665,370		" 3,180,476
1883.—Receipts	3,694,768		
Charges ...	662,029		" 3,042,739
1884.—Receipts	3,959,182		
Charges ...	662,029		" 3,283,967
1885.—Receipts	3,855,586		
Charges ...	674,405		" 3,181,181
1886.—Receipts	4,201,075		
Charges ...	687,480		" 3,513,595
1887—Receipts	4,202,269		
Charges ...	673,375		" 3,528,894
1888.—Receipts	4,274,100		
Charges ...	658,600		" 3,615,500
			£ 32,721,646

TABLE D.
LAND REVENUE OF THE N.-W. PROVINCES & OUDH

1879.—Receipts	5,942,197		
Charges ...	673,565		Net 5,268,632
1880.—Receipts	5,698,870		
Charges ...	647,340		" 5,051,530
1881.—Receipts	5,593,703		
Charges ...	658,194		" 4,935,509
1882.—Receipts	5,751,104		
Charges ...	647,120		" 5,103,984
1883.—Receipts	5,656,543		
Charges ...	667,203		" 4,989,335
1884.—Receipts	5,680,105		
Charges ...	800,677		" 4,879,428
1885.—Receipts	5,727,624		
Charges ...	811,591		" 4,916,033
1886.—Receipts	5,684,484		
Charges ...	815,158		" 4,869,826
1887...Receipts	5,762,997		
Charges ...	795,068		" 4,967,929
1888...Receipts	5,699,900		
Charges ...	785,200		" 4,914,700
		£ 449,896,406	

TABLE E.
LAND REVENUE OF MADRAS.

	£.	£.	
1879.—Receipts	4,965,548		
Charges ...	684,101		Net 4,281,447
1880.—Receipts	4,465,629		
Charges ...	705,344		" 3,760,285
1881.—Receipts	4,121,286		
Charges ...	712,795		" 3,408,491
1882.—Receipts	4,354,421		
Charges ...	723,764		" 3,630,657
1883.—Receipts	4,506,459		
Charges ...	740,245		" 3,766,214
1884.—Receipts	4,515,842		
Charges ...	772,727		" 3,742,615
1885.—Receipts	4,186,976		
Charges ...	790,622		" 3,895,734
1886.—Receipts	4,521,222		
Charges ...	767,707		" 3,753,515
1887.—Receipts	4,458,902		
Charges ...	776,816		" 3,682,586
1888.—Receipts	4,528,000		
Charges ...	786,900		" 3,741,700
			£ 37,163,244

Mr. Fredric Pincott on the Congress.

The discussion of the merits and demerits of the Indian National Congress has now overflowed into England, and is likely to be maintained with some vivacity. For the last two years, at least, the air of India has been resounding with it; and even before that time the rising storm-cloud attracted no little attention there. It is, unquestionably, one of the most extraordinary political upheavals which the world has ever witnessed; and, as such, demands the most serious attention from the statesmen of both England and India, whatever may be their predispositions with respect to such a phenomenon. Whether it be regarded as the outcome of the thinking and longing of a few thousand of over-advanced Indians, or as the visible exposition of the heart-enshrined desires of a large section of the people—the tremendous fact remains that a vast organization has sprung into being, and has rapidly developed in the full light of day, the openly proclaimed object of which is the gradual conversion of despotism into representative government throughout British India. No despotic government ever before received from its subjects so frank and spontaneous a tribute of gratitude and confidence as is implied in the voluntary association of well-known men for the purpose of rendering the despotism under which they live unsustainable; and no despotic government ever before offered so grand an example of disinterested purity as is implied in the fact of permitting the growth of such an association, and extending courtesy and honour to its leading members. These two facts tower above the lesser disputations over details, and stand erect as stately monuments reared by the freedom-loving instincts of the governors, and by the assured belief in those honourable instincts on the part of the governed. In the presence of these imposing facts the voice of petty carping and frivolous recrimination ought certainly to be hushed, in order that serious thought may be given to the grave problem pressing for solution. No one ought to write upon this subject until he has cleared his mind from prejudice and his heart from anger; for, assuredly, judicial calmness is needful in order to appreciate fully, and fairly to balance, the rights and duties of the Indian Government, and the necessities and desires of the many classes of people forming the population of India. A spirit of mere partizanship, on the one side or the other, is much to be deplored; and it is greatly to be hoped that the discussion will be carried on in England in a very different spirit to that displayed by Mr. Smith in the April number of this *Review*. I believe Mr. Smith himself will come to regret the tone of his article; and, therefore, I shall simply say that it conveys no proper idea of either the Official, or the Indian case, or of the facts upon which both are founded.

Mr. Smith, in common with other opponents, can, apparently, find no fault with what the Congress says or does. The Congress proper is, therefore,

dismissed with the remark that " its proceedings have outwardly a considerable veneer of propriety and loyalty." Its alleged aims are, however, discussed by the light of certain pamphlets and newspaper articles, issued on the personal responsibility of their several writers. Only six of the seventeen Resolutions passed by the Congress are mentioned, and these are transposed and introduced in such a way that the less important are made to appear as the principal. This may be illustrated by the Resolution in which the Congress asks simply for "the expansion and reform" of the Legislative Councils. This modest request Mr. Smith converts into "greatly enlarge. . . . by the addition of native members," &c. In truth, the promoters of the Congress would be satisfied with a very small enlargement and modification, and do not ask, or wish, that all the elected representatives should be "natives." It is expected that Eurasians, and earnestly hoped that resident Englishmen will be among the elected; but so all-important is the introduction of the representative principle deemed, that it has been embodied in the Resolutions of every Congress, and it has been frankly admitted that, if that one point be granted, all the rest may be left to take care of itself. And why? Because Indians have a firm reliance on the justice and integrity of the English; and are well assured that if the true condition of India and its peoples found an authorized voice, the noble principles which animate the rulers of India would have free play, and obstructions which now hamper the progress of the country would disappear to prove that this is not a generous interpretation of Congress ideas, I quote the following from the inaugural speech of the President of the last meeting:—

The principle of election frankly accepted, there would be little difficulty in satisfying us in the matter of the constituencies, or as to the size of the Councils. The devising of a suitable elective body might well be left to the Government, or, better still—by way of preliminary to the final judgment of the Government—to a small Commission, which could easily be rendered acceptable to the whole community!

There seems nothing very violent or revolutionary in such a suggestion, more especially when we remember that, when the Supreme Legislative Council was constituted thirty years ago, so prudent a statesman as the Earl of Beaconsfield suggested that it should consist of eighteen members, nine of whom should be natives. During the last thirty years the people of India have advanced to an astonishing extent, both intellectually and morally; yet they now modestly confine their request to such an "extension and reform" as would place their Government on a level with that of England at the time of the Plantagenets.

The accuracy of this assertion is best authenticated by a simple statement of the proposals made by the Congress with respect to the reform of the Legislative Councils of India. All the chimeras which excited imaginations have conjured from the vasty deep of uniformed wonderment will vanish from the troubled view at the bare recital of the truth.

The Congress proposes that the electors should be Municipal Committees

or Town Councils of the large Municipalities, Local Boards, Chambers of Commerce, leading Political Associations, the Universities, and certain selected associations to secure the proper representation of Muhammadans, Eurasians, and non-official Europeans. These electors are to elect only half the members of the Provincial Councils ; the *electees* to be educated males of not less than twenty-five years of age, residents in India, without distinction of race, caste, or colour. The *elected* Members of Provincial Councils are then to elect half the members of the Supreme Legislative Councils. One-fourth of the members of each of the Councils are to be Officials holding seats ex-officio ; and the remaining one-fourth are to be *nominated* by the Executive Government. Elected members are to sit for two years ; and nominated members for five years ! readmission to the Councils to be, in all cases, only by election. No salary or remuneration of any kind to be paid to any member of any of the Councils, in virtue of such membership ; nor is any title or honorary distinction to be conferred on any Member during membership, or for a period of five years after he has ceased to be a member. Neither the Viceroy, nor any local Governor, to be either President or Member of any such Council ; they are to communicate what they wish through one or more members selected at their own discretion. The Executive Government may, if it pleases, elect the President of its Council but the Vice-President shall be elected by the Council itself. All legislative matters, and financial questions, are to be submitted to the Councils ; every Member is to have the right to interrogate ex-officio members on any subject ; and, subject to certain reasonable exceptions, to be entitled to a full and compete reply. The Executive Government to possess the power of over-ruling any decision arrived at by a majority of a Council ; subject, in special cases, to an appeal to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons. The meeting of the Councils to be open to the Public and the Press ; and proceedings to be published in the Government Gazettes.

A moment's reflection will show that political babes and sucklings can safely be trusted with such a humble instalment of the representative principle as is here set forth ; and as all salaries, rewards, titles, and dignities are expressly forbidden, it is difficult to suggest an improper motive for desiring a two-years' seat in such deliberative assemblies. The official veto, the publicity, and the carefully provided exceptions and limitations, preclude all dangerous vagaries ; in fact, the whole scheme reproduces, in an improved form, the practice of ancient times, when the Barons and the Commons of England sat together and consulted, while all real power was exercised by the King and the Barons.

Opponents of these moderate proposals of the Congress have quoted again and again one portion of a recent speech of Lord Dufferin, in which that prudent statesman deprecates the introduction of "democratic methods of govern-

ment" into India ; but the latter portion of the same speech is generally suppressed. Lord Dufferin went on to say :—

I do not at all wish to imply that I view with anything but favour and sympathy the desire of the educated classes to be more largely associated with us in the conduct of the affairs of their country. Such an ambition is not only very natural, but very worthy ; provided due regard be had to the circumstances of the country, and to the conditions under which the British administration discharges its duties.

This is the idea to which the preceding exordium led up ; and it expresses the very spirit in which the Congress desires action to be taken, and the very limit of its wishes. But as deeds are more eloquent than words, the real opinion of Lord Dufferin is more clearly shown by the despatch which he addressed to Her Majesty's Government just before retiring from the Viceroyalty. In that official document he is now known to have recommended that the Provincial Legislative Councils (but not the Supreme Council) should have a certain proportion of their members directly elected that the right of interpellation should be conceded ; and that the Budget should, before promulgation, be invariably submitted to the Council for consideration and discussion. The chief demand of the Congress having thus been officially recommended for adoption, and the two other most important demands (relating to the annual discussion of the Budget, and the right of Interpellation) having been actually conceded by Lord Lansdowne, on the 28th of March—the question may now be considered beyond the range of discussion ; anyhow, an altogether erroneous impression is conveyed of the Congress, and of its present status, by representing it as discredited and as an object of derision.

The assertion that Sir Sayyid Ahmad and Sir Auckland Colvin are antagonistic to the principles of the Congress is erroneous. They really differ from the leaders of the Congress only on such details as manner and time. In an Urdu book (*Causes of the Indian Mutiny*), written by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, and translated into English by Sir Auckland Colvin, in 1873, the following passage occurs. After showing that the Mutiny was owing to the people not being represented in the councils of the empire, it proceeds to state that the voice of the people—

can never be heard, and this security [i.e. immunity from a recurrence of mutiny] never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultation of Government. . . . The security of a Government is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed, as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges. . . . I do not wish to enter here into the questions as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan might be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable, but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure.

This passage is sufficient to prove that both those opponents of the Congress strongly support the principal object which its promoters have in view.

And, indeed, a very large number of people, both official and non-official, have urged upon the Indian Government the desirability of reforming the Legislative Councils. The Madras Chamber of Commerce, a body of merchants having no connection with the National Congress, has recently pressed upon the Government the need of such a reform; and at the meeting of the East India Association held at Westminster, in April last under the Presidentship of Sir Roper Lethbridge, the large number of retired officials present openly expressed their belief in the urgency for the grant of this moderate request of the Congress.

I may also mention the interesting fact that the Maharaja of Mysore has recently established a Representative Assembly and an Executive Council in that important kingdom, and is well satisfied with the result. How long, it may be asked, can the Indian Government refuse to recognize the representative principle, after a Native State has spontaneously adopted it?

Another misconception of opponents is that the Congress originated and is supported by the young and inexperienced in India, who have other than patriotic aims in view. A mere enumeration of its chief supporters will remove this delusion. The Congress was organized merely to provide a dignified and constitutional means for the expression of Indian opinion in an united, and therefore weighty, manner. The idea is no emanation from youthful ambition, for it was the Diwan Bahadur Raghu Nath Rao, Prime Minister of Indore, who first conceived the fruitful thought; and he is unquestionably a gentleman of mature age and experience, weighted with the chief responsibility of one of the largest kingdoms in India. Mr. Hume, a retired English official of eminence, who acts as Secretary to the Congress, cannot be reckoned among the youthful, the inexperienced, or the selfseeking; and the same remark applies to Sir William Hunter, Sir Henry Harrison, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. George Yule, Mr. Robert Knight, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. Howard, Mr. Atkins, Mr. Crow, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Gantz, Mr. Justice Straight, &c., &c., &c. Indeed, the prime movers in the Congress, so far from being young, thoughtless and reckless, count among their number many of the ablest of their generation, and the firmest friends of English rule. Take, as an example, that able administrator, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., the wise Premier of Travancore, and of Indore, and subsequently the regenerator of Baroda. Is there a statesman of whom both the English and the Indians are more justly proud than Sir Madhava Rao? He was present at the meeting of the Congress in 1887, and this was his declaration on that occasion:—"To well-balanced minds, such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration, and a crown of glory to the British nation." Nor is Sir Madhava Rao the only Indian of eminence who gives hearty support to the Congress movement. Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore lends to it his honoured name, and so

Does the Raja Rajendralal Mitra, C.I.E., LL.D., the Hon. S. Subramanyayyer, C.I.E., the Hon. Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C.I.E., the Hon. Pandit Ayo-dhya Nath, the Hon. Dr. Guru Das Bannaji, Justice of the High Court Calcutta, the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sirdar Dyal Singh, the Hon. Rai Bahadur Durga Prasad, the Hon. Badrud-din Tyabji, Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Ali Muhammad Bhimji, W. C. Bonnerji, and the sturdy old Rajput Raja Lachman Singh. These are all men of learning, social position, and unimpeachable loyalty; there is not one of them who would not gladly lay down his life to preserve the blessings of English rule to his country. These able and exalted men, who would be illustrious in any country of the world, form the centre around which cluster a crowd of intellectual, soberminded, and thoughtful men, among whom I enumerate Raja Rampal Singh, the Maharaja of Durbhangha, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bansi Lal Singh, Pandit Ramautar Pande, Maulavi Abdu-l-Jalil Nawab Wasi Mirza Safwi, Nawab Raza Hussain Khan, Nawab Hashmat Hussain Khan, Maulavi Abu-l-Husain, Hakim Haidar Husain, the Rev. R. C. Bose, &c., &c., &c. These names readily occur to me as I write, and they could be largely added to; but they are sufficient to show that men of years and station are the real leaders of the Congress, and that the Muhammadan element is not so inconspicuous as has been represented.

Muhammadan feeling with respect to the Congress has been frankly stated by Mr. Amir Ali, the famous Barrister-at-Law, formerly Member of the Vice-roy's Legislative Council, and one of the foremost Muhammadans of India. At a meeting held at Imambarah, near Calcutta, on the 12th of last January, Mr. Amir Ali said:—"The Musulmans sincerely sympathise with the Congress movement, and would surely join it if assured that their interests would not be overlooked, or any way jeopardised." A Resolution was passed at the last meeting of the Congress specially to meet the case of the Muhammadans, and since then the opposition has broken up, and is now rapidly disappearing.

Having adduced these incontestable facts to show the moderation and respectability of the Congress, I will add a few words on each of the four really honest objections to the organization; viz. its seditious character, its dangerous propaganda, its non-representative character, and the opposition it has met with.

(1.)—No opponent has, as yet, charged the Congress as a body with a single disloyal or seditious act or word; and it speaks well for the sterling loyalty of the Congress to find that after four annual meetings, much animated discussion, the issue of voluminous Reports, and a hundred publications of various kinds, no specific act of disloyalty can be alleged against the organization. It has met in the name of our Empress-Queen, and has honoured that name with every demonstration of affectionate devotion; it has accorded unstinted praise to the Indian Government for the countless blessings which India enjoys under English rule; it has expressed its earnest desire for the long continuance

of that rule ; and has demonstrated its sincerity by devoting valuable time and large sums of money to undertakings which its members well know would vanish from the land with the downfall of English supremacy. The higher members of the Congress are men of learning and character, whose loyalty is above suspicion ; and the subordinate members are well aware that all that they possess, and all that they hope to attain, is dependent on the prolongation of English rule. In the face of all these assurances and substantial pledges, some would have us believe that this calm and thoughtful body of men are deliberately plotting the subversion of English authority. In confirmation of my denial of any such seditious intent, I quote the following from the staunch Congressit Panjab newspaper, *The Tribune*, 13th October 1888 :—

The Congress might be disloyal to the British Government if those constituting it thought that they were now able and competent to govern themselves, and could not, on that account, brook foreign domination any longer. But is that the position of the Congress ? Do not all those who take part in it, or sympathise with it, know, as surely as they are aware of their own existence, that the cessation of British rule in India would be the signal for misrule, disorder, and anarchy of the worst kind ? However they might feel disposed to advance their claims on the kindness of a paternal Government, who among them do not know that they are far from being able to take charge of the administration of their country, and that Englishmen are the best foreign masters they could possibly have ? They are fully sensible of the difficulties which surround us,—our worklessness generally in body and mind, our want of devotion, self-sacrifice and an enlarged patriotism, our internal dissensions which set community against community, and creed against creed, and give us many a traitor in our camp,—those, and others too numerous to detail, stare them fully in face. And would they, in spite of all these, and understanding the manifold blessings of British rule, still move even their little finger against it ? Are they not fully convinced that the advent of the British in this country is a dispensation of Providence ? Do they not clearly perceive the glorious prospects which lie before them, and do they not also see, with equal clearness, that, if these prospects are ever to be realised, it would be by the continuance of British supremacy for a sufficiently long duration ? The country is advancing with rapid strides in education and intelligence, the different communities are being welded into one nation, a spirit of solidarity and a love of country are being fast developed, a mighty awakening is coming and altogether the future looks particularly luminous and hopeful. But will the Congressists nip all their hopes in the bud by preaching sedition against the very Government which has raised those hopes, and relegate the country once more into thick, over-hanging, impenetrable darkness, and reduce law and order into anarchy and chaos ?

Congressit literature abounds in arguments such as the foregoing ; and to prove that this is so, I cite the following from an Oudi newspaper, *The Advocate* (19th June 1888), written by one who might be called a hot-headed Congressit :—

Do I ever wish to have the entire legislative and executive control transferred to our men ? Shall I be happy to see the entire Governmental machinery placed under the direction of my people ? No not for centuries yet to come. I should like to see my people rise to the moral and intellectual status of Englishman before they are raised to their political status. I have far greater confidence in Englishmen than I have in my own people. I want representative institutions, I want larger spheres of public usefulness for my people, I want to see them more largely employed in the public services of my country ; provided always they

are better qualified, or at least as well qualified, for them as Englishmen usually are.....Individual English officials may violate my liberties, may usurp my rights, may abuse their powers and their privileges ; but I know that English public opinion will ever be, as it always has been, on the side of justice and righteousness. *But this I cannot honestly and truly say of my people.....*Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan is very much afraid of the Bengalees ; and I confess, I am as much afraid of them as I am of him. With him, *I have, as yet, no confidence in my own people* ; but I have something which he seems not to have, *I have faith in the strength of the British Government* ; *I have faith in the liberal traditions of the English nation* ; I know what he seems not to know, that it is not possible for any properly constituted authority, acting, under the entire control of the British Indian Government, and the British Parliament, to abuse its powers, and violate the rights and liberties of the subject.

Having thus seen what the supporters of the Congress say about loyalty to English rule, it is interesting to turn to what an opponent has to say on the same subject. The following is taken from "A View of the Indian National Congress," by Babu Bireswar Mitra, who condemns the Congress heartily, and is specially commended by the anti-Congress *Pioneer* newspaper, for writing this very pamphlet. Here is a specimen of his loyalty :—

Ah, no ! my countrymen, deceive not yourselves ! The British Government is at heart, and always will be Conservative. The Britsher is not logical, is not sentimental ; he will give you nothing for nothing, and precious little for a ha'penny, *Under Francis the India of the Congress party might have fared better* ; but the political instinct of England is replete with no-tions of its own method of development,

Here, also, is his description of the right method of procedure.

Gentlemen, be ye ready to wade through blood to power ! Be ye prepared to go to Runnymede and extort a Magna Carta ? Be ye able and willing to catch Sir Auckland and chop off his head ? If so, then good luck to you ! Lay on ! lay on ! But do not think that a Government can give popular rights. It is you who must take them, if ye dare and can in my humble opinion ye neither dare nor can. *Political liberty cannot be acquired by begging* ; it will not be granted as an act of grace.

These expressions of anti-Congress "loyalty" urge me to prefer the so-called "sedition" of the Congressists.

(2.) The pamphlets next demand attention, for they represent the root and branch of the charge of sedition recently urged against the Congress movement. They are known respectively as "The Old Man's Hope," "The Star in the East," "Conversation," and the "Catechism." Three of them were written by Mr. Hume, on his own responsibility, and represent his personal views of the subjects on which they treat. After they had attained a wide circulation on their own merits, the Congress bound two of them up with their third Report, and to this extent, but to this extent only, the Congress may be said to have sanctioned the pamphlets. It may have been an unwise thing to do, and must be heartily regretted. It has taught the Congress how eagerly any error in judgement is pounced upon in order to discredit their proceedings ; but, in reality, these documents are by no means so dangerous as excited minds represent. So innocent, indeed, is the first of them that it was reprinted and circulated in London by the Cobden Club, and failed to shock

public feeling, or even to attract attention. It may startle some to learn that the second of the pamphlets, "The Star in the East," was submitted in proof to Lord Dufferin himself, and received his personal amendments. It may therefore, be safely assumed that this pamphlet also is free from serious objection. The famous "Conversations," which are now the subject of heated comment, were submitted before publication to several officials in India, and to several eminent public men in England, none of whom offered a word of objection to them, and some of whom made verbal alterations which were adopted by the writer. As thus heedfully prepared and amended, the pamphlet was published in 1886, and a copy was sent to almost every high official in India; but two years were allowed to elapse before any one detected its seditious character. Surely the sedition in it must be so carefully concealed that the millions of India's peasantry, "steeped in ignorance," may safely be allowed to look at it (for it is universally admitted that they cannot read or write) until the crack of doom. There is yet another pamphlet called the "Catechism," a few words from which will show the lesson it teaches:—"If we persevere with these Congresses, and get more and more of the people everywhere to understand them, and take interest in them, and support them, we shall and that before many years are over have so strong a voice that the people of England will hear us, and once they do this as a body (not merely two or three thousands here and there, whom alone, as yet, we have reached) all our reasonable demands will soon be granted."

When we remember that these pamphlets are necessarily addressed to the reading and thinking few in India, and that their arguments are temperate throughout, it may safely be predicted that they will cause no more sedition in the future than they have in the two years they have already been in circulation. I have read these pamphlets with the greatest care, and with the jealous eye of a thoroughly Conservative Englishman, and I unhesitatingly say that, in real truth, there is not one word even savouring of sedition in any of them.

(3.)—The defective representative character of the Congress had also been put forward as an objection to it. Mr. Smith himself supplies a good answer to this objection when he says: "Though not representative of the classes of the people, it is fairly so of the different portions of the Empire, as the delegates came from most parts of India"; and he also adds, "Though representative of little beyond a class, that class is one that, from education and the command of the press, is more able to make itself heard than any other." This is all that can reasonably be expected of an organization which has only been four years in existence. *It represents the educated opinion of all portions of the Empire.* It is manifestly impossible for a private organization to establish an authoritative and legalized system for the election of its delegates. It must rest upon voluntary effort, and be content with such delegates as are selected by local societies, or personal recommendation, and those whose private circumstances

permit them to attend the meetings. The fulness and completeness of the representation already secured by these imperfect means ought to make a profound impression on the minds of British statesmen; for it reveals to the discerning eye a wide-spread unanimity in native opinion as to the urgency of the reforms demanded.

(4)—A very few words will be sufficient for an explanation of the nature and cause of the opposition which the Congress has hitherto met with. It is really very small; but not unimportant. As a class, Indian officials unitedly oppose it; * and their reason for doing so is natural and obvious. It is evident that every advantage conferred upon Indians must be gained by a corresponding diminution of official privileges. There is not the smallest necessity, to attribute unworthy motives to officials for resisting attempts to abridge their powers. No one voluntarily resigns, without an effort, privileges to which he has become accustomed, or advantages which he looks forward to enjoy; furthermore, many officers may conscientiously think that the stability of the Government in India is linked to the privileges they wish to retain. The opposition of officials can, therefore, easily be understood; and will be rightly estimated as the natural disinclination of men to the surrender of existing advantages.

Beyond officials, four or five Indian gentlemen represent Native opposition to the Congress; and they may be working energetically in their endeavour to collect around them the non-progressive elements of Indian society. Their success, up to the present time, has not been very encouraging; and there can be no doubt that if the Government were to smile upon the Congress their opposition to it would immediately melt into thin air. It is the worthy desire to do service for a Government under which they have personally so greatly prospered which induces the gentlemen to be valiant against its critics. It is, however, sufficient to remind them that the comforts for which they are so thankful were obtained by concessions to the intelligent classes in India similar in character to those of which the Congress now desires the extension. It is the hope of the Congress that a cautious extension of opportunities, and a prudent enlargement of privileges, will enable thousands of Indians to take a more patriotic and intelligent interest in the policy of the British Government, and to enable that policy to be more thoroughly and efficiently carried out.

A striking confirmation of this forecast has been furnished by the readiness with which Munshi Newal Kishore, C. I. E., Chowdhri Nasrat Ali Khan Bahadur, and Nawab Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan,—three of the most prominent anti-Congressists,—joined in signing and presenting a congratulatory address to Lord Lansdowne (on April 4), because he had inaugurated his “adminis-

* It is fair however, to point out that until the Indian Government has declared itself, prudent officials withhold their private opinions.

tration with two most important reforms in the Supreme Council, as to the necessity of which the whole country was unanimous." These two reforms refer to the Budget, and the right of Interpellation. The *Pioneer* newspaper, also, which has been hitherto most uncompromising in its attitude towards the Congress, has welcomed the two concessions already made, and has even written in favour of a cautious introduction of the representative principle into Indian Government. Equally eloquent with the foregoing significant fact is the sudden silence which has fallen on the so-called "Mohammadan" opposition. Instead of opposition, we may fairly anticipate an eagerness to join the Congress ranks as soon as the statement recently made by Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons becomes generally known in India. His official announcement was that "what has been found fault with, both by Lord Dufferin and other officials in India—notably by Sir Auckland Colvin—was *not the Congress*, but the action of *some* of the people by whom the Congress was supported, the language of *some* of the newspapers which professed to write in the interests of the Congress, and the character of *some* of the pamphlets in India under the sanction of *some* of those who took part in the Congress." The most devoted friends of the Congress have themselves already openly condemned the injudiciousness of some of their supporters, who have allowed enthusiasm to outstrip judgment; and will still endeavour, in good faith, to remove all just grounds for objection, even of the extremely attenuated kind as that described by the Under Secretary of State for India.

I have not attempted to controvert the details of Mr. Smith's allegations. To do so would be merely trifling with a great subject. There is, however, one thing to be mentioned in connection with the Congress to which he seems to give no heed, and that is, the possibility of suppressing the Congress. The "touch of Russia's sterner hand," for which Mr. Smith sighs, might not prove very easy of application, and, thank God! it will never be tried. The rulers of India have before them the utter impossibility of suppressing the hopes and ambitions which the Government, and all its officers, have been, for half a century laboring to plant in Indian bosoms. To the universally acknowledged credit of our English officers, these efforts have been, to a great extent, rewarded with success. The *vis inertia* of Indian life has been overcome, and Indians are now themselves anxious to pursue the paths of intellectual, social, moral, and political progress which their large-hearted rulers have urged them to traverse. The avalanche has been set in motion, and nothing now can stop its course. One thing, and one thing only, can be done; and that is to give direction to the moving mass. If the English Government will continue in the same honourable place which it has so long occupied, at the head of India's advancement; if it will still continue to lead the thought and develop the patriotism of India; it will find educated and progressive Indians ever

ready to follow its leadership, to support its authority, and to repay in grateful deeds the debt of favours which will bind them; and all their compatriots, with ever-increasing firmness, to the Constitution and the Throne of England.

—NATIONAL REVIEW.

Mr. Robert Brown on the Indian Financial Statement, 1889-90.

It is a perennial complaint both in and out of Parliament that the Indian Budget is not overtaken till the session is on the eve of expiry, and that Indian matters generally get scant attention from the House; to which complaint Sir J. E. Gorst, last August, was able to give the unchallenged retort that he doubted if honourable members had even then read some important Returns which had, that very session, been printed and put into their hands. India is still being pushed aside, and it may quicken interest in the subject generally if some details of the Budget are looked at from the non-professional standpoint of the public.

RAILWAY ACCOUNT-COOKING.

In the Financial Statement 1889-90, recently put into the hands of all M. P.'s and procurable by any one who cares to expend fifteen pence, paragraph 14 says that in the Revised Estimate for the current year, 1888-89, an item called "gain by exchange" has turned out Rx. 536,800 more than was anticipated a year ago, the total amount being Rx. 951,600. This is explained to be

"The net gain accruing to Government in consequence of certain remittance transactions being carried out by it, under contract or as concessions, at a rate of exchange different from the average obtained by the Secretary of State by the sale of bills and telegraphic transfers on India. These occur chiefly in connection with the contracts with guaranteed and subsidised Railways.....Transactions are carried out at contract rates, which are more favourable than the market rates, and a gain is made in this way, which increases as the market rate falls below the contract rate."

It seems to have occurred to the Indian Government that this explanation required some further explanation and accordingly inequisitive M. P.'s and the public are referred, in paragraph 3, to a footnote, showing how a similar entry last year was explained in the House by Sir J. E. Gorst. It runs as follows:—

"I mentioned just now a sum of Rx. 300,000 which I said the Government had gained by exchange transactions. I must just explain how that arises. The Committee are no doubt aware that the Government have contracts with certain railway companies—the Southern Mahratta, the Indian Midland, and the Bengal-Nagpur—by which the Government undertake to transmit to India the capital of the companies subscribed in London, which is required for expenditure in India, at a certain fixed rate of exchange. In the case of the Southern Mahratta money is remitted by contract at 12 rupees per £1 sterling, in the case of the Indian Midland at 12½ rupees per £1 sterling, and in the case of the Bengal-Nagpur at 13 rupees per £1 sterling. The Committee will see that when exchange comes down below the rate named in the contract the Government gain by the transaction. For instance, at the present time the £1 sterling is nearly equivalent to 15 rupees in India, whereas the Government would only have to pay the Southern Mahratta Railway 12 rupees. So long as the rupee is lower than the exchange rate of the contract there is a gain, and that gain makes up the sum of Rx. 300,000."

Now what does all this mean ? It would serve no good end to enquire to what extent the Government Accountant is bewildered by his own mystifications, but in plain English the whole is neither more nor less than a cocking of the accounts. Rx. 300,000 gain by exchange ! After the endless jeremiads we are accustomed to hear on the fearful loss by exchange, it would be refreshing to believe that sometimes a gain can be effected by the same mysterious exchange which has so long figured ominously in the Indian accounts. *It simply means that the Government have borrowed that sum ostensibly for the purpose of railway construction, and have applied it to something else.* Sir John did not state the exact amount borrowed on account of those railways, but apparently it was somewhere about £2,000,000. In remitting this to India he got about 15 rupees for every £, but he told the railway companies that he would give them only 13, 12½, and 12 rupees respectively, all which they were to enter in their books as the full equivalents of the sterling money borrowed in their names.

The following table shows the extent, till March, 1889, to which the accounts of those three railways have been thus tempered with :—

Names of Railway.	Sterling Money raised.	Actual Ex-change. Average 1886-89.	So-called Contract Rates of Ex-change.	Actually received by Govern-ment.	Paid or to be paid to Railway Cos.	Balance Mis-appropriated.
Southern Mahratta, ... Do. on account of Mysore Railway, }	5,830,957 1,224,000	£ 4; Rs. 14 1.5d per	Rs. 12 per £ 17·931d. per Rs.	Rx. 8,279,959 1,738,080	Rx. 6,997,148 1,638,280	Rx. 1,282,811 99,800
Indian Midland, ... Bengal Nagpur, ...	7,054,957 5,172,929 4,502,736	Rs. 14 1.5d per	12½ per £ 13 per £	10,018,039 7,345,559 6,393,885	8,635,428 6,146,161 5,853,557	1,382,611 N79,398 540,328
	16,730,622			23,757,483	20,955,146	2,802,337

Columns 2 and 4 may be fractionally inaccurate, as the figures for each year are not given separately in the official statement.

The total sterling amount raised ostensibly for the construction and equipment of the lines is thus £16,730,622, which has been handed over to the Companies at what are euphemistically called the "contract rates of exchange"—mostly 12, 12½, and 13 rupees per £ and aggregating Rx. 20,955,146. But the Secretary of State, in exchanging his £s. for Rs. has got from the buyers of his bills Rx. 23,757,483, the difference—Rx. 2,802,337—having mysteriously stuck somewhere. What has become of it ? Oh say the Govern-

ment glibly, that is our "gain by exchange," our commission as financing agents of those companies. Rather a handsome commission (from 8 p. c. to 15 p. c.) to be earned by a philanthropic agent who kindly relieves the companies of the trouble of raising their own capital, and rather a heavy price to be paid by the companies for this little financing obligation !

Is your sympathy ready to overflow, innocent reader, towards the unfortunate shareholders of those companies ? Wait a minute. The railway companies do not need to care one straw whether the Government give them 15 or 5 rupees per £, as the guaranteed interest is calculated on the *full sterling amount*. Moreover, if there is a loss made in working the lines the Government bear it to the full extent of the guarantee, and if a profit is earned beyond the guaranteed interest Government and the companies, divide it between them, so that, as regards the companies, it is a case of "Heads, I win ; tails you lose." To put the matter in other words, the Government's night hand makes a gain out of its left hand by retaining in its right Rx. 2,802,337, which it told the public and parliament it was going to give its left for railway construction, and it expends this so-called gain on its general civil administration or pours it into the insatiable maw of the military department,

Q U E R Y.

Has the same principle been followed with the other Railways and with the Irrigation works ? If so, to what extent are their capital accounts vitiated ?

PURCHASE OF OUDH AND ROHILCUND RAILWAY.

Paragraph 92 briefly refers to this transaction, and discreetly avoids too minute details. It is, however, a fine illustration of the way in which the guaranteed company system has "developed the resources" of India.

This line, from its opening till last year, had involved the Government in a total loss of Rx. 2,323,287 for deficiency of guaranteed interest, and yet they bought up its share capital of £4,000,000 at a premium of £25 18s. 0½d. per cent being the average price at which the stock has stood in the market for the previous three years ! That price, however, had no connection with the railway's traffic earnings, but depended entirely upon the Government's own guarantee. The market price would have been the same although the traffic receipts has been nil.

RAILWAY BOOKKEEPING.

The Railway Report 1887-88, [along with a great deal of miscellaneous interesting information, makes the gratifying announcement that the total net earnings of all the lines, including the much-maligned military ones, yielded an average return of £5 2s. 5d. per cent. on the capital cost; yet, strange to say, with nothing to pay off this but interest ranging from 3½ per cent. to 5 per cent. there was a net deficit on the year's working of Rx. 1,995,900 with a pro-

specific loss of Rx. 1,95,600 on the current year. How this can, he would be an interesting problem for one of H. M.'s school inspectors to prescribe to the VI. standard boys. Of course, the railway accountant shakes his head and mutters " Exchange, exchange, that upsets all my calculations." But why not acknowledge frankly that " facts are chisel that winna ding" ? On the Government's own showing what they call exchange is a factor which cannot be ignored. If a merchant buys goods for £100, and sells them for £105 2s. 5d., he makes a profit of £5 2s. 5d. per cent, but, if he gets payment in a bill worth only 13s. 4d. per £, what good does it do to boast of his profit? Yet this is precisely what the Indian Government does, and when sanction is wanted for a new line, the magnificent bait of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, is dangled before Parliament and unhesitatingly swallowed; the loss being judiciously kept in the background, and no mention made of the fact that on one side of the account the rupee stands for 2s., while on the other, it represents only 1s. 4d.

MODES OF BORROWING.

Scarcely less important than the *act* of borrowing is the *mode* of borrowing. Waiving the question whether the purposes for which the Indian Government propose to borrow money during the incoming year may, or may not, be justifiable or expedient, it is important to consider the mode, or rather modes, in which they propose to meet their financial needs. Paragraph 95 says that certain sums required for railway purposes, amounting to £3,750,000 plus certain additional sums not specified,

" Will be raised by the Secretary of State by a sterling loan."

Paragraph 113 says:—

" It is estimated that a loan of Rx. 2,500,000 will be required during the year, but no pledge can be given either as to the amount of the loan, or the time when it will be issued or the conditions which will attach to it."

Now, for our present purpose it is not necessary to go into the vexed question of exchange and the relative advantage or disadvantage of preferring gold borrowing to silver borrowing or *vice versa*. Last year's experience showed that a gold loan can be got for about 3 per cent while a silver one will cost about 4 per cent. The truth is that the latter is a useless throwing away of 1 per cent, or Rx. 25,000 per annum on this single transaction. But for the present waiving that opinion, will the Government explain why they propose simultaneously adopting both methods? The purposes for which the money is wanted cannot affect the arithmetical element of the case, and it is equally clear that both methods cannot claim to be best. If a silver loan at 4 per cent, is considered safest in the long run, why not thus raise all monies required, and, if it is best to take the lower gold rate of 3 per cent, with its (supposed) prospective risks, then why not stick to that method? If the above view is correct there will be a heavy annual loss on the silver portion, and if it is wrong there

is a possibility on a much heavier loss being incurred on the larger gold loan:—

For a very clear exposition of the folly of silver borrowing, see the speech of the Hon. R. Steel, Member of the Council of the Governor General of India, reported in Appendix to the Financial Statement, pages 91, 92,

POST OFFICE, TELEGRAPH, AND MINT.

In paragraph 47, Government naively remark that the figures just given

"Do not profess to be a strict profit and loss account of the working of the Departments concerned. They represent merely the difference between the net revenue and expenditure as recorded in the accounts and estimates, but they are sufficient for the purpose of indicating the financial progress of the Departments."

The said figures are comparisons of the estimated balances of 1888-89 and 1889-90, and the said financial progress means not a profit, but an expected diminishing loss on the first two Departments and a slightly increased profit on the third. The figures for 1887-88 (the latest actually ascertained) are—

Revenue Rx.	Expenditure Rx.	Loss Rx.	Gain, Rx.
Post Office, 1,214,196	1,375,201	161,005	
Telegraph, 763,886	786,627	22,741	
Mint, 251,464	94,001		157,463

POST OFFICE.—Why this Department cannot be made to stand upon its own legs is incomprehensible, even though the total letters sent through the office only give an average of about one per annum for each inhabitant of India. Bad as the result is, it would be worse were our home system followed of carrying official matter free, the scanty Indian receipts being swollen to the extent of Rx. 181,105 by contributions from other Governmental Departments. Still worse would the result appear were the Department debited with its share of an entirely separate account—"Buildings and Roads." Where the blame lies would probably appear were a return furnished, showing for each office throughout the country—

- (1) Detailed cost of upkeep.
- (2) Number of letters, newspapers, &c., received and delivered.
- (3) Particulars of other work performed by the staff—such as telegraph, money order, &c., &c.

TELEGRAPH.—In this department capital and revenue accounts are not kept separate, but it would be interesting to compare the Indo-European section with those private joint-stock concerns—the Eastern Telegraph Company and the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company—both of which pay handsome dividends.

A Return similar to that suggested above for the Post Office would probably show where the loss is incurred.

MINT.—This Department may well show a profit, with her silver coming in at two-thirds of the nominal value at which the coins are issued; but before concluding that even this profit is real, it would be necessary to know.

- (1) What weights of gold, silver, and copper were brought in, and at what prices.
- (2) (a) Weights and (b) total nominal values of old coins melted.
- (3) Loss in weight of each metal by recoinage.

After all, if these accounts are admittedly "not strict profit and loss statements" what is the use of them? For what other purpose is a balance-sheet drawn up, and how are we to know to what extent the strict truth has been deviated from?

FURTHER LEAKAGE.

Heavily as mercantile burdens and civil administrative incapacity weigh upon India, there yet remains a heavier load. Paragraph 75 says:—

"It would be rash to assume that we are able to foresee the end of all special military expenditure. In such matters there is no finality; new dangers may arise in involving further preparations and additional expenditure; but the original programme of military defence is approaching completion, and there is at least some prospect of a material alleviation of existing burdens within the next few years."

Precisely so! but, as Lord Beaconsfield used to say, it is always the unforeseen which does happen, and Paragraph 10 says that

"IF the financial position has been again affected injuriously by various influences there has also been unforeseen expenditure, estimated at Rx. 387,500 on military expeditions—the Black Mountain, the Sikkim, and the Lushai."

The horizon is hardly ever clear of man's hand clouds, and little heed is paid to them until they have overspread the sky. Some insult is thrown at the British flag, and an insolent tribe has to be punished at a cost of a million or two, "the financial position again being affected injuriously."

GROWING DEBT AND POSSIBLE BANKRUPTCY.

The abstracts of India's annual budgets show alternating surpluses and deficits, but they officially acknowledge an aggregate balance on the wrong side. If, in addition to admitted deficits, the debit balance is surreptitiously swollen by cooked accounts, it becomes pretty nearly a question of arithmetic how soon the *possible* may become the *actual* national bankruptcy. Official optimism may conceal the true state of matters for a time, and such statements as that submitted to Parliament last year may be accepted by credulous M.P.'s who will not take the trouble of examining for themselves, *viz.*,

"The liabilities of India not covered by valuable assets are 236,565,000 and Rx. 2,057,000."

But what are the "valuable" assets referred to? They are mainly railways and irrigation works which have never in any one year yielded a profit over all. And further query—What is the value of an asset which does not clear its working expenses, or which at the best yields a surplus upon working expenses insufficient to pay interest on capital? For the year 1887-88 the accounts show—

	Rx.
Interest on ordinary debt, <i>i.e.</i> , exclusive of that charged against	
(so-called) productive works ...	... ... ... 5,054,762
Loss on Railways, ... ... ...	... 2,122,386
Loss on Irrigation Works, ... ... ...	... 747,372
	<hr/> 7,924,520

Great Britain can borrow at 2½ per cent., but say 3 per cent., the rate which till recently she was paying, and this interest represents a capital sum of Rx. 264,150,666, or at exchange 1s. 4d.—£176,100,444—equal to about one-fourth part of the debt burden of Britain.

▲ SILVER LING.

Paragraph 71 says :—

"Among the more encouraging features in Indian finance is the elasticity of the ordinary revenue. It is true that we have not many new sources of revenue open to us, but the receipts from existing sources grow with satisfactory rapidity."

The general impression in the public mind is that the Indian rulers, unlike our Home Government, have been required to make bricks without straw; to meet continually growing demands with a singularly inelastic revenue. Such certainly has been at times the burden of their complaint, but now that their own Finance Minister tells a different tale, it is all the more incumbent on them to show cause why the Departments mentioned in this paper make such a sorry appearance.

The Queen-Empress's Promises : how they are broken.MR. DIGBY'S LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BRIGHT HON. SIRS, MY LORDS, AND SIRS,

The terrible events in India in 1857 did not pass away without at least one good result following therefrom. In the following year, on assuming the direct government of India, her Most Gracious Majesty issued a Proclamation to her Indian subjects, in which she said :—

"We hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part."

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. WE SHALL RESPECT THE RIGHTS, DIGNITY, AND HONOUR OF NATIVE PRINCES AS OUR OWN, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government."

It is not possible to exaggerate the satisfactions and pleasure which these words gave all over India ; to Princes and to people in Indian-ruled States and to men of all classes in the British Provinces the promise was regarded as a great boon. Although themselves contented to live under directly British rule,

the inhabitants of the British Provinces of India look upon the Native-Indian States with high regard and a large measure of affection. Their existence satisfies certain aspirations which it would not be well for the Government to let die. Hindus and Mahomedans cherish sentiments of nationality which find expression in the existence of the Native States, and which cause them to look to those Indian States with a feeling akin to reverence. The existence of those States preserves self-respect among many millions. Everything connected with them is regarded with an intensity of feeling to which nothing occurring in the British Provinces has any relation.

When, a few years ago, Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India decreed the restoration of the State of Mysore to Hindu rule, his lordship gave full proof that her Majesty's words were not idle, eloquent verbiage, intended to please the ear but not to satisfy the understanding ; he, at the same time, did more to establish British supremacy in India than if he had added forty thousand soldiers to the Imperial forces. The Memorandum on Thirty Year's Administration, recently presented to Parliament by the India Office, in Para. 55, takes, as it well may do, special credit for the Government having acted upon the principles enunciated in her Majesty's Proclamation. But, it must be said, these principles have only been partially acted upon, and, at the present moment, are wholly ignored.

Unfortunately, the events of 1857 and of the preceding years have become obscured in the minds of Indian statesmen, and the spirit of Lord Salisbury's righteous act is now unknown. Sensibly, or unsensibly, a spirit is being engendered by the Government of India which in its exhibition, is treating the Native-Indian States as Lord Dalhousie treated them, even going so far as, practically, to annex territory, without, however, possessing the manly courage to avow the policy carried out, or to call it by its right name. Even where this is not done a course almost equally bad is followed, with results most disastrous to the finances of the States interested, and lamentable in its effect upon the loyalty of the Indian people every where. Proofs in support of these remarks will, very shortly, be supplied. Some of the incidents will be within the recollection of hon. members as having occupied their attention during the present Session.

There is good reason for believing that the course which is now being pursued is not only unjust and mischievous in itself, causing great distress of mind to, and inducing fear and alarm in the minds of Princes of undoubted loyalty, who are in Treaty relationship with her Majesty,—it is much more than that. It is dangerous to the prosperity of our rule of India and is certain to be fruitful of harmful results. A second Mutiny may not be anticipated. That, probably, is not possible. But what is only second to an armed insurrection already exists, and will grow more and more serious. The Queen-Empress,

at this moment is ruling a loyal, but also a dissatisfied and greatly-alarmed, people. The dissatisfaction and alarm arise wholly from the course pursued towards the Native-Indian States, and the fear that soon the whole Map of India will be coloured red, and that nowhere will a State remain in existence to proclaim that the people of India possess some capacity for self-rule and are not wholly dependent upon a foreign, though generally just, rule. Nowhere is there a desire to upset British domination. But there is an intense yearning, amounting almost to fanatic feeling, that British actual rule shall go no farther, and that the Queen-Empress's noble words of thirty-one years ago shall not be falsified.

The members of the House of Commons are before all others, interested in this question. In their hands has all authority in India been vested. To them alone can prince and people in the last resort turn for redress. In regard to Mysore the appeal was not made in vain. May it, not alone for individual satisfaction, but much more for justice sake, prove that, in respect to the grievances and the States I bring to your notice, the appeal is, also, not in vain.

In the following pages I begin with incidents of less importance and lead up to those of greater concern, finishing with one which is marked, so far as the papers already published are concerned with special injustice.

I take my stand on the gracious words of the Queen's Proclamation, and will proceed to show that actions in direct contravention to her Majesty's plighted word have remained unredressed by any action of the Government of India or of the India Office, direct appeal to you becoming, therefore, necessary, and intervention by you being imperative if the British name for justice in India is to be maintained.

As will be seen later on, I am not critical only: I endeavour, while indicating the evil, to point out a remedy, the adequacy of which I trust may commend itself to your notice.

I.—The Unjust Harsh, and, oftentimes, Cruel, Treatment of Sovereign Rulers of Treaty-protected States.

(1) GWALIOR.

The State of Gwalior is situated in Central India, has an area of 29,046 square miles, and a population of 3,115,857 persons, inhabiting 10,846 villages and towns, and 520,630 houses. It is one of the most important of the Indian States, cultivates largely all manner of food-stuffs and articles for export, its principle growth for export being opium. The revenue is estimated at £1,200,000, including £783,890 derived from the land, and £147,020 from Customs; the remainder consists of tributes for feudatories, and jagir and local taxes. The administration is highly developed, being under the control of a Prime Minister, who is assisted by a Council. The present ruler is a minor, his father, well-known in recent Indian history, having died three years ago,

during Sir Lepel Griffin's Political Agentship in Central India, whence arose circumstances some of which will now be described.

In regard to this State, the following incidents have happened in the House of Commons during the present Session. On March 26th Mr. Bradlaugh asked the Under Secretary of State for India

Whether he is aware that during the period Sir Lepel Griffin was agent to the Governor-General for the Central Indian States, the civil establishment in the State of Gwalior was greatly enlarged, and the salaries of certain officers increased, in one case from 100 rupees per month to 1,200 rupees, in another from 400 to 2,000 rupees, and in a third from 500 to 1,500 rupees ; and whether these instances are samples of a great number of like character ?

Whether prior to the appointment of Sir Lepel Griffin as agent in Central India, and before his interference in the affairs of Gwalior, the annual revenue of that State was one crore and ten lakhs, and the expenditure ninety-nine lakhs, showing an annual surplus of eleven lakhs ?

Whether at the present time, although the revenue has been increased by eleven lakhs, being the interest on three and a half crores of the late ruler's savings invested after his death in Indian Government Stock, there is an annual deficit of seven lakhs, the revenue being one crore and twenty-one lakhs, and the expenditure one crore and twenty-eight lakhs ; and

Whether the Secretary of State will make enquiries as to the circumstances under which such a disastrous state of things has occurred, and will lay on the table the result of such enquiries ?

To this series of important questions, Sir John Gorst returned the surprising answer : " *The official information in the possession of the Secretary of State does not contradict the facts suggested in the question ; but the Secretary of State does not perceive in them any evidence of maladministration, and he sees no reason to suggest to the Government of India any interference with the present Council of Regency in the Gwalior State.*"

Upon this Mr. Bradlaugh asked : " Would not the augmentation for no officially known reason of Mohamed Kasim's salary from 100 rupees per month to 1,200 rupees per month be a matter suggestive to the Secretary of State ? "

Sir J. Gorst replied : " If a particular case is taken there should be notice."

There the matter, for the time being, ended.

Three weeks later a further question was asked to this effect : " Whether the Under Secretary of State is aware that Mr. Henvey, the agent of the Governor-General, on March 5th met the Maharaja of Gwalior, and, in deference to the wishes of His Highness, and of the Council of Regency, arranged that a number of the highly-paid foreign officials referred to should leave Gwalior ; and whether he will lay on the table of this House any correspondence, report, or memoranda, relating to the interview between Mr. Henvey and the Maharaja ? "

Sir John Gorst said that the Secretary of State had received no information from the Government of India on the subject of the question.

These answers, and the callous indifference they evince towards the best interests of a State in which the Government stand in the position of a Guardian, have caused much comment in India, and have distinctly lessened the prestige which surrounds our administration. The Secretary of State actually admits that an annual surplus of eleven lakhs (Rs. 11,00,000) has been turned into an annual deficit of seven lakhs (Rs. 7,00,000), "but the Secretary of State . . . sees no reason to suggest to the Government of India any interference with the present Council of Regency in the Gwalior State." Well may a correspondent of an English journal published in Calcutta say of the incident, "It is simply monstrous that the affair should have terminated as it seems to have done." Nor is it surprising that it should further be said, "Taking warning from the case of Gwalior, the other native Courts should, if they wish to avoid Gwalior's fate, urge Mr. Bradlaugh not to drop this matter until the party really responsible for the scandalous state of things disclosed by him shall have been brought to book."

(2) RAMPUR.

Rampur is a State in Rohilkund, and is under the political superintendence of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. Area: 945 square miles; Population in 1881, 541,914. It has been so well-governed that in nine years, ending 1881, it was able to show an increase of population, amounting to 34,910. The Government by whom its affairs are superintended had a decrease in sixteen out of forty-nine districts, and a merely fractional increase in some others. As subsequent criticism will show it does not appear that the superintendence in Rampur of the Government of the North-Western Provinces is marked by much wisdom or thoughtfulness. The total income of the State in 1880-81 was £158,657; the expenditure in the same years was £59,057 for civil administration, £35,218 for public works, £26,693 for troops and police, and £15,562 for the personal expenses of the ruler and his family. My object in mentioning these details will appear immediately.

The circumstances whereby the affairs of this little State were brought under the notice of the House, are not calculated to increase one's confidence in the knowledge with which Indian affairs are represented in Parliament.

Early in April, the Under Secretary of State for India was asked whether appointments in Native States' where the parties appointed are not natives of the respective States, are reported by the Agents of the Viceroy to the Government of India? Whether in the State of Rampur an English engineer has been appointed to supervise the buildings of the Nawab of Rampur at a cost of Rs. 1,800 per month, with a regular establishment? Whether the like work had been previously performed by an Indian engineer on Rs. 10 a month, and a

clerk on Rs. 10? Whether such appointment has been approved, and on what grounds?

Sir John Gorst said that "such appointments were not usually reported, and the Secretary of State was therefore unable to answer."

Mr. Bradlaugh: "Does 'usually' mean that such appointments are sometimes reported?"

Sir John Gorst: "No."

There are two points of extreme importance in this matter, which may be taken separately, the first being the grievance alleged to exist, the other the practice in regard to appointments in Native States. The grievance may first be noted. It is asserted in public prints in India, and believed by the Indian people, that a European engineer has been appointed at a salary of Rs. 21,600 per annum, with an adequate establishment, to take the place of an Indian on Rs. 100 per month and a clerk on Rs. 10. The statement may be true or it may be an exaggeration. It is to be assumed that the hon. member who put the question believed it to be true, but wished that, if true, its truth should be officially confirmed; if false, that it should be contradicted. What does the Under Secretary of State do in face of a subject of such grave importance? He treats the subject matter of the question as if it were of no importance, and merely answers a point as to procedure. A slight comparison will show the relative importance of the fact mentioned. The Nawab of Rampur, with his family, receives annually Rs. 156,562: of this one favoured English official is paid more than one-seventh of the amount of the ruler's allowances! This is as if Mr. Plunket, the Commissioner of Works in London, received as salary one-seventh of the allowances annually made to the Royal Family, or £100,000! Yet, this is a matter Sir John Gorst and the India Office consider may be ignored. It is too trivial for their consideration. The salary alleged to be paid is even more surprising when it is borne in mind, as stated in "Hunter's Gazetteer of India" (latest edition), that the Budget appropriation in Rampur for public works in 1880-81 was Rs. 352,180. It is not likely that the appropriations on this head can have been largely increased.

Even more important than the disproportionate money payment, however, from a political point of view, is Sir John Gorst's statement that such appointments are not usually reported to the Government of India. When pressed as to whether "usually" meant that such appointments were sometimes reported, he curtly replied, "No". A more amazing answer to a plain question than this was, probably, never given. As a matter of fact no European can be appointed to any office in any Indian State without the previous sanction of the Government of India. Sir John Gorst was evidently unaware of the Treaty stipulations to this effect, probably having been misled by his own

experience in Hyderabad in 1884, when the Government of India does not appear to have insisted upon being informed beforehand as to his services to the late Peshkar. The reply under notice was of so serious a character that, soon after, Mr. Bradlaugh asked the Under Secy. of State whether Secy. of state for India is aware that by Article 6 of Treaty XLII, 1st Sept. 1798, made with the Nizam of Hyderabad, it is agreed ".....nor shall any European whatever be admitted in to the service of this State, nor be permitted to remain within its territories, without the knowledge and consent of the Company's Government;" and whether he is aware that by treaties made with the ruler of Herat, 1839, with the Maharaja Holkar in 1880 and 1818, with the Raja of Sikkim in 1817, and in other treaties, a similar engagement is entered into with twenty-three other States or Princes; whether, in view of these treaty arrangements, and that all appointments of Europeans in native Indian States are (or should be) reported to the Government of India, he will direct that the provisions of the treaties shall be observed and that such an incident as the appointment in the Rampur State of a European on a salary of Rs. 1200 per month, with a large establishment, to do work hitherto done by an Indian official on Rs. 100 per month, with slight clerical assistance, may be brought under the cognizance of the Government; and whether he will direct that a special inquiry be made into the Rampur appointment.

Sir J. Gorst, ignoring the effect this question had upon his previous reply, said: "The Secretary of State is aware of the provisions of the treaties with the native princes providing that no European shall enter the employment, or remain in the territory, of a native State, without the permission of the British Government, and he has no reason to suppose that they are overlooked by the Government of India. He does not see the necessity for a special inquiry into the Rampur appointment."

It is clear, however if Sir John Gorst's answer given in April was correct, the Government of India does overlook the provisions of the Treaties in question. As a matter of fact, the Government does not ignore the appointments made in Native States, and, if the Rampur appointment has been made, they are parties to it, so far as consenting to the appointment after it was made, is concerned. Equally, does it appear to be a matter of fact that the Under Secretary of State for India, when he first answered the question, was unaware of this fundamental provision of an Indian Treaty. For, there is not a treaty existing between the Government of India and an Indian State which does not contain a clause somewhat to the effect of Article 7 of the Kashmir Treaty, which is as follows: "Maharajah Golab Singh engages never to take or to retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government."

[Unfortunately, such want of knowledge as is here displayed is too frequently exhibited. During this present month a question was asked regarding the confiscation of certain property belonging to Hindu temples in Benares. The India Office knew nothing about the case, and did not care, to get any, Sir John Gorst coolly stated that there were law courts in India where any lawful claim might have been made. It was not, evidently, known to any one at the India Office that it was not possible for the trustee of the property referred to to prefer his claim in court, seeing that, when the seizure complained of took place, the Indian authorities carried away from the temples all books, papers, receipts, securities, and other documentary evidence. In its letter dated 19th May, 1888 (No. 1046, Home Department, Public), the Government of India admitted it had "old records" in its possession. The production of these records would settle the matter in dispute. It may be added that the Trustee so contumeliously treated, was thus spoken of by Mr. F. O. Mayne, of the Indian Service, in a letter dated Banda, 4th February, 1859 : "He discharged his duty both towards the British Government, and towards his master most faithfully, at the risk of his life, and in frank and open loyalty to Government. It was he who saved the life of Mr. Cockrel, Joint Magistrate of Kirwe." He refused any reward or recognition of his services, and when he appeals to the Secretary of State in Parliament is put off with a paltry remark founded on ignorance of all the circumstances of the case. It may be taken for granted that the Government will, ere long, hear a great deal more of a matter it endeavoured so cavalierly to set aside.]

(3) BHOPAL.

Bhopal is a State in Central India, with a population of about one million three-fourths of whom are Hindus. Revenue £400,000. Bhopal, since 1844, has been ruled by females, and has been one of the best-administered States in the Empire. Of the late Begum, who ruled till 1868, the *Gazetteer of India* says: "She made a name for herself by faithful services to the Government of India during the Mutiny, and by the ability she displayed in the management of her State. It proceeds: She was succeeded by the present ruler, Shah Jehan Begum, who is no unworthy successor, and is distinguished by the same loyalty to the British Crown." How cruelly this unfortunate lady whose loyalty and ability are thus officially set forth, was treated by Sir Lepel Griffin, during a series of years, will be shown immediately. Meanwhile the official testimony may be resumed. "Her first husband died in 1867, leaving her one daughter, Sultan Jehan Begum. After her husband's death, Shah Jehan following in the footsteps of her mother, threw aside the restrictions of the *purdah*, conducted business with vigour, and was always accessible. In recognition of her high administrative qualities and her loyalty, she received in 1872 the honour of the Grand Cross of the Star of India. In 1871 she contracted a second

marriage with Moulvi Muhammed Sideek Hussain, and has resumed the retirement which the *purdha* imposes, but continues to conduct personally the business Departments of the State." Bhopal pays the Government of India two lakhs (say £20,000) annually, in lieu of maintaining a contingent of 600 horse and 400 infantry. Within the past few weeks her Highness has offered to place at the disposal of the supreme authorities, at her own cost, a force for frontier defence.

This is the lady-monarch whom Sir Lepel Griffin insulted, harrassed, and cruelly treated in the respects now to be mentioned, as well as others.

The grievances under which her Highness has suffered at the hands of Sir Lepel Griffin occupied the attention of the House just a year ago. The junior member for Northampton asked whether the Secretary of State for India is aware of the grave dissatisfaction which is felt in India, particularly among the native population, in consequence of the proceedings of Sir Lepel Griffin, late Governor-General's Agent to the Central Indian Feudatory States, while in charge of the Central Indian Agency, especially in respect to the State of Bhopal ; whether he is aware that the female ruler of that State is alleged to have been subjected by Sir Lepel Griffin to serious indignities, as follows :—

Abusing the Nawab Consort in a public Durbar in the Begum's palace and in the Begum's presence :

Requesting the appointment of a Secret Agent, whose existence was not to be made known to the Viceroy or the Agent's (Sir Lepel Griffin's) subordinates:

Making private visits to the Begum's daughter against the Begum's vehement protests, and at a time when the Agent was aware of domestic disagreement between the Begum and her daughter:

Compelling the Begum to pay the debt of a certain person, and to make certain contributions against her Highness's expressed objections :*

Compelling the Begum to dismiss two faithful old servants of the State, and to deport them from Bhopal:

Violating Act 9 of the Treaty securing the Begum in her rights, interfering with the internal affairs of the State, and compelling her Highness, out of the State Treasury, to reimburse a Turkish trader 6,851 Rupees for goods alleged by him to have been stolen from him:

Compelling the separation of the Begum from her husband for eight months, that is, until Lord Dufferin intervened :†

* This payment (made on urgent solicitations contained in two letters and three telegrams from Sir Lepel Griffin) was for a Roman Catholic Church and priests, the Begum being a Muhammadan, and these people having no special claim upon her. Sir Lepel admitted he was not himself a Christian, but was solicitous these Christians should be supported by a Muhammadan and out of the taxes of a non-Christian State !

† Upon this incident *Native Opinion* (Bombay) remarked : ' If there be a jot of truth in the above story then it is a case of forced divorce. But to obtain divorce either parties to the marriage must seek it. But neither of them had apparently even a distant motive for the same ; on the contrary, both of them wished to live together while the political department decreed their separation. What heinous offence had the poor, disconsolate Begum committed that she should have been decreed to live separate from her husband ? Really facts are stronger than fictions. Who would ever believe that the rights which a common cooee is allowed to enjoy under the British rule would be denied to a princess, who is, as historical facts prove, the staunchest supporter of the British rule in India. Is this not a case for the abolition of all our political agencies which in a large number of cases parade the king-maker and make their conduct to the chiefs offensive in a variety of ways ? '

And, refusing to transmit to the Governor-General, kharitas, setting forth her Highness's grievances and her defence, addressed by the Begum to Lord Dufferin:

Whether the Secretary of State has seen certain letters alleged to have been written by Sir Lepel Griffin to the Begum from May 1881 to May 1886:

Whether, it is true that Sir Lepel Griffin has been appointed Resident at the Court of Her Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad : and

Whether, considering the dissatisfaction which has been caused by the proceedings of Sir Lepel Griffin in his relations with Native States, the Secretary of State will take any action in the matter?

To this comprehensive indictment, Sir James Fergusson, on behalf of Sir John Gorst, said :

"The Secretary of State is aware that dissatisfaction has been expressed by certain vernacular newspapers and pamphlets in India with regard to Sir Lepel Griffin's proceedings while in charge of the Central India Agency in respect to the Bhopal State, but no memorial, either from the Begum of Bhopal or any other person, complaining of Sir Lepel Griffin's proceeding has ever been received by the Secretary of State ; and he believes that the view the Government of India have taken of the charges so preferred through the Press is that they have no foundation in fact. With regard the specific indignities to which the Begum is alleged to have been subjected by Sir Lepel Griffin, the Secretary of State has no information except that the late administrative measures as conducted in Bhopal have met with the approval of the Government of India. As for certain letters alleged to have been written by Sir Lepel to the Begum, the Secretary of State has no official information. The selection of an officer for the post of Resident at Hyderabad is within the discretion of the Governor-General and no report of any selection has yet been made."

Mr. Bradlaugh : " The right hon. baronet says that the Secretary of State has no official information as to the letters of Sir Lepel Griffin. Has he any information, other than official, which he can communicate to the House ?"

Sir J. Fergusson : " No, sir."

Sir Lepel Griffin did not return to India ; his successor (Mr. Henvey, C.S.) is a man of greater tact and judgment than his predecessor, and her Highness is not now molested. But the great and serious grievances detailed above have never been redressed. There is not one of the grievances which is not capable of complete proof. Yet neither Parliament nor the Secretary of State has intervened to render justice to the royal lady, whose services as a ruler are deserving of all praise, and have been praised by Lords Northbrook, Lytton, Ripon, and Dufferin. I had prepared for insertion here a record of the many reforms and of the great host of good works her Highness has performed, displaying the care and thoughtfulness she has exhibited for her subjects since she sat upon the Throne ; but I forbear troubling you with mere details. This much must be said of them they stamp the Begum as a ruler of great capacity, and indicate that her subjects are fortunate in having her Highness as their ruler. It is to her Highness's lasting honour that she has allowed none of the things done to her by Sir Lepel Griffin to diminish by one iota her loyalty to the British raj and to the Queen-Empress, as witness her recent act in placing troops at the disposal of the Indian Government in connection with the North-West frontier defence.

The troubles suffered by this lady did not touch the heart and arouse the sympathies of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India, under whose notice they were specially brought. This is surprising. Sir John Gorst is, generally, most tender-hearted towards human suffering. When he was in Hyderabad in 1884, Sir John was much touched at three peasants having been condemned to stand for a certain number of hours—(Sir John says twenty-four; the official authority mentions no number)—outside a village Court-house, with heavy stones on their heads, because they had not paid their rent. "What is since become of them and their families, God only knows", remarked the sympathetic traveller in his *Fortnightly Review* narrative of what he had heard in the Nizam's Dominions. The separation of the Begum of Bhopal from her husband for eight months, the many indignities this royal lady had to endure, the frequent violation of Treaty provisions involved in nearly all that was done by the Agent to the Governor-General, moved him not.

(4) REWA.

Rewa is the principal State in Baghelkhand. Its area is 10,000 square miles. Population (1881) 1,305,124. Under the treaty of June 2nd, 1813, the British Government acknowledges Rewa to be an independent State, possessing all the rights of sovereignty, except that of having any relations with foreign States. Rewa pays no tribute to the British Government, never paid any tribute to the Mussulman Emperors, and, though an ancient State, has always been able to maintain its independence. The friendship between Rewa and the British Government has been scrupulously maintained on both sides. When the mutiny broke out, the late Maharajah, husband of the ladies whose disgraceful treatment has yet to be recorded, did signal service to the British Government, by employing a large number of his troops against the rebellious sepoys. For his loyal services large tracts of land were granted to him, and he was made a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India. He was also granted a *sanad* of adoption and a personal salute of nineteen guns. And, when, recently, the Rajah of Singrolee, a tributary of Rewa, sought the protection of the British Government, he was told that the British Government had no right to interfere in matters between the Maharajah of Rewa and his tributarists.

"The late Maharajah had occasion to take a loan of ten lakhs from the British Government, which he was naturally very anxious to liquidate at the earliest opportunity. With that view he entered into an agreement with the British Government in 1875. In that agreement it was settled that the State should remain under British Government, so long as the debt required to be liquidated. After this agreement was entered into, the late Maharajah and the then Political Agent, Major Bannerman, sat together to settle the revenue and expenditure of the State. It was found that the revenue at that time

amounted to ten lakhs, and the expenditure to six lakhs, inclusive of the household expenses of the Maharajah, leaving a net profit of four lakhs per annum. This agreement was ratified by the Government of India, through its Agent in Central India, General Sir Henry Daly. Major Bannerman, acting in co-operation with the late Maharajah, and the Maharajah adhering strictly to the agreement, the debt was soon paid off, and a reserve fund of thirteen lakhs, was obtained." The late Maharajah, thereupon, was contemplating the resumption of the State, when he was suddenly taken ill in 1880 and died. He was succeeded by his son, a minor, during whose minority the State is under the management of the Political Agent and Superintendent of Rewa, who is assisted by a Council of ten Sardars, members of the ruling family (*Hunter's Gazetteer of India*). The remainder of the story had better be told in the words of the Chandelin Maharani herself, in a memorial she has sent to Lord Lansdowne. Her Highness says :—

" It need hardly be said that the blow stunned us, and we are grateful to the officers of the British Government for the paternal care they took to protect the interests of the State at a time when we were incapacitated by the bereavement to take charge of public affairs. And it is evidently from a feeling of chivalry and high-mindedness that Major Berkeley sent to us a vernacular letter, the purport of which is as follows ;—

" 5th February 1880.

" Your Highnesses need not be anxious on any account. All your rights, jageers, and dignity of position will be scrupulously maintained."

" Indeed, the kind manner in which we were treated by Major Berkeley enabled us to lead a quiet and peaceful life, at a moment when the bereavement had paralysed us. We were under the impression that it was from pure friendship for our husband, the late Maharajah, that the British Government kept control of the State in its own hand, and that it would be returned to us on our making it known that we were in a condition to take charge of the control of affairs.

" This belief received a rude shock when Major Barr came to succeed Major Berkeley. He was appointed as chief administrator, but, in eight months he succeeded in raising his salary from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 1,800, through the help of Sir Lepel Griffin. He was appointed as chief administrator, but with the increase of his own pay, his title was changed to that of Superintendent. For six years, the Rewa State had been governed by British officers first by Major Bannerman, then by Major Berkeley, and several others who had officiated for him, but all were satisfied with the pay of Rs. 1,200 per month. But Sir Lepel Griffin raised it Rs. 1,800 when Major Barr had served only for seven months, without giving us any intimation whatever. Major Barr, now feeling himself secure under the protection of Sir Lepel Griffin committed a series of acts, which, we fully believe, Your Excellency will not approve. Let us mention a few here as briefly as possible.

" The Jageerdaar of Singrolee proved contumacious, and his Jageer was confiscated by our husband, the late Maharajah. Instead of suing for pardon he defied the Maharajah, and sought the protection of the British Government. The British Government plainly told the Jageerdaar that it had no right to interfere with the internal affairs to the Rewa State. On the death of the Maharajah, the Jageerdaar tried unsuccessfully with Major Berkeley to regain the possession of the Jageer. But Major Barr took him by the hand, and with the co-operation of Sir Lepel Griffin had the Jageer restored to him. Indeed, it will be seen as we proceed,

that the policy of Sir Lepel Griffin and that of Major Barr was always to encourage the enemies of the Raj, and that of the Raj family.

"When we came to know of this, we saw great danger to the interests to the minor Prince, and one of us, Maharanee Chandaiaj, wrote to Major Barr to say that the Jageerdar had proved treacherous and contumacious, and the Maharajah had, on that ground, confiscated his Jageer; and that the Major had therefore no right to restore it to him. And, in reply we were curtly told that he (Major Barr) was supreme in Rewa and we had no business to interfere. Just at this moment, another scene was enacted, which as a matter of course, created consternation and indignation, not only in Rewa but all over India. The palace of Rana-watji Maharancee, another wife of our husband, the daughter of His Highness the Maharaja of Odeypore, the most ancient and respected house in India, was surrounded, under the order of Major Barr and Sir Lepel Greffin, by the Sepoys of Rewa. She was thus kept confined in her own palace for twenty-two days. There were *perdesis* (strangers) among soldiers who applied foul epithets to the Maharancee. The spectacle was however extremely curious, the spectacle of the chief Maharancee being confined in her own palace, with the help of the soldiers of her husband, by the British officers, the protectors of his State and family. Never was a defenceless woman, a sovereign Princess, so insulted by those who had been entrusted by her confiding husband with her protection.

"It was also at this that Major Barr proposed a most serious mischief to the State. He arranged to enter into an agreement with an English Company to make over the coal fields of Rewa to them for a period of ninety-nine years.

"We were now firmly convinced that British officers had taken possession of our State, and that we were to be treated as nonentities. We found that the British officers had no intention of giving back the State which our confiding husband had placed in the hands of the British Government. The arrangement made for the administration of the State was made without our knowledge, and when we wanted to express our views, we were snubbed. We have already informed your Excellency that the British Government made a solemn engagement with the late Maharajah never to exceed the sum of six lakhs as expenditure, inclusive of the household expenses of His Highness. But this engagement was set at naught, and the expenditure was increased from six to twelve lakhs and more. That is to say, the expenditure was doubled in the course of a few years.

"But, though powerless to stop the evil, we could not yet remain quiet, and we wrote to Colonel Bannerman, the then Agent to the Governor General, about this matter. In his reply dated 22nd August, 1883, he wrote to us that though the expenditure had been increased, there was still a surplus of a lakh per annum. In this letter the Colonel virtually admitted that the engagement had been broken, though he did not choose to refer to it. If Colonel Bannerman was correct in his statement that a surplus of a lakh per annum had been secured there would have been a large surplus in the treasury. But it would appear that not only was the engagement ruthlessly broken, but there was no surplus at all secured for a reserve fund. The engagement entered into in 1875 with the Maharajah was that the expenditure should not exceed six lakhs (Rs. 6,00,000) per annum. The following table, taken from official reports, will shew how it increased year after year :—

Year.						Expenditure.
1878-79	...	...	...	...	...	Rs. 839,476
1882-83	...	...	...	...	...	1,186,884
1883-84	...	...	...	...	...	1,396,588
1884-85	...	...	...	...	...	1,355,324
1885-86	...	...	...	...	...	1,276,614
1886-87	...	...	...	...	...	1,156,624

"An Engineering Department was organized, and here is a statement which will give an idea of the disbursements under this head :—

Year.	Revenues. • Re.	Disbursements in Engineering.
1883-84	... ... 11,09,143,	... ... 4,90,754
1884-85	... ... 11,64,728,	... ... 3,94,514
1885-86	... ... 11,98,595,	... ... 3,07,554

"It would thus appear that almost one-third of the revenues was spent on public works during the years 1882 to 1885, most of these being unproductive. In the matter of engineering expenses, Rewa has also distanced the British Government. In British Government, however, the works done are useful, and money is expended under proper safe-guards. But in Rewa it is hard to find the utility of the works done, or how the twelve lakhs referred to above were disposed of. Indeed, if the wealthy British Government had spent one-third of its revenues on Public Works, that would have been no justification for British officers in charge of the Rewa State to adopt the same course in a poor and backward Native State.

"One of the pleas advanced to import foreigners is ignorance of the people of the State of the Persian and English languages. It is however an extraordinary step to import English and Persian knowing foreigners for the purpose of organising an English and Persian *seriktha* in a country where English and Persian are unknown.

"Then we have to refer to other disagreeable matters. Officers have been appointed who are relations of their superiors, or who have been dismissed or pensioned off by the British Government. But the most extraordinary thing is to encourage people who are opposed to the State or the Raj family, and discourage and punish those who show any sympathy for them. It was in this matter that young and able-bodied soldiers of Rewa were pensioned off, and incapacitated and pensioned soldiers of British Government put in their place. In the above list will be found the name of Hazra Singh, a foreigner, who insulted one of us (Chandalin Maharane), and for this valiant deed his pay was increased from Rs. 60 to Rs. 250.

"Thus, the resources of the State are being frittered away by British officers under alleged British supervision. If the engagement with the late Maharajah had been kept, there would have been a very large surplus in the treasury. If the statement of Colonel Bannerman were correct, still there would have been a respectable reserve fund for the State. But there is no longer a pice on behalf of the State in the bank or the treasury. Deposits have been withdrawn and gold mohurs sold at a nominal price; and such is the miserable condition to which the finance of the State was reduced, that the railway compound of the Sutna station which fetched Rs. 900 to the State, was sold at a price of Rs. 10,000. It was cash only that Major Barr wanted that he might spend it the next moment.

* * * * * * * *

This memorial needs no addition from my pen. Could but her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India see the manner in which this royal lady is treated, and could you, my lords and gentlemen, realise, even for a moment, what the incidents herein referred to mean to the Indian people, even though it be in the dying days of a Session that these facts are placed in your hands, I am satisfied Parliament would not be prorogued until justice was done. Alas! India is a long way off, Rewa is but a name, the Chandalin Maharane merely a shadow, and her moans too faint to be apprehended by ears filled with the din of British political strife.

So deeply moved, it may be added, were the people of Rewa at the manner in which the Maharani has been treated and at the way in which her sufferings were ignored when Lord Dufferin visited the State that a meeting was soon after held. Much indignation was expressed, and it was contemplated that a deputation should be sent to this country to represent the state of things and to ask for inquiry, especially as to the treatment and position of the Maharani. There was no sedition in their minds. They felt that the mother of their Rajah had been unjustly treated, and all they asked for was the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry which should not be wholly of an official character. Like so many others they are looking to the House of Commons for redress. Shall they look in vain?

(5). KASHMIR

Kashmir was under Afghan sway until 1819, when it was conquered by the Sikhs. From that time it was ruled by a governor appointed by the Maharaja of the Panjab, until the Sikh War in 1845. Gulab Singh, who had begun life as a horseman under the Maharaja Runjit Singh, but by distinguished conduct had raised himself to independent command, was presented with the principality of Jamma, whence, nominally on behalf of the Lahore State, he soon extended his authority over his Rajput neighbours, and eventually into Ladakh and Balkistan. In the revolution which preceded the outbreak of the Sikh War, he was elected Minister of the Khassa, and he took an important part in the negotiations which followed the battle of Sobraon. The results were, that he was enabled to secure his power by a separate treaty with the English at Armitsar, in March, 1846, by which, on payment of 75 lakhs of rupees, or £750,000, he was confirmed in possession of the territory he held as feudatory of the Sikhs, and also obtained the Province of Kashmir. By treaty he bound himself to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, to refer all disputes with neighbouring States to its arbitration, to assist British troops when required, and never to take or retain in his service any British subject, or the subject of any European or American State, except with the consent of the British Government. The Maharaja sent a contingent of troops and artillery to co-operate with the British forces against Dehli during the Mutiny of 1857. Gulab Singh died in August, 1857, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, G.C.S.I., who is by caste a Dogra Rajput, and was born about 1832. The Maharaja of Kashmir is entitled to a personal salute of twenty-one guns, and has received a *sanad* giving adoptive rights. On the occasion of the Dehli Durbar, in January, 1877, he was gazetted a General in the British Army and created a Councillor of the Empress. Maharaja Ranbir Singh died in 1885, and was succeeded by his son, Pratap Singh, at whose Court a British Resident will be stationed. Thus far Sir William Hunter's description of the State in the *Gazetteer of*

India. • The appointment of the Resident was looked upon as an act of pure violence. Act I. of the Treaty by which Kashmir was assigned, under the circumstances described, states that "The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly and mountainous country," ect., ect. It is true the consent of the Maharaja was obtained to what was virtually an amendment of the Treaty, but the consent was given because the Maharaja, thoroughly devoted to the British raj, and loyal to his suzerain, was anxious in all practicable ways to rule in harmony with the Government of India. His Highness soon had occasion to regret his complaisance. Mr. Plowden, the Resident at Kashmir, was accustomed to treat Maharaja Pertab Singh with extreme rudeness. This, it is asserted, Lord Dufferin saw with his own eyes, and his Lordship therefore removed him and appointed Colonel Nisbet, the late Commissioner of Pindi, in his place.

* * * * *

Rightly or wrongly, it has been felt in Kashmir for some years past, that the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian community have been impressed with the importance of Kashmir to the safety of India, on account of its being a road to India which Russia might find useful, besides being desirable otherwise on account of its salubrity of climate and fertility of soil. During the reign of the late Maharaja certain Anglo-Indian newspapers were continually writing of the mis-Government of the country, declaring that that mis-Government established the need for British intervention. The gravest charges of neglect, and even of dreadful cruelty, were brought against Maharaja. On one occasion it was declared that His Highness, in order to be saved the expence of feeding his people during a time of great scarcity, actually drowned them by boat's load at a time in the Rinagar Lake. The Maharaja declined to sit quietly under this calumny, and at his request a Mixed Commission was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the truth of the story. The Commission found there was no truth in the hideous statement, the people who were said to be drowned, were discovered to be living. Other calumnies of a like kind were circulated and all, on examination by the British Resident, were found to be false. The late Maharaja was a man of strong will and resolution, and was able to defend himself and his country from the wretched charges brought against him. For a time the land had peace.

The present Maharaja, unfortunately, has not the strength of character and indomitable will of his predecessor. He is an exceedingly kind-hearted and goodnatured man, fond of work, never sparing himself, and is greatly solicitous for the welfare of his subjects. All who are brought into contact with him speedily learn to love him. Before he came to power the Maharaja had a private secretary, who persuaded his master, in unguarded moments, to

sign certain blank papers on which it was pretended trivial but urgent orders would be written. These papers have been so used as to form an excuse for such part of the present troubles as relate to the production of certain forged letters—an unsuccessful excuse, as will appear. The man's rascality was discovered, charges of forgery were proved against him, and he was banished from the State. From adjoining British Territory the signed papers were, by the man in question, made a means for extorting blackmail; this failing some of the papers were sent to Sir O. St. John, then stationed in Kashmir, who forwarded them to the Government of India, by whom they were treated as so much waste paper. Other documents were given to Mr. Flowden, at that time Resident, who showed them to the Maharaja and sent them to Calcutta. Yet others of a compromising character—all, be it remembered, alleged to have been prepared before His Highness came to the throne—fell into the hands of the Resident, who informed His Highness of his possession of them. The Maharaja declared them to be forgeries, and asked to be allowed to see them. He was refused a sight of the documents the Resident saying; "As you deny all knowledge of them, there is no use in your seeing them." At this time a proposal was made to the Maharaja that he should hand over the government of his country to his Council, which was composed of his two brothers and two members of the British Service sent to Kashmir by the Government of India for five years. Under great pressure, and after carefully reserving to himself certain supreme powers, His Highness weakly consented. In the letter he himself wrote to Lord Lansdowne, and which is given later on, he declares he wrote it "under many pressures." Those who know the pressure which a Resident can exert upon the Raj of the Court to which he is assigned may understand the awkward position in which Pratap Singh found himself. Under like circumstances a Nizam of Hyderabad retires to his zenana and neglects public business altogether.

With the incriminating papers in his hands and with the arrangement agreed to by the Maharaja, the Resident (Colonel Parry Nisbet) started for Calcutta. Simultaneously with the Resident's departure that portion of the Anglo-Indian press anxious for the incorporation of Kashmir in British India—evidently specially informed of one side of the case only—severely attacked the Maharaja, talked of his "sedition," called him "a miserable specimen of humanity who, having been caught red-handed, has offered to abdicate." It was suggested that he should be deported to Calcutta as a State prisoner, the State annexed, and so on. When all the facts were laid before Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues they saw at once the worthlessness of charges, and it was authoritatively declared that the Government of India "attached no importance to the Kashmir papers." His Highness was acquitted of the foul charges brought against him.

Now it will be supposed the matter would have dropped and things allowed to remain in *statu quo*. No importance being attached to the papers there was nothing more for the Government of India to do. Not so, however, thought the Foreign Office at Calcutta. Soon afterwards a letter was received from the Government of India by the Resident, in which it was stated that the Government of India had come to the conclusion that for a time (not specified) the administration of the State should be carried on by a Council consisting of His Highness's two brothers and three other persons, to be appointed by the Government of India. This Council was to work under the orders of the Resident and His Highness the Maharaja was to be wholly set aside. His Highness might continue to enjoy the honours and dignities of the Chief of the State, but he was not in any way to take part in governing his country, and, especially, he was to have no control over the finances of the country, his civil list being placed (virtually) in the hands of the Resident. A certain sum was to be allowed him monthly—enough for comfort, but not, as it was said, for extravagance. This proposal differs greatly from that made under great pressure by the Maharaja, who, in complying with the suggestion, a suggestion acquiesced in by him with a desire to show his loyalty and complete *bona fides*, he reserved to himself all supreme powers, including control over his civil list, and fixed a period when this tutelage should end.

It is against the high-handed treatment I have described that the Maharaja protested, declaring he would rather die than submit to it. Lord Lansdowne doubtless was touched by the manner as well as the matter of the appeal. It is a misfortune His Excellency did not avail himself of the opportunity afforded to restore the Maharaja to power, with adequate guarantees, if he considered guarantees necessary.

While in India, last year, I had special opportunities of ascertaining the real character of the Maharaja and of his rule. I am compelled, in justice to Pratap Singh, to say, that he has ruled his dominions with much kindness and good sense; he has been animated by staunch loyalty to the British dominion, highly appreciating British overrule and its many merits, sincerely anxious to further the objects of the Government of India so far as these were compatible with the maintenance of native sovereign rights guaranteed by the Queen to all Indian Princes in 1858. No mis-government has been proved against His Highness; according to my information none exists. It is true mis-government has been alleged and many hard things said of the Maharaja. What these may be, what His Highness's alleged iniquities are, no one, either in India or in England, has yet stated. The people of Kashmir are lightly taxed, justice is dispensed with even-handedness by honest and thoroughly capable trained judges—barristers in some cases having been raised to the Bench; public works are flourishing everywhere; the people are contented and happy: in

every direction there are signs of a desire to keep Kashmir in line with the most advanced provinces in the Empire.

This, Sirs, is a plain unvarnished narrative of the incidents which have led to the despairing cry of the Maharaja of Kashmir, which I have, regretfully, to lay before you. Will not Parliament do justice to a feudatory of the Queen's great Indian Empire? All the Princes of India are interested in the fate of the unhappy Maharaja of Kashmir. They are in a most unfortunate position. The Calcutta Foreign Office, in its dealings with them, is a alike Prosecutor and Judge. Nay, it is Executioner likewise. Unless Parliament intervenes on their behalf, there is no help for them. They cannot themselves take any steps to secure redress of grievances under which they suffer. Such action on their part would be counted rank rebellion. Among all the problems of the British Empire needing solution there is none more serious than that which has to do with the position of the Native Princes of India and their relation to the Paramount Power. This incident in Kashmir is but symptomatic of what is felt in every Indian State. There is not a really happy Prince or Begum in all India, not one who is wholly trustful in the good intentions of the Government of India. I pray, in the interests of the Empire, that Parliament will do its duty in this particular instance—will call for all the records concerning Kashmir and not cease its efforts until it has established a tribunal to which all the Queen's feudatory Princes in India can appeal should occasion for dissatisfaction arise. It is a scandal to our rule of India that such a letter as that given above could possibly be written to Her Majesty's representative in India by one of the Empress's feudatories. Her Majesty's gracious interest in all that relates to India is proverbial. Would that she could become acquainted with these facts!

The letter referred to in the last paragraph of the foregoing narrative has been heard of in England already. The Simla correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed the paragraph with which it concludes: much sensation was caused by its publication in this land. The letter, it may be added, was in the Maharaja's own hand-writing, he being versed in English, and able to speak and write our language with ability. The letter runs thus:—

Kashmir (Srinagar). Dated the 14th May, 1889.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, SIMLA.
MY LORD,

It is after great suffering and distress; and undergoing greatest contempt and taunt at the hands of my inferiors that I have with fear decided to send this special message to your Excellency per bearer. Necessity and feeling of loyalty have obliged me to seek advice from your Lordship and take shelter under the fatherly care of your Excellency. As advised by my late lamented father from my very childhood, my heart is full of loyalty to the Paramount Power, and I am always ready to do all that can be desired by the blessed Government. Your Excellency is authorised to consider me as one of your most faithful and humble servants. When my late father always considered it an honour to serve the Government loyally and

faithfully, I should and I do consider it greater honour still to follow his example. All my dominions, my treasury, even my life and blood, are at the disposal of the British Government and our Mother-Sovereign, H. I. M. the Queen-Empress.

I know very well that I have been extremely misrepresented before the Government of India through sources which had a show of reliability; but this, alas! I have come to know too late, when my internal enemies who are envious of my position have succeeded to drive me to a very mean and pitiable position, and I implore your Excellency to release and save me from it, taking my destitute position in consideration.

The recent allegations brought against me about secret correspondence with Russia, conspiracy with Dhulip Singh, attempt to poison the British Resident, and lots of other stupid stories, did not affect my mind in the least, for I was under the impression that some special officer will be deputed by your Excellency's Government to inquire fully into the charges, and thus I shall get the best opportunity of disclosing everything fully, and, through this source, be able to bring all facts to the notice of your Excellency, and have my secret enemies brought to book through Your Excellency's kind sympathy. But, to my greatest pleasure, no notice was taken of these false letters, and all other stupid stories were taken as nonsense by the Supreme Power. After this was over, the following communication was sent by Colonel R. P. Nisbet, Resident in Kashmir, to Raja Amar Singh, Prime Minister:—

"No. 11 C of 1889.

"From Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, C. I. E., The Resident in Kashmir,

"To Raja Amar Singh, Prime Minister, Kashmir.

"Dated 17th April, 1889.

"Sir,—With reference to your No. 150, dated 8th March, 1889, I beg to inform you that the letter with its enclosure was laid before His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, who, after full consideration of affairs in the Kashmir State for a long time past, has ordered me to inform His Highness the Maharaja that for a time at least he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as Chief of the State, but full powers of Government will be vested in a Council consisting of the Maharaja's brothers and three or four officials selected by Government of India. It is not thought desirable that one of these officials should be an Englishman. Besides retaining his rank and dignity the Maharaja will receive from the revenues of the State an annual sum sufficient to maintain his household in due comfort and to defray any expenditure that may rightly devolve upon him; but he will have no power of alienating the State revenues, and the sum placed at his disposal, though adequate, will not be extravagantly large.

"2. His Highness the Maharaja, and the members of the Council should thoroughly understand that although the Council will have full powers of administration they will be expected to exercise these powers under the guidance of the British Resident. They will take no step of importance without consulting him, and they will follow his advice whenever it may be offered.

"3. Such are the orders of the Government of India, and on my own part I beg you will assure His Highness that it will be my endeavor to assist in carrying them out in the way, I trust, that may be most conducive to the happiness and benefit of His Highness and the State.

"I remain yours truly,

"(Sd.) R. PARRY NISBET, in Kashmir."

And now your Excellency can judge what my position at present is and how much I am slighted in the Durbar, my enemies staring with pride and triumph into my eyes very often and, showing me all possible contempt.

Now I have no other option left than to disclose fully my mind to your Excellency and relate all bare facts without any reserve :—

My chief enemy, and in the present circumstances enemy of the State, who has taken a fancy to become the ruler of Kashmir and envies my position since a long time is, I am sorry to say, my own youngest brother, Raja Amar Singh. It is now that I have found him out in his true colours and all doubts as to his ill-motive have been removed. Since the very day I succeeded to the throne he caused to set afloat all sorts of rumours against me—about my incapacity, insanity, etc., etc.; many a time he was directly caught in conspiring against me. He encouraged, peculiarly and otherwise, people connected with the Press with the only object of their writing against my person vilifying me and causing to circulate the worst rumours against me. Having convenient access to European visitors, etc., and the Residents (to which I never objected having no suspicion regarding his doings) he filled their ears as often as possible with such black stories about me directly and indirectly; thinking very well that his doing so will indirectly set the Government of India against me and he will be proclaimed ruler of Jammu and Kashmir territories, in that case. To almost every Resident, and especially to Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, he appeared to be the most reliable and intimately connected informant, and all should have believed in what he said; I have every reason to believe that all rumours which reached the Government against must have been through this and this source alone.

Being disgusted with his, this unworthy, conduct, and having ample proofs to silence him in his face I twice resolved to order him to remove himself to his *Jajir* and have nothing to do in the capital. On both these occasions, being informed of my resolution against him, he entered my room, where was none except him and myself shedding childish tears, throwing his turban upon my feet, imploring for mercy, promising all good will and hearty loyalty for the future and asking for pardon as my dear son and humblest slave. After all he was my youngest brother, very dear to me his lovely young face is still liked by me, and on both of these occasions my blood was naturally warm for him, and I was completely moved by his entreaties and pardoned him after all. To prove to him that my heart was quite in sympathy with him and I truly loved him as my dear son, I, at his request, bestowed upon him the rich *Jajir* of *Bhaderwah* instead of comparatively poor one, *Bisot*—which he had got during the time of my father—and also made him my Prime Minister later on. But, as was known afterwards, he was never slow in conspiring against me. Regaining my confidence twice and knowing that I was quite confident and entirely at ease from his side, he possessed redoubled power and influence in the State, which is natural; and every State-Official was made to look upon him as my powerful assistant and adviser. All these advantages he brought in force against me for the gain of his one sole subject in view above-mentioned, and he was able enough to create a strong party of his own, among my officials against me, giving them all hopes of future success and prosperity in case they remained faithful only to him and joined with him in overthrowing me and mine. This promise he has fulfilled now in promoting those who joined him, and degrading those my sincerely faithful servants who stood faithful to me amidst all temptations,

Colonel R. P. Nisbet as soon as he was installed as British resident at my court I looked upon him as my safe friend and thought my difficulties were at an end, because I know him to be one of the sincere friends of my father and good supporter of myself. I must also confess that for some little time in beginning he was my sympathizer to some extent, and it is very difficult to say what made him entirely change his motives towards me and fall into the very clutches of the very same secret and powerful enemy of mine—Raja Amar Singh. This sudden change must be as astonishing to all others as it was to me, and it is the most difficult task to investigate fully into the cause of his sudden change of policy.

To overcome such difficulties as I was labouring under at the hands of powerful intriguers using all sorts of influence within and without, it was that asked for the loan of two well-experienced officers from the Government of India to act as my councillors; and I must express my deep and

heartfelt gratitude for the kindness with which the Government of India conceded to my request. But excellent men as these were, they also changed their former attitude as soon as the Resident changed his—and I believe they must have done so naturally—as they are more dependent upon the good-will of the Representative of the British Government, under whose employment they have spent almost all their life and whom they owe all they have got, than myself to whom they are only lent. So I was soon being made powerless.

At this juncture the brewing plot of the much-talked-of letters alleged to have been written by me was brought into force. Almost all the rumours about the source from which they are purported to have reached the Resident are false. Solely Raja Amar Singh was at the bottom of the whole thing. They are nothing but the most daring forgeries; and there was none more daring than my blood-relation, the Raja. I have every reason to thank heartily your Excellency's Government for considering and treating them beneath notice, and this news when it reached Jammu it gave joy to all but to my brother (!) Raja Amar Singh and his party-fellows, as for instance, Sirdar Roop Singh, the present Governor of Kashmir, Dewan Jankipershad, his Secretary (ex-Governor), Wasir Shabsaran, and Dewan Shabsaran, and many others to whom it gave excessive pain. I am sure if the Government of India would have required witnesses, Raja Amar Singh had been the first to swear against me. He was even ready to accompany Colonel Nisbet to Calcutta to complete my disaster for ever. When he came to inform me of his intention to leave for Calcutta with the Resident, at his desire, I questioned him as to what opinion he expressed about the letters before the Resident. In reply he admitted to have said "only (?) that the etymological letters resemble these of the Maharaja's handwriting, but the signatures are not quite so." Being startled and heartily pained at this his reply I simply told him "All right, Rajaji, you can go to Calcutta if you like, but this was not expected from you. In your admitted deposition you have left nothing to destroy me." On the other day he, I believe with the consultation of the Resident, decided not to go, and told me, "As your Highness is not favourable to the proposal, I won't go now to displease your Highness" !!

With the information of these letters, and with the full confidence and strength of being supported by my own brother and his now strong party, Colonel R. P. Nisbet dashed into my room at a fixed time and brought such great and many-sided pressures in all solemnity and seriousness that I was obliged to write what was desired by him in order to relieve myself for the moment—having full faith that your Excellency's Government would never accept such a one-sided view of the case, and opportunity will be given to me of defending myself. I never admitted the genuineness of these letters, and even an ordinary sense can find out that I could never write such nonsense as the letters are purported to contain. Do I not know the dangers of the change of Governments? Do I not understand the value of a peaceful Government presiding over us all? Do I not know what security all the Native Princes are enjoying? Do I not understand that my dominions are most safe under the benign British Government? Then what on earth can induce me to correspond with Russia? Who is in Russia to read *Dogra vernacular*? Having been in possession of high honors and all regard from the British Government and having got everything from being loyal to it what more can I aspire to get from a Foreign power whose tyranny and despotism are well-known here? As to Dullig (God forbid!), if he ever happens to come here, who is in a more dangerous position to suffer from his wrath? That I would conspire with him is to hit the axe at the very root of my own existence. About the attempt to poison Mr. T. C. Plowden, I think Mr. Plowden himself must be the best witness. My administration in those days was vested in the Council composed of Dewan Lachman Dass, President; Raja Ram Singh, Military member; and Raja Amar Singh, member of all Civil Affairs; and let them all seriously say if they know anything about it. Raja Amar Singh, who was the chief adviser and general controller of all affairs, and under whose cunning guidance Dewan Lachman Dass used to act unknowingly, may support the charge,—I cannot say; but none other, not even one single soul in the whole

State, will ever stand as witness to this charge. Moreover, who is the fool in this world to commit such conspiracies to writing? Supposing there was such a foul conspiracy on my part, would not the whole thing have been managed orally? But I assure your Excellency with all sacredness that such an idea never occurred to me in dream even.

Although your Excellency's Government treated the letters as beneath notice, but my enemies have got the fullest advantage that they expected. They are now full conquerors over me, and trample me under their foot. What is my position now? Simply that of a dead body—even worse than that, for I am taunted every moment by some sort of disgrace and disregard or other. Those inferiors and traitors, who only yesterday showed me every respect and bowed down before me, pass me now with contemptuous smile; and I constantly bear the destruction and degradation of all these my faithful and old servants who stood by me. Of course, a dead body is unconscious of all these troubles, of which I am unfortunately not.

In his communication No. 11 C., dated 17th April (above quoted in full) to Raja Amar Singh, the Resident, says: "... His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, after full-consideration of the circumstances and the general condition of affairs in the Kashmir State for a long time past, has ordered me to inform H. H. the Maharaja that for a time at least he will be expected to refrain from all interference in the administration. He will retain his rank and dignity as chief of the State, etc., etc., etc." Now, to put it very plainly, I have never up to this time enjoyed complete independence of action in State affairs. Some sort of pressure or other has always been put upon me since my accession to the throne, and I have never been free to administer the State according to my internal satisfaction. Under such circumstances it has been very cruel indeed to hold me personally responsible for any maladministration, and punish me severely as a criminal. By the above order of your Excellency it is plain enough to understand that matters have been so represented as to prove that only my interference has brought about this state of affairs, for which the Government of India has been obliged to pass such strictures—whereas the case is quite the contrary. The man whose disloyal interference is the chief cause of all mismanagement, and who should have been severely punished, has got not only scot-free, but has been placed over my head, enjoying perfect satisfaction of having been successful in his wicked design. Had there been any loyal and faithful Prime Minister of mine than Raja Amar Singh he would have been expected to send in a suitable reply to the Resident's communication, and to save me from the deadly disgrace which I have been put to; but my brother, the present Prime Minister, quietly submitted to it, and was extremely satisfied to see me thus disgraced, as it was really his own hearty intention to see me so. What "rank and dignity," can I retain under such circumstances? My condition is worse than a deposed ruler, inasmuch as he is taken out to some other place where he does not witness the most insulting scenes. And as regards the stipend that I am allowed at the mercy of the Council or the Resident, such is given even to the treacherous enemies of the British who massacred their Regiments, and are now imprisoned or kept safe as political prisoners on the hill! Certainly, if the alleged letters had been proved genuine no worse fate would have befallen me. The present Council, not content with reducing me to such a state of distress, have now fallen upon all those who have been faithful to me. Not to go into full details, I only say that Pandit Mahanandju, Governor of Jammu; Pandit Zanakak, Assistant-Governor of Kashmir; Pandit Shevakak, Officer of the Timber Department; Dassanandhi Ram, an honest Chief Judge of Jammu; and Pandit Pearlal, Officer for deciding the old balance accounts; and many others, have all been dismissed, with exception of Dassanandhi Ram, with one stroke of pen, on one plea and pretence or other; but really

simply because they were sore in the eyes of Raja Amar Singh, and did not hear to his illegal recommendation and stood on my side. Their places are now being filled with such men who notorious for their show of contempt towards me.

If Your Excellency really wants to make me responsible for the administration of the State, (and I am very glad and ready to take such responsibility on my head) I would ask to be made a responsible ruler. In spite of what has been represented against me about my incapacity, etc., etc., I would ask Your Excellency to give me a fair trial in order to see what I do for the furtherance of the interests of the Supreme Government and prosperity of my State. From three to five years' time is quite sufficient for me to put everything into order from the date of holding from the responsibility, provided I am allowed full strength and independence to choose my own Councillors and Ministers, and the British Resident, instead of throwing obstacles in my way, like Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, supports and strengthens my hands. This just Resident should be chosen by the Government of India. I shall always be glad and ready to seek his advice and sympathy, but in all matters concerning the State, etc., the Resident will have to consult me solely.

For the present I would like to take Raja Ram Singh, Pundit Suraj Kaul, and Pundit Bhag Ram as my Councillors (and remove Raja Amar Singh to his *Jagir*), with full powers to add or diminish any one.

If after a fair trial being giving to me I do not set everything right, excepting the Settlement Department which is under the guidance of Mr. Lawrence, and which will not be settled within five years, and am found not to rule to the satisfaction of the Supreme Government and my people within the prescribed time. Your Excellency's Government is at liberty to do anything that may be considered advisable.

In case this liberty is not allowed to me by the supreme Government, and I have to remain in my present most miserable condition, I would most humbly ask Your Excellency to summon me before you (and I will be most happy to obey such summons) and shoot me through the heart with your hands, and thus at once relieve an unfortunate Prince from unbearable misery, contempt, and disgrace for ever.

With sincere respects and best compliments, and awaiting commands,

I remain,

Yours Excellency's most Obedient Servant and Faithful Friend,

(Sd.) PARTAB SINGH,
Maharajah of Kashmir.

This letter, it will be acknowledged, is one of great dignity and power. His Highness does not endeavour to shirk the situation in any way. He recognises events, and is prepared to act upon them, inasmuch as he proclaims his willingness to submit at the end of three or five years the results of his rule to the Viceroy, and to abide by any decision the Supreme Government may arrive at.

Is it too much, once more, to ask that the House, before the Session closes, will instruct the Secretary of State to lay all the papers connected with Kashmir upon the Table of the House, and, further, to consider, during the recess, whether the reasonable prayer of the Maharajah cannot be complied with? It is now perfectly clear that the letter which Colonel Nisbet took to Calcutta was misunderstood; the action taken upon it, now that the misunderstanding has been cleared up, should be set aside. The Maharajah himself has suggested

ed by his appeal for a probationary period of three or five years, a mode where by this can be done, without in any way infringing upon the dignity of the Government of India. The words of Her Majesty's Proclamation make such a course, in all honour and uprightness, necessary. "WE SHALL RESPECT THE RIGHTS, DIGNITY, AND HONOUR OF NATIVE PRINCES AS OUR OWN." All that is asked by the Maharajah or in his behalf is that the plighted word of the Queen's Majesty may be kept.

As an instance of the manner in which the action of the Government of India is regarded in Jammu, the following petition addressed to Mr. C. Bradlaugh, M.P., and received by him a few days ago, is of interest :—

"The humble petition of the following Dogras of Jammu.

"The Kashmir State is divided into two portions: one is *Kashmir* proper, inhabited by Brahmin Pandits, and the other is *Jammu*, inhabited by *Dogras*. These *Dogras* form the fighting portion of the State. The present Maharaja Partap Singh belongs to their caste, and is loved to devotion by them. He has been by a trickery deposed, and his *guddee* occupied by a few strangers, and these strangers are nothing but tools in the hand of the British Resident. The *Dogras* have never known Foreign domination, and the condition to which they have been just reduced has thrown them into great alarm and distress. At the moment the saying among the *Dogras* is that they would rather prefer to be plundered by their own Maharanja than to be rewarded with gold by the slavish Council. The *Dogras* have always fought for the British Government, and will ever fight for it to their last drop of blood. In India it is said that you are the friend of the people, and, therefore, the petitioners appeal to you for help and protection."

[Here follow signatures.]

II.—The Immediate Remedy.

I humbly submit that the immediate remedy for the existing state of things is for the House of Commons to call for the production of all papers relating to the various matters mentioned. Then, if it be found that the grievances are well founded, that a Select Committee of the House, or a Royal Commission, should be appointed, to inquire into the manner in which the Foreign Department of the Government of India has carried on its duties, and the way in which the Residency System of Feudatory Courts has worked, and to report upon the change which may be considered necessary alike in the interests of the Native Princes themselves and of the Empire at large.

I might not have conceived it to be my duty to state the grievances which I have selected from among many which are in my possession were it not that a remedy could at the same time be suggested. Under the constitution as it at present stands, and with merely a definition of duties by the Viceregal Legislative Council the existence of such grievances as form the burden of this communication may be rendered impossible.

In the succeeding pages I crave leave to lay before you, the members of the Honourable House which controls the destinies of India, and in whose hands is the fate of Princes, some suggestions for reform.

III.—Future Policy.

Britain's future policy towards Indian Princes is a question of the highest importance. To longer ignore it and to fail to provide for it, would be to play chuck-farthing with the Empire. Our Indian frontiers are practically co-terminalous with Russia on the North-West and with China and France on the South East. The possibilities involved in such a condition of things are almost infinite. This, at least, is necessary: we must be united and strong within the bounds of the Empire.

Our attitude towards the Indian Princes should be changed. They must, henceforth, I submit, be regarded in the light of associates, and invited to co-operate with the supreme authorities in the good and effectual government of the Empire. Allowing for necessary changes brought about by the altered circumstances of the case, the example of Germany towards the various States of Central Europe and their relationship towards the German Emperor should be followed. There is no need for a new organisation. Institutions which will suffice for all needs already exist.

On the 1st of January, 1877, on the historic Plain of Delhi, a COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE was called into existence. It was, probably, modelled after the similitude of the British Privy Council. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India, it was stated, "being desirous of seeking from time to time in matters of importance the council and advice of the Princes and Chiefs of India, and of thus associating them with the Paramount Power in a maner honourable to themselves and advantageous to the general interests of the Empire," nominated twenty Princes, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Members of the Viceroy's Council and others to be Councillors of the Empire. The Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Members of the Viceroy's Council were *ex-officio* members only. In that Council may be found the germ of a regenerated India, while England, in presence of it, may be satisfied that she is in reality acting in her Eastern realms worthily of her name and reputation, and in accordance with the wishes of the highest and best among her sons who have given the concerns of India their thought.

The Council of the Empire has, so far as appears on the face of things, remained what it was on the day of its creation, a paper Council and nothing more. Nobody has ever heard of its assemblies. Has anyone seen a notification to the effect that the successors to the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Members of the Viceroy's Council of 1877 have been nominated to the honourable office of Imperial Councillor? As a matter of fact it has never met. It was a word, and nothing more: spoken to the empty air, it has remained an emptiness. The creation of the Council was one good outcome of the Delhi Assemblage. Let the Council be really constituted, and let it receive a representative—either the reigning Prince or his Minister, the latter for choice—

from each Indian State, and, among its members let there be all the officials mentioned in the original document. The Council should have a regular session meeting for, say, a month or more in each year in some central locality, and to this body might be entrusted the consideration of the decisions concerning :—

- (1) All military affairs, including the strength of the Imperial Forces, the location of troops, etc.; (this, in view of the splendid loyalty recently exhibited by the Princes is necessary as well as politic, and would be a fitting recognition of splendid and unexampled loyalty);
- (2) Foreign Affairs, for discussion, not for decision: decision should be left with the Viceroy's Cabinet, in which there should be a moiety of Indians;
- (3) The Finances of the Empire;
- (4) On a presentation of Reports from all the States and Provinces of the Empire (the reports should be rigorously insisted upon from every State and Province, however small), consideration thereof, with open debate on merits and demerits of various modes of Government; and
- (5) Consideration and decision, with power of reference to the Privy Council in England if desired, or some body to be created, of all differences between the respective States and the Political Agents, such as have been referred to in the preceding pages.

The Queen-Empress has declared that it is her desire to associate the Princes and Chiefs of India with the Paramount Power "in a manner honourable to themselves and advantageous to the general interests of the Empire." In no way, probably, certainly in no way yet described, could this worthy object be so well achieved as by making the Council of the Empire a reality, by enlisting the co-operation of the Princes and Chiefs in the Empire's Government, and thereby binding up all their interests with the interests of the Paramount Power. In a word they themselves would become depositaries of that power and sharers in the exercise thereof. Half the sting to the people at large would be taken out of decrees to which the Representatives of India themselves were parties.

The work undertaken by the Council should be of a very select character. The Councillors should deal only with the broad aspects of imperial questions. No detail affecting any particular State or Province should be submitted or considered save under certain contingencies, for which special provision might be made.

I trust I may be forgiven for addressing you in this direct and personal form. The reasons which induced me to do so are stated in the foregoing

pages. I pray that these matters may be considered worthy of your most careful consideration, and that, by your instrumentality, justice may be done to the Princes of the States mentioned, to the peoples of those States, and the Empire made, as it may well be, inviolate.

I beg to remain, your obedient and humble servant,

Wm. DIGBY.

INDIAN POLITICAL AGENCY,

25 Craven Street, Charing Cross, London ;

July 31st, 1889.

Work of the Indian Political Agency.

Enquiries having been made by various Congress Standing Committees and by others as to the work done and being done by the Indian Political Agency, the following particulars are compiled for the purpose of supplying the information desired. Enquiry on any matters mentioned is invited, while it is desired that full use should be made of the Agency for political purposes by all who subscribe to its support.

Two classes of work on behalf of India are undertaken by the Agency. One relates to the Congress and the education of public opinion in England with respect to its demands, the reasonableness of those demands, and the desirability of their being granted. The other has to do with India as a whole: grievances from any part of the Empire and of whatever character are received, are carefully considered, and, where found advisable, either the India Office or Parliament is addressed, while in some circumstances grievances are brought before both.

In yet another way the Agency renders service to India. Its rooms are the recognised centre where information is sought by those wishful to serve the cause of the Indian people, and whence information is sent to all parts of the United Kingdom. To the Agency resort Members of Parliament, publicists, and others who are wishful for knowledge regarding India and Indian momevents, to be obtained only there. The *Gazette of India* and the *Gazettes* of subordinate Governments, all Blue Books relating to India, all the principal Indian and Anglo-Indian newspapers are filed: everything is made freely available for enquiry, and is largely made use of. One instance of the indirect way in which ample discussion of Indian subjects is served may be mentioned. The Agent, a few weeks ago, was able to induce Mr. J. Dacosta (who has made the subject his special study) to write a pamphlet on the advantages of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue, in view of the discussion at the Bombay Congress in December next, and to distribute, at his own cost, six thousand copies in India and in England.

I.—The Congress Work.

The Agent arranges for the reprinting and issue of 10,000 copies of the Congress Report for each year. Of last year's work in this respect, Mr. Hume, in his letter of August 8th, 1888, circulated to the Committees, said :—

" I print at the close of this letter (see annexure A) a copy of Mr. Digby's last report on the progress of that section of the Congress work that is being carried on in England. Everything has been done there in the best possible manner. When sending home the first copy of the report, I wrote a long letter to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, giving full and very detailed instructions as to the steps that were to be taken in England to press our Congress and its work on the attention of the British public. Mr. Dadabhai replied entirely concurring in my views, but explaining that occupied as he was in getting up English political questions, and in endeavouring to prepare an English constituency to accept him as their representative, it was impossible for him to carry out personally our wishes, and that, in consequence he had secured the services of Mr. Willam Digby, C. I. E., who would carry them out under his general supervision. This Mr. Digby has done in the most admirable manner, in a manner in fact that no man who had not been for years Secretary, and, one might almost say, *maker* of the National Liberal Club, and had not an exhaustive acquaintance with the personnel of the British Press, could possibly have done. He has been aided and seconded in this work by Mr. W. O. Bonnerjee, and latterly by Mr. Hardley Norton, and guided by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, but the great bulk of the work has fallen on Mr. Digby—he has devoted to it for many months not only his whole time but his whole vast experience and his whole heart. He has done a work for us that no one else could possibly have done better, and that no one, that I know of, could or would have done equally well, and our friends at home share with me the opinion that it is essential that we should, for some time at any rate, retain his services."

" Then having printed and posted our Report, etc., if any real good is to come of it, we must have an Agent to push it and press it. In England it is not sufficient to send a report about Indian matters to a paper. Unless you get a letter written, by some one who knows them, to either the editor or one of the sub-editors or principal contributors, urging and begging them, as a personal favour, to notice the Report, it just goes into the waste paper basket. This year I understand that Mr. Digby has written more than 100 such letters to friends connected with the Press, and it is to this that we owe in a great measure the very, very numerous notices of our report that have appeared in British and Irish newspapers. Any such Agent must have an office a place where all interested by or in the Report and work may at once resort for further information, or consultation *inter se*, where all Indian papers will be available, etc.—a centre whence an unintermitting stream of effort may flow, a *pied à terre* for all Indian candidates, etc., etc.

The reports are distributed among all the newspapers in the United Kingdom, are sent to Members of both Houses of Parliament, to various political associations, and to leading public men everywhere.

Much correspondence followed the circulation of the 1888 Report.

Meetings were held in various parts of England, all of which were arranged by the Agency, while Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., lectured once or twice a week throughout the winter months in England and Scotland, doing this purely of good-will, no cost being incurred by the Agency, save for hiring of hall and other out-of-pocket expenses.

Twelve thousand huge posters, calling attention to Indian grievances, were printed and placarded throughout the United Kingdom. They created much interest, and led to a good deal of correspondence.

Handbills also were printed in large numbers and distributed at Indian Reform meetings.

Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., having generously and heartily taken up the cause of India, and having agreed to act for the Indian people in the House of Commons, he was, in June and July, 1888, supplied with full particulars of all Indian grievances.

A Memorandum relating to defects in Indian administration and other matters, covering 22 pages of foolscap, was prepared for Members of Parliament and the press, and was largely circulated in England and India. In both countries it attracted a great deal of attention.

The Agent attended the Congress at Allahabad in December last, soon after his return, had interviews with the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P., Right Hon. J. Morley, M. P., and other leaders of the Liberal Party; with some prominent members of the Conservative party; and with several of the leading officials at the India Office.

In anticipation of a debate on April 18th, on a motion of which Mr. Bradlaugh had given notice, a report of all the speeches delivered at Allahabad was passed through the press and distributed; and with it, a Memorandum for the information of Members of Parliament, written by the Agent, and giving his impressions of the Congress movement, with other matter of interest.

The following publications have been issued from the Agency :—

- * "Report of the Indian National Congress, Madras, 1887";
- "Report of the Indian National Congress, Allahabad, 1888";
- "India: Suggested Appointment of a Royal Commission to Enquire into the Grievances of the People of India," 22 pp., foolscap;
- "Speech on the Congress, its Origin, Aims, and Objects," by ALLAN O. HUME, C. B.;
- "Audi Alteram Partem," being letters by SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN and MR. A. O. HUME;
- "An Open Letter to the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava," by HARDLEY NORTON;
- "Impressions of Two English Visitors to the Indian National Congress, 1888";
- "Indian Reform: Memorandum on the Congress and its Proposals, for Members of Parliament, 1889";
- "India: Two Letters to the Rt Hon. Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, on the Report of the Public Service Commission," 35 pp., foolscap;

The Agency has circulated and is circulating the following pamphlets :—

- "Notes on the Assessment and Collection of the land Revenue in India," by J. DACOSTA;
- "Indian Government Commercial Fallacies," by ROBERT BROWN;
- "Open letter to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, K. C. S. I.," by the son of an Old Follower of His;
- "Address on the Indian National Congress at Madras," by JOHN ADAM; and
- "Report of the Proceedings of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Calcutta October 25th to 27th, 1888."

Communications have been opened with a number of political organisations, such as the National Reform Union (with 500 branches), and their machinery placed at the service of the Agency for distributing literature and notices, arranging meetings, etc., at a mere out-of-pocket charge.

Many inquiries are made for Indian gentlemen to speak at political meetings, but, except occasionally by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (who is, otherwise, much occupied), and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, when he is in England, it has not been found possible to comply with these requests. This inability to send speakers is a matter of much regret, besides being a great loss to India.

II.—Indian Politics Generally.

Through the instrumentality of the Agency and on information furnished by it, questions have been asked (in all cases but two) by Mr. Bradlaugh, M. P., as follows :—

Calcutta Municipal Bill ;

Kirkwood Case ;

Sir Lepel Griffin and the Begum of Bhopal ;

Resolution of the Allahabad Congress, and the production of Lord Dufferin's Despatch on Council Reform ;

Injury done to property of British Indian subjects at Zanzibar by the Germans ;

Classification of Statutory Civilians in the Bengal Lists ;

Appointment, by Sir Lepel Griffin, of enormously increased salaries, of certain officials in Gwalior, and as to the condition of bankruptcy to which that State's finances have been reduced ;

Further particulars regarding Gwalior appointments ;

Appointment in Rampur State of a European on Rs. 1,800 per month to do work hitherto performed by an Indian on Rs. 100 per month ;

Alleged espionage by Col Henderson of National Congress leaders ;

Mr. H. D. Phillips' connection with the *Calcutta Review* ;

Captain Hearsey's treatment while in Allahabad Prison ;

Severe distress, amounting, in to famine, in the Ganjam district ;

As to the statement of the Government of India in October, 1886, that a Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry in Indian Affairs would be appointed, and the reason why the promise was not kept ;

Appointment of Mr. F. Hogg, a junior in the Postal Department, over the heads of many officers senior to him ;

Serious and widespread dissatisfaction existing in Upper Burma ;

Outrages on coolies employed on Assam tea plantations ;

Death-rate among coolies employed on Assam tea plantations ;

Certain recommendations of the Finance Committee (India) to enforce economy ;

Death from Famine and cholera at Ganjam ;

Simla Exodus of Government of India and Departments ;

Asking for day for discussion of Report of the Finance Committee and Public Service Commission ;

Further enquiry as to famine deaths in Ganjam ;

Limitation of enquiry by Finance Committee and Public Service Commission a reason for Parliamentary investigation ;

Mr. Besmer's appointment to Bengal Board of Revenue in view of censure by Government of India in 1887 ;

Military economies suggested by Finance Committee, whether carried out ;

Appointment of Europeans in Native State and enquiry into the Rampur appointment ;

MOTIONS.

1. To call attention to the grievances of the native population of India and asking for a Royal Commission :

For the above another was, later, substituted to the following effect:
To call attention to certain grievances of the native population of India
and to move:

That in the opinion of this House, the time has come for another step to be taken in the policy of extending self-government in India, whereby natives of India of capacity, of influence, education, shall be able to take a still wider share in the administration of the public affairs of their own country.

That to secure this end it is desirable that the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils should be enlarged in numbers and reformed as to procedure.

That a moiety of members of such councils should be elected by constituencies, which shall include Indians of position, of specified educational attainments, members of the municipal and other bodies, of European and Indian Chambers of Commerce, and the like.

That to the enlarged Councils be given the right of questioning the authorities on matters of public interest, the discussion of the respective Budgets, and the initiation of such legislation as shall not, first, deal with the Foreign Policy, or, second affect the Finances, of the Empire.

And there being a general agreement among Europeans, both official and non-official, and Indians of all classes, as to the reforms which should be granted, that the Secretary of State should take such steps as will enable the House to consider a measure embodying these opinions.

2. Address for Return showing the date of establishment of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and of the Provincial Councils, with particulars as to number of unofficial members appointed, number of Acts passed in Calcutta and Simla respectively, and other details.

3. Address for Return for each of the Presidencies and Provinces of the Empire, showing for the revenue, judicial, public works, educational, police, and other departments of the State, the number of Europeans and Indians in the covenanted and uncovenanted services, and military officers in civil employ.

4. Notice of motion regarding the Public Service Commission as follows:
That this House disapproves of the Report of the Public Service (India) Commission in the following respects.

(a) Proposing to set aside the provisions of 33 and 34 Vic. c. 3. and to annul rights conferred upon individuals and privileges accorded to the Indian people by statute

(b) Recommending that the opportunity of attaining to high office, both in the covenanted service and above that service, by Indians duly qualified (by contrary to law) largely restricted, and in some cases wholly abrogated.

(c) Not carrying out the objects for which the Commission was appointed, namely, to submit a scheme possessing elements of finality, and "to extensive employment in the public service."

(d) Making recommendations in opposition to the weight of evidence (the witnesses being largely selected by the Commissioners themselves.)

(e) Generally putting forward such proposals as involve a serious breach of public faith with the people of India, and ignoring pledges made by Parliament; therefore

That this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should forthwith redeem the pledge given by the Secretary of State for India to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of India.

5. Address for Return of the Resolution of the Government of India (published in India in October 1888) on the reports furnished to the Viceroy on the condition of the country and the people, together with such reports and a comparative statement for the years 1875-76 and 1887-88, showing :—

1. Since 1875-76 (the years preceding the great famine of 1887-78) the improved or deteriorated condition of masses, with rate of wages paid, amount of work available, and such other information as will show the condition of the population.

2. The Presidencies or Provinces in which improvement or deterioration has taken place, with any special circumstances in the respective districts accounting for such improvement or decadence.

3. The average ration per diem for the agricultural labourer in those districts where the population is shown to press on the means of subsistence, with particulars as to food stuffs, other than grain, consumed by the poorest villagers.

4. The increased area of cultivation of all kinds of food grains, but particularly of rice and millet.

5. The average out-turn per acre by Presidencies, Provinces, and Districts of the tracts recorded as under cultivation in 1875-76 during each of the past twelve years, indicating :

Province or District.	A.		B.		C.		D.	
	Larger.		Smaller.		Surplus, being suffi- cient for—months' food.		Deficit (if any).	
	Acres.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.	Tons.	Acres.	Tons.	

6. The Average out-turn per acre of the waste lands brought under cultivation, with effect of such additions to cultivation upon the revenue.

7. The cost of cultivation of good, bad, and indifferent land in 1875-76 and in 1887-88.

8. Employment found for labourers on public works, specifying separately the famine relief works of 1887-88.

9. The precise purposes to which the Famine Insurance Fund has been applied in each year since the tax was imposed, indicating :

	A.		B.	C.	D.	E.
	Railways.	Irrigation works, specifying areas served and additional quantities of food stuffs raised.	Other works intended to protect the country against famine.	Actual relief of distress.	Upon other objects	
	1. Com- mer- cial.	2. Pro- tec-tive.				
1877						
1878						
1879						
etc.						

10. Showing whether the famines of 1877-78 were occasioned (a) by actual want of food stuffs, or (b) by want of means on the part of the people to purchase food.

11. Number of agricultural cattle of all kinds, showing increase or decrease in each province.

12. The use of manure, and whether more easily procurable and more availed of than previously.

13. Indebtedness of cultivators, whether increasing or decreasing, and the operation of the Deccan Ryots' Relief Act upon the indebtedness of the ryots, with the effect of agricultural banks where these exist.

14. Number of peasant proprietors owning five acres of land in 1875-76 and 1887-88.

15. Amount of aid granted annually during the past fifteen years to cultivators under the Land Improvements Act.

16. Specifying the various irrigation canals and other irrigation works, showing :

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

Extent of Land Irrigated.	Description of Crops and Amount.	Out-turn.		Districts and Populations absolutely protected from famine by irrigation.		Possible Extension of Irrigation.
		1875-6.	1887-8.	Increase.	Decrease.	

and distinguishing between—(a) Ancient works which have required no repairs or additions; (b) ancient works to which repairs or additions have been required; and (c) new works since 1800.

Letters have been written to the *Times* and other influential newspapers whenever occasion has arisen respecting the Serampore Municipality, Sir Auckland Colvin's letter to Mr. Humes, Sir Edward Watkin's slanders of the Congress, the misleading publications of the India Office, the interference in the administration of Kashmir, etc., etc.,

To the Secretary of State two elaborate Letters have been addressed respecting the unsatisfactory Report of the Public Service Commission. These letters involved a close examination of the Report and fourteen volumes of evidence, etc., so that the statistical tables included might be of a most complete character. There is reason for believing that these letters have exercised and are still exercising a marked influence upon the mind of the Secretary of State and of his Council. The letters have been circulated in India, where, it is hoped, they will be useful in informing public opinion and in solidifying opposition to the proposals of the Commissioner.

Correspondence of a voluminous kind is carried on every week with the leaders of the Congress and of political movements generally in India, so as to keep them acquainted with all that is being done in England. Frequent conferences are held with Mr. Bradlaugh, M. P., and with other friends of India, as to the course to be taken in Parliament and elsewhere; already the campaign in the House of Commons for the Session of 1889 has been prepared and arrangements in connection therewith are under discussion.

Sir William Wedderburn is actively concerning himself with the formation of a Committee consisting chiefly of Members of Parliament. The objects of the Committee are set out in an explanatory memorandum which Sir William has prepared. The example of the India Reform Society of 1853 and subsequent years and certain plans approved by Mr. Bright in 1883 are being followed and adopted.

Through the means described above and in many other ways which it is not necessary to detail Indian questions are becoming familiar to the English people. There is now a degree of interest exhibited in England in relation to Indian affairs such as was never before known. It is being understood that the India of Anglo-Indian official statements is only a part of India, that there are other phases (often vastly more important) of Indian problems than those presented to the English public by the India Office. The Agency is aiming to be and to do for non-official India what the India Office is and does for the Indian Administration. It can only accomplish this object so long as it is supported not merely by money but by information from every part of the Empire. What has been set out in this brief paper will afford to those who are desirous for the regeneration of India by constitutional means some idea of what is being done by their Agent. A mere examination of matters dealt with, however full (and the matters mentioned here are not and do not profess to be more than examples), would fail to convey an adequate conception of the ceaseless effort that is being carried on. Enough has, however, in all likelihood, been said to enable Indian reformers to judge of the characteristics and of the duties of the Indian Political Agency.

MR. DIGBY.

14th June 1889.

India Awake.

[By MR. JOHN PAGE HOPPS.]

I.

People who are afraid of burning questions had better let India alone just now. But how many Englishmen are there who know that there are any burning questions in India? How many men, indeed, in the House of Commons, or the House of Lords, know anything worth mentioning about India? That there are so few is one of our great dangers; for India is entering upon a civil and social crisis of the first magnitude, involving nothing short of a political revolution, which will mean mighty changes or the possible loss of India.

There lies before us the fourth report of the Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad last December and we have no hesitation in saying that it is the solemn duty of every responsible politician and every leader of opinion in this country to read it carefully. Indeed, we wish every vote could read it. There is no reason why they should not. It is as interesting as a novel; it is pellucidly clear; it deals with matters that touch ordinary people at every turn; and, though it is a book of about 270 imposing pages, it can be had, through book-seller from the Indian Political Agency, Craven-street, Charing-cross, at the nominal price of one shilling.

It may be as well to say what it contains. First, there is a coloured map, drawn to scale, showing the relative sizes of India and Great Britain, and clearly indicating the Native States and the British Provinces. There is a cleverly-written introduction, telling the story of the growth and operations of the Congress and containing a most enlightening account of the 1,248 delegates, and a vivid summary of the proceedings of the Congress, with extract from some of the leading speeches. This is followed by the seventeen resolutions passed at the Congress; a verbatim report of the four days' debates; an analysis of the Congress, giving the place of abode, religion, social standing, occupation, and constituency of every delegate; and the resolutions passed at previous Congresses.

At Allahabad an immense hall had to be specially erected for the Congress. This hall was constructed to hold 5,000 persons; and, in addition, the Executive provided dinning-halls, offices, drawing-rooms, reading-rooms, and a bazaar, all on the Congress grounds, secured, after immense difficulty caused by the painful opposition of Government officials who did their best, to brand the reformers as a set of turbulent and seditious mischief-makers, and then to prevent their meeting. The enormous cost of the special, but temporary, accommodation was met by contributions from the delegates themselves and their constituencies, and also from many friends of the movement.

The number of delegates attending the Congress rose from 431 in 1886, and 607 in 1887, to 1,243 in 1888. The Executive affirm that this enormous increase is due to the fact that the movement has been so bitterly opposed by interested and prejudiced officials. The Executive claim that, of the fifty millions of adult males inhabiting British territory (if we exclude those who are utterly poverty-stricken and ignorant), about one-half are now more or less earnestly on the side of the Congress. The remainder, they say, know nothing about it yet. Comparatively few [outside of official circles] are opposed to it. Three millions of men, in all parts of India (more men than voted the present House of Commons), took a direct part in the election of the 1,248 delegates to the Congress. Some of the delegates travelled from three to four thousand miles in order to attend. The 1,248 consisted of 965 Hindoos, 221 Mahomedans, 22 Native and 16 European Christians, 11 Jains, 7 Parsees, and 6 Sikhs. Of these 6 were Princes, 4 Rajahs, 17 Nawabs, 3 Sirdars, and 54 members of noble families, 158 Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, and Commissioners of Municipalities, 27 Fellows of Universities, 455 connected with the law, 42 doctors, 85 bankers, 127 merchants and traders, 73 editors and journalists, 297 landed proprietors, 31 religious teachers, 59 principals and professors of colleges, and others connected with education, &c. In addition to the delegates, there were there were about 5,000 visitors. One of the delegates was appointed by a district containing 7,5000 Native Christians, belonging to the American Mission,

spread over twenty-three churches. All the speakers who were able to do so spoke in English, "because a far larger proportion of the delegates understood English than any other language." Speaking generally, the Executive say, and seem able to prove, that the Congress "was so thoroughly representative of every part of the Empire, and of every class, caste, creed, community, and interest indigenous in the Empire, that further advance in this direction seems now to be almost impossible.

The assembly, though so vast, and composed of such varied elements, seemed to have one heart and one mind, and gave every indication of business ability and keen self-control. The seventeen resolutions, all on subjects of the highest importance, and some of burning interest, were fully and brilliantly debated. There were no scenes, and no long-winded crochet-mongers. Even an enemy, who got admitted as a delegate by sharp practice, was listened to patiently, beyond the allotted time, and was then allowed to pass serenely into oblivion. Every speaker seemed to be profoundly impressed with the gravity of the business in hand, and the vastness of the issues at stake.

Referring to the self-regarding opposition, and even persecution, of Government officials, the Executive say (and we quote the passage under a deep sense of responsibility):—

The Congress idea has now obtained such a hold upon the mind of the country that no earthly power can extinguish it. If ten thousand of the most prominent Congressmen were deported to-morrow, the idea would still creep on, spreading from mind to mind, till it had seized every man, woman, and child amongst the Indian population, ever growing stronger and stronger in every mind which had received the seed. It is essentially beneficent in its character, and, its open growth, instinct with peace and goodwill to men. Official opposition and prosecution will not only add to its growth, but will operate to convert an open, above-board, Constitutional movement into a secret, underground, and, therefore, unconstitutional, one. There was towards the close of Lord Lytton's administration a great deal of secret organization for unavowed, and, probably, even to its originators, scarcely understood, purposes; though none who have studied history can doubt in what this would have eventuated. It has been the chief glory of the Congress movement that, aided by the enthusiasm elicited by good Lord Ripon's sympathetic rule, it has swept away all this fungoid undergrowth, and sweetened all political agitation by working it out into the wholesome light of the open day. It will be the fault of the Bureaucracy—and the Bureaucracy alone—if, by the unconstitutional abuse of their authority and powers, they drive a portion of the national energy back into the old, discussed, and illegitimate channels.

Alike for England and India, whose fortunes are now inextricably interwoven, no more gravely significant question exists at the present day for consideration. If England only invites and welcomes the confidence of India, and receives with kindly consideration the loyal suggestions (not necessarily adopting all, but treating them with the respect to which they are entitled) of the Congress which, year by year, more and more thoroughly represents the views of the whole thinking portion of the nation, all will be well for both countries. As a great Indian Prince recently said, after hearing the resolutions passed at the several Congresses, "If only these things be conceded, the rule of the British in India will last for ever." But if

What, then, do these men want? In future articles we shall see.

Viceroy and other high functionaries are to be permitted to sneer at and misrepresent the aspirations of a great nation, if subordinate officials are to be allowed unconstitutionally to oppose loyal political movements and to persecute honest and earnest men for temperately and candidly setting forth what they hold to be their grievances and the best methods of redressing these—if England fancies, in a word, that she can maintain by fear a rule that only love can immortalise, then serious troubles only too probably await both countries.

The speech of the chairman, Pundit Ajoodhya Nath, ought to be very carefully studied by every member of the Government. He is a man of high position, a member of the Legislative Council itself, “the most distinguished legal practitioner, probably, in the United provinces,” a cautious man, and only lately an adherent of the movement. It was he who said—“Two years ago I gave the subject of the Congress my best consideration, and, after mature deliberation, I arrived at the conclusion that, so far from being dangerous to Government, it embodies the essential germ of the permanency of the British Government.” That is a solemn warning; and responsible men who neglect it, or try to prejudice the minds of Englishmen in relation to these reformers, will play a dangerous and criminal game.

II.

The resolutions passed by the Congress were seventeen in number, not one of which was abstract or merely academical, every one was manifestly reasonable or burningly practical, dealing with such matters as the Civil Service, the opening of the Military Service, in the higher grades, to Natives, accompanied by effective training in military colleges; the creation of a Volunteer Force for Natives, “such as may qualify them to support the Government effectually in any crisis”; the police administration, the exercise of judicial functions by executive officials, the need of trial by jury, the sale of intoxicating drinks, the incidence of the Income-tax, education, State regulation, prostitution, and the Salt-tax. All these are subjects of urgent importance, but we will only refer to three of them.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

The present condition of the Civil Service in relation to Native Indians is simply a survival of the days of the drill-sergeant on the one hand, and the awkward squad on the other. It is, of course, a good thing that the natives of India who are to be employed in the public service should come to England; and it might be desirable to make it a rule that all who pass the necessary Examinations in India should come to this country for further training; but what is justly complained of is that the examinations themselves can only be taken here. It is manifestly a grievous hardship that, on an uncertainty, candidates should be forced to cross the ocean at great expense and loss of time, merely on the chance of passing. In 1860 a Departmental Committee of the India Office distinctly reported in favour of opening “the administration of India” to qualified Natives, but nothing has been done. In 1869, the Duke of

of Argyll said that, in regard to the employment of Natives in the Government of the country, "We have not fulfilled our duty or the promise and engagement which we have made." Even Lord Lytton, in a secret report, accidentally brought to light, said that in this matter of the public service the people of India had been "cheated." Native Indians naturally complain when, out of 2,357 appointments in the higher "Uncovenanted Civil Service," the natives only hold 188 while the nondomiciled Europeans hold 1,480. One speaker who quoted these figures was backed up by cries of "Shame." "Yes," he replied, "it is a shame, and it is one you will efface from the history of England's connection with India only by making plain to the people of England your ungenerous and impolitic exclusion from public life in India." The executive of the Congress pithily adds:—"Now the bulk of these 1,460 non-domiciled Europeans are the sons, sons-in-law, brothers, cousins, tutors, *protégés* or connections of one kind or another of our Indian European officials, civil and military, past or present, and it is certain that fully two-thirds of these gentlemen might be at once replaced by statutory natives of India on salaries appreciably smaller than those now enjoyed by these flowers of nepotism, with the greatest advantage to the administration of the country." These facts speak for themselves. They also go far towards explaining the vicious danger of the officials against the reformers, and the genesis of the misrepresentations which found too ready an echo on the part of leaders of opinion who ought to have been more on their guard.

MILITARY SERVICE.

The demand for education in military colleges, for participation in military service in the higher grades, and for the formation of bodies of Volunteers, will be variously interpreted. The enemies of this movement will say that traitors are cunningly trying to get a footing in the camp, but unprejudiced persons will probably be inclined to hear the other side. What account, then, do the Reformers give of themselves on this head? In every way they profess to set the highest value upon British rule. They are never tired of saying that they shew every sign of almost fanatical reverence for the Empress. They say they want to be her right arm in the hour of need. England ought, at all events, to hear in time what these influential delegates say, and we claim that we are doing a definite public service in throwing open these closed doors, and letting in daylight upon some very dark and distant problems, vitally related to our Imperial existence, and yet to so great an extent hidden from our eyes.

POLICE.

Perhaps no subject excited such keen and—if one could use the word concerning such high-toned debates—such passionate interest as the police administration of country. If half of what was said is true, we are responsible for a

system which would be discreditable even in Russia. But it is only what we might expect. Irresponsible officialism is only personal despotism spelt, with a difference; and, of all men in the world, the police need to be the outcome and organ of popular representation, and the objects of public control; in India, as in Ireland, the police are fast learning to be the uncontrolled enemies of the people. Several scandalous cases were cited, indicating that a reforming spirit on the part of any one, or a disinclination to "please" the police, resulted in the manufacture of bogus charges. Allowance may be made for personal feeling on such a delicate subject, but grave speakers talked about "inquiries and atrocities," "tortures of a revolting and atrocious nature," and birbery and repacity. All demanded a Commission to inquire into these charges; one cannot help thinking of incidents nearer home, when we come across the following passage in one of the shrewdest of the speeches on this subject:—But no purely official Commission will be of the least use; we must have the Commission mixed—('Hear, hear,' and cheers)—and largely composed of independent non-officials; otherwise, we may be pretty sure that we shall have the old official report, 'Great is Diane of the Ephesians.' (Cheers.) We want reform, not a panegyric on existing facts, and if we get the kind of Commission I have suggested, we may then, possibly, also get what the country requires." (Cheers.).

COMBINATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

It is perfectly conceivable that under a despotic or non-representative Government, such as prevails in India, grave injustice may easily be done by conferring upon executive officers judicial powers. Human nature anywhere could not be trusted to stand against the temptation. At the best, a grandmotherly despotism would result. At the worst, that would happen which was indicated by a delegate from Berar—a man described as "a grave and thoughtful legal practitioner of six-and-twenty years' standing, the vice-chairman and moving spirit of one of the best managed Municipalities in India":—

You will be surprised and startled when you hear from me that in my province, not only the magisterial and police powers are all combined in one officer, but also the revenue and civil judicial powers are all combined in one man, (Cries of "Shame!") There is one head of the district who is the Deputy Commissioner and who is the supreme authority in all matters. He is head of the police—he the highest local tribunal in criminal matters, with powers of sentencing to seven years imprisonment, with hard labour—he is the highest tribunal in all civil cases—he is the chief revenue official, head director, alike, of all fiscal arrangements. In every relation of life you are in the grasp of this one man; if he dislikes you—if he has a prejudice against you—there is no escaping him; it is an absolute despotism. Now, I ask, is this a defensible system? Others have told you, and you yourselves well know, what takes place where only police and criminal judicial powers are combined in one officer. You can imagine what might occur in our province. As a matter of fact, serious failures of justice have resulted, and if these have not been more frequent or grievous in our province than elsewhere, it is due solely to the fact that we have had exceptionally good officers who scorned to abuse their powers. But we cannot count upon a continuance of this. The system is susceptible of unlimited abuse and oppression, and against that system I earnestly and unhesitatingly protest; and this despite the sincere personal respect and esteem in which I hold many of the officers under whom I have lived and worked.

III.

It is a little difficult to understand why it should be regarded as anything but a clear gain to have the blinds drawn up, and the windows thrown open, in relation to India. We have enormous responsibilities and interests there, and corresponding risk and perils; and if competent and patriotic Natives tell us, in the gravest possible way, that old methods, useful enough once, are a source of irritation and danger now, all England ought to be glad to listen, especially when it is remembered that there is no "representation of the people" in India, and that so high an official as Lord Salisbury has scoffed at the idea of having even one Native to speak for India in the House of Commons. In the report before us the three Presidents sign a manifesto, in which they say:—"The only road to Indian reform runs through the British Parliament. Any single voter here has more direct control over the destinies of India than have the whole two hundred millions of British subjects in that Empire." Why? Simply because the people of India have absolutely no voice in the Government of India—no voice and no vote. Ought England, of all nations in the world, to resent such a resolution as this (passed or re-affirmed at every Congress meeting)?

That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the supreme and existing local legislative councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar councils for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all budgets should be referred to these councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such councils against the exercise by the executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overrunning the decisions of such majorities.

This is the demand of sober patriotism, not of dangerous sedition; and the men who make it are profoundly grateful for all that we have done for India, and are profoundly anxious to have British rule founded on an unshakeable rock. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his opening speech, said, "It is impossible to find on the face of this earth a people more loyal than my countrymen." Mr. Bonnerjee, a well-known representative man, said:—

It is in connection with this charge of sedition, that is, too often, so recklessly brought against us, that I desire, in your name and on your behalf (and in this matter re-echoing the sentiments of the Chairman of the Reception Committee), to enter my most emphatic protest. (Loud cheers.) Apart from sentimental considerations—which are no mean considerations with a people so highly sensitive and emotional as we are—is it for one moment to be supposed that we have become so idiotic, and have taken such utter leave of our senses, as not to see that we owe all that we possess—our position and our prestige—to the English connection? ("cheers.) Let that connection come to an end, and we lose with it all that we hold most dear in life. Our opponents have charged us with being seditionists, but they have never failed to give us credit for sense. In our case, however, sedition means a measure of folly that it only consistent with idiocy. The charge can only stand upon the one assumption that the educated community of India have become demented.

It is this wretched cry of "sedition" and "rebel" which has always been the handle of the slave-driver, the old bogie of the despot, and the head and front of the offending of the reformer. But it is a dangerous cry. Let England be warned in time, so far as India is concerned. We once more commend the whole subject, and this deeply interesting report, to the people of this country. These reformers are no mere agitators; they certainly are not "rebels." The loyalty of the Congress was one of its keenest characteristics. In fact, the reformers took their stand—as they have done all along—upon their Magna Charta, the Queen's letter to Earl Derby in 1858, in which nearly all they now demand was promised. The Congress hall was decorated with her portraits, to which one speaker referred, amid great cheering, as "shedding some faint reflection of her kind and motherly influence on our deliberations." The Executive say:—"Great as was the enthusiasm in regard to Mr. Gladstone, it was as nothing to that exhibited in regard to the Queen, every mention of whose name, every allusion even to whom, was uplifted on the cheers of the entire gathering. Nor was this mere lip service, toadyism, or idiotic reverence for a great unknown; it was the heartfelt expression of the genuine love awakened in the entire country by the knowledge that, Constitutional Sovereign as she is, fenced in by a thousand traditions and debarred from anything like a free and full expression of her own personal feelings, it was to Her Majesty personally, and not to either of the great English parties, that India owes her Magna Charta." Every day the meeting broke up amid enthusiastic cheers for the Empress. But we are bound to say that it once cheered as enthusiastically one of the most honoured men in India—a certain Dadabhai Naoroji, who, in gross ignorance, let us hope, and not in sheer viciousness, was once insulted by Lord Salisbury as that "black man" who was not worthy of a place in the House of Commons!

Equally noticeable was the ardent clinging of these reformers to the British nation. These 1,248 delegates evidently distinguished between the officials who resented any attack upon their preserves and their masters, the British people: and they only want the masters to know how the land lies. They say, in effect, to the British people—Thanks to you, we are what we are, and where we are. But, under your guidance, we have grown to be men, and now we beseech you to treat us as men. You are responsible for our uplifting and education. Admit us, then, to the privileges that belong to such as you have made us. We cannot believe that the people of this country will turn a careless ear to that appeal, or listen to it only to say that it shall be made in vain. Lord Salisbury, who risked a great deal when he went out of his way to insult Mr. Naoroji, said, not very long ago, of certain reforming projects that India had been won by the sword and must be kept by the sword. At the best, that is only partly true. At the worst, it is a political doctrine which may lead to the

very "disintegration of the Empire" which scares him like a ghost, and shocks him into saying and doing desperate things. But it is to the people of England that the reformers appeal.—*Echo.*

Mr. Charles Bradlaugh at Newcastle.

[Under the auspices of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society] Mr C. Bradlaugh, M. P. for Northampton, lectured on 19th January in the Tyne Theatre, Newcastle, on "Our Empire in India: How we govern the natives, and how we ought to govern them." Mr Ralph, Young presided, and there was a crowded audience.]

Mr BRADLAUGH, M. P., on being introduced by the chairman, was received with prolonged applause. He assured them at the outset that what he said would in no sense be a party speech. (*Applause.*) Although, he said, it was possible that in the discussion which must arise on the question when one of the great parties of the State might take more distinct or defined action than another it would not be his fault, or by any words of irritation coming from him that they deemed it their duty to oppose the action. (*Applause.*) Before dealing with the government of India, before suggesting on behalf of the natives of India the modifications which they asked in the methods of that government, he wanted to explain to them exactly what he meant by India, and the whole of his figures would be taken from that little blue book the Statistical Abstract of British India. What, he asked is our Indian Empire to-day? The British territory alone is no less than 947,877 square miles in extent. At the census of 1881 the British subject population as distinguished from the population of the native states, was no less than 198,790,000 persons, and it was estimated that at March, 1887, it was no less than 207,754,578 persons, and more or less, it was on behalf of that population that he was addressing them that evening—(*Applause*)—addressing them he did not pretend at the request of the whole of them, because he admitted that there were many millions of them yet who were ignorant of the movement just taking place, but he was speaking on behalf of the educated portion of the natives of India, and of the still larger portion whom they influenced. It was a portion represented only four weeks ago in the city of Allahabad by over 1,000 delegates sent from all parts of our great Indian dominions. The expenditure in India for the year 1886-7 was no less than 77,337,000, tens of rupees, which they might roughly call £77,000,000.

THE DEBT OF INDIA.

at present was no less than £185,670,000, of which it was claimed by official declaration that no less than £105,000,000 was for work for which the natives had to make no complaint, being works of railways and irrigation, but for which the natives might say that the railways had sometimes been constructed more with reference to our desires for extension of territory than from our desires of developing the welfare of India. (*Laughter.*) To show what these figures meant he would give them a very brief statement of the growth of our posses-

sions in India during the last 44 or 46 years. In 1842 the total of British territory in India in extent was 626,000, square miles, so that they had increased in 44 years by over 325,000 square miles. He need not tell the audience that they had increased it honestly. (*Laughter.*) Other Countries, for greed, and theft, and personal aggrandisement, stole land which did not belong to them. We are an honest people—(*laughter*)—and when we extend the advantages of our civilization, either in Asia or any where else, we do it for the good of the people amongst whom we are going, not from any ulterior motives of our own. (*Laughter.*) That makes the distinction between a country like ours and an empire like that of the Czar. We had given the advantage of our civilisation to larger extents of territory than Russia had stolen. (*Laughter and applause.*) A Russian, speaking from his point of view, though, might reverse the sermon—(*laughter*)—because it was a peculiarity of all peoples—and he was afraid we are not quite free from it—that we can show the dishonesty of other nations easier than we can detect anything except the honesty of our own. (*Loud laughter.*) Since 1842 an area equal to that of France, Italy, and Belgium had been added to the British territories in India. The people had not always assented to it, and sometimes they had to shoot them—(*laughter*)—but that had always been done with great reluctance and a tremendous regret on our part that they had not understood what was good for them. (*Loud laughter and applause.*) Besides the territory properly described as British territory there were in addition 117 native States under British protection. Some of them were protected a little, some a great deal. Some say we protect them too much. (*Laughter.*) These states were 509,7,369 square miles in extent, and include a population estimated in March, 1887, of 60,382,000 persons, so that the lecture that night affected a case, directly or indirectly, relating to 1,438,000 square miles and nearly 270,000,000 of people. Since he agreed with the request of the committee to deliver that lecture a speech had been delivered by the outgoing Viceroy (Lord Dufferin)—(*applause*)—from which he would take the liberty of borrowing two or three phrases. He wished he could join with the audience in the applause it had just given in reference to Lord Dufferin's speech. (*Hear hear.*) To be perfectly frank he could not. Lord Dufferin was a nobleman of unquestionable ability, and one could not help regretting that in his farewell to his Government he had deemed it his duty to throw a firebrand on the ground when he knew that his successor might be burnt by the flame he had kindled, or hindered by the irritation he had caused. (*Applause.*) Lord Dufferin had said in India the population was composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, and speaking different tongues. But he held if it were true they were in India not of one race, or one religion, if they were even not of one colour, if the ethnic differences were great, they were people in India for whom he pleaded. And we

had gone to them. They had not come to us. We had gone to them with our skill and with our Western philosophy and strength, and it was not in our mouths to say when they kneeled at the High Court of Parliament that they were.

NOT A PEOPLE WITH A RIGHT

to be heard. (*Loud applause*). Lord Dufferin went on to say that among that numerous communities might be found at one and the same moment all the various stages of civilisation through which mankind have passed from, prehistoric ages, and Lord Dufferin put it that because there were some very low in skill therefore they were to deny right to those that are high. It was boasted that those who were educated were educated by our means. That was true; but did we intend our education to be a curse to them? Education made the brain keener for right and for wrong, higher in the enjoyment of happiness, and higher in the sensibility of suffering, and if they trained the brain to the best notes in the harmony of life and to the worst discord they must concede to the brain some means of satisfying the aspirations they gave, or they made a despair more terrible than that before. (*Loud applause*.) they (*the English people*) governed that India he had sketched to them that night, and they could not acquit themselves of the shame—if shame there be—attaching to any portion of their government. (*Hear, hear.*) He admitted that the subject was a difficult one, but it was one that he suggested they could not ignore if they would that they ought not to ignore if they could. How many extra taxes were imposed year after year because of alleged difficulties in connection with our Indian empire? It was a bread and cheese question to the poorest amongst them, and it they had no thought even of the happiness of the people several thousand miles away, for their own sakes, and in the interest of their ever-swelling expenditure, he pointed out to them whether the Indian empire might be a relief or an additional weight in the struggle of life. Their present government of India was a despotism. There course to India should be as near an approach to justice as it was possible to make it. Justice was impossible. It was one of the evils of taking other people's lands by force, fraud and perjury, and trickery that they could not be just. He disclaimed in the most emphatic words, both on behalf of the Indian National Congresses and on behalf of himself, the statement that Lord Dufferin was encouraged to make—which there seemed no warrant in fact for having made—that the Indian national party desired a democratic method of government and a Parliamentary system, which England had only reached to in degrees. He had said that India was governed at present by a despotism. He might have said by an official despotism. In this country there was only

ONE OFFICIAL OPPORTUNITY

afforded each year for an expression even of Parliamentary opinion, and that was on the introduction of the Indian financial statement in Committee of the whole House. There was no opportunity for the whole of the 207 millions of

people bringing before the High Court of Parliament with the Speaker in the chair any grievances however great they might be. He took the liberty of saying that that was disgraceful. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) That was the only branch of dominions of ours which that was true. Then an Indian Budget was only a sort of field day in light marching order. It was brought on when most of the members had gone away for their holidays, and when all wish they had gone. When he spoke on the question of India in the House of Commons he addressed an audience of forty-three persons. ("Shame.") The present Governor of India—really the man who has the final word of everything—who can take liberty or give it—is Lord Cross. There are 207 millions of people subject to his unquestioned word. Any decision he takes it is taken in council in secret. Parliament did not know of it until it was too late to remedy it if it needed remedying. He had no doubt that Lord Cross was an admirable Secretary for India. He was bound to add that, although he has no doubt of that. It was only because he (the speaker) was a person of his large beliefs, as they knew—(*laughter*)—that he had no doubt of it, because he (Lord Cross) had ably concealed—he did not blame him for that—the whole of ability in relation to the Government of India. (*Laughter and applause.*) He once heard Lord Randolph Churchill describe the Conservative front bench as a set of fossils. (*Laughter.*) Now he (the speaker) did not call the Council for India in England fossils, unless he added another characteristic, and without contradiction he could describe them as salary-receiving fossils. (*Laughter.*) He had given notice that he would move, if he was fortunate in the ballot, for "an appointment of a Royal Commission consisting of members representing the United Kingdom and the native population of British India to inquire into the administration of India generally, both here and in India with a view to ascertaining whatever amendments or improvements may be made with respect thereto, and that evidence be taken both in India and in England." (*Loud applause.*) That was what Congress had asked, and that was what he was going to appeal to Conservatives and Liberals and Radicals alike to grant. Since 1853 there had been no Parliamentary inquiries at all regarding India. There had only been departmental inquiries, commissions for particular objects of an inferior character, and such like. What they wanted was

A SEARCHING INQUIRY

into the whole Government of India. Such an inquiry had been asked for at four congresses—one held in Bombay in 1885, one held in Calcutta in 1886, one in Madras in 1887, and one held in Allahabad about four weeks ago. It had been put into the mouth of Lord Dufferin to say these Congresses were seditious, but he thought Lord Dufferin had been deceived, and Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal, had stated that at the Madras Congress the talent, influence, and education of the native population was represented.

(*Hear, hear.*) Was the inquiry needed? He thought it was, otherwise he should not ask for it, (*Laughter.*) The other day a great statesman was speaking on ordinary politics and on extraordinary politics—(*laughter*)—and, speaking of the advantages of British Government, he instanced “unexampled prosperity of India.” As this gentleman might be a conservative Prime Minister, and he (the speaker) hoped he might be—he meant the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain—(*laughter*)—he should like to show them why an inquiry was absolutely necessary when they saw such manifest ignorance as to the condition of the Indian people shown by a statesman of high position. “Unexampled prosperity!” What was the truth? Lord Lawrence said he thought the masses of the people in the towns were excessively poor and had great difficulty in earning their livelihood. The mass of the people were miserably poor, and it was as much as a man could do to feed or half feed his family—and if this was “unexampled prosperity,” then he wanted a new dictionary. (*Laughter.*) Sir W. W. Hunter, than whom there was, perhaps no Englishman resident in this country at present better informed on India, said that “thousands of lives depended, each autumn, on a few inches, more or less, of rainfall. The Government might by great efforts feed the starving population in times of famine, but it could not stop the yearly work of disease and death amongst a steadily underfed people”—and Mr. Chamberlain said: “Unexampled prosperity”—Sir W. W. Hunter said that 40 millions of people in India went through life insufficiently fed, and Mr. Richardson, the agricultural reporter to the Government, said that the condition of the Indian agricultural labourer was a disgrace to any country calling itself civilised. He said that in the best seasons, the gross income from every source of a man and his family did not exceed 3d. a day—and Mr. Chamberlain talked of “unexampled prosperity.” (*Laughter.*) Quoting from a Government return, Mr. Bradlaugh said that in 1886-7, out of the population of 207,000,000, the whole of the persons on whom income-tax could be levied were 397,511. That was not many out of 207,000,000, and especially when he told them that they began to levy the income tax on incomes of £3 6s. 8d. a year—(*laughter*)—and that nine-tenths of these 397,000 persons had income between £3 6s. 8d. and £13 6s. 8d. a year. There were the rich people whom they taxed! What must be the condition of the poor! He asked for an inquiry, if only to instruct the men who governed India as to what was the real state of the country they were governing. In 1878 to 1879, and especially in the earlier period, we wanted to extend the blessings of British rule. (*Laughter.*) We therefore had to prepare to kill some of the people in the districts where we were going to extend it. (*Laughter.*) He did not say that ought not to be done because if it were wrong the people of England would have prevented it, and they had not done so. (*Laughter.*) He was only dealing with it as a dry matter of

fact. (*Laughter.*) Unfortunately they could not kill people without expense. (*Laughter.*) Even cannon cost money, necessary as they were to the spread of civilisation. (*Laughter.*) Extra taxes were therefore levied on the Indian people. The collectors themselves reported that if the extra taxes were collected the farmers would be unable to cultivate the land, and there would be a famine. They were compelled to collect the taxes, and in the next year, 1887-8, there was a famine in these provinces, in it 1,286,000 persons were starved to death. He would plead with them, the English people, who subscribed to Mansion House funds, and sent them money by their mayors after they were dead, he pleaded that they would so that they should never more murder 1200,000 human beings by the worst of murders—slow starvation. (*Cheers.*) As to

LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The Congresses asked, not for representative Government, but that the Legislative Councils should be increased in number, and that half of them should be selected by election. And Lord Dufferin said this was horrible, and talked of it as seditious language. He did not seem to be aware that in 1859 a meeting was convened in Madras, by the Sheriff of Madras, on a requisition signed by 55 gentlemen, of whom 44 were English—the leading merchants, holding high positions in Madras, and that they asked for the election of the whole of the Legislative Council. To-day they only asked for half, or even less, if they would not approach justice with a wide step, but with halting limited march. They asked for some representation, and here again Sir Richard Garth declared it to be “a reasonable request, and one which if carried out in such a way as in its wisdom Parliament might formulate would earn not only the gratitude of the English people, but would materially spread the popularity of the Government in India.” (*Cheers.*) The natives asked for a reform of the Civil Service. They asked us to do nothing that we had not promised to do. They asked us to keep our own pledges, made over and over again, to do what we had said by Act of Parliament we would do. We made Her Majesty say in proclamation when she took over the Government of India—“It is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service—the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.” (*Cheers.*) That was what was promised to the people of India. Lord Lytton, when Viceroy, in one of his public declarations said that the claim of the native Indians was founded on the highest justice. But what did he say in a despatch—secret despatch at that time, but secret no longer, and when he (Mr. Bradlaugh) read it in the presence of the Indian Home Secretary in the House of Commons, he could not deny—it was impossible to deny the accuracy of the quotation,

Lord Lytton said that the Act of Parliament imposed obligations so dangerous upon the Government that no sooner was the Act passed than Government began to devise means for avoiding the fulfilment of its pledges. "We had" Lord Lytton, "said, to chose between prohibiting the natives and cheating them. We have taken the least straight forward course." He asked them neither to prohibit them nor cheat them, but to mete on to them the justice to which they had a right. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Loughborough.

[On 18th March evening a meeting was held in the Corn exchange, Loughborough, in connection, with the Loughborough Liberal Association, and in furtherance of the candidature of Mr. J.E. Johnson-Ferguson. There was a large attendance. Alderman H. A. Bumpus presided, and amongst those present were Mrs. Edmunds, Miss Dakin, Mrs. Walker, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. H. Beeby, Mr. J. Hind, Mr. J. Bell, Mr. J. Wright, Mr. J. Pear, Alderman Stevenson, (Leicester), Mr. W. H. Simpson, Mr. R. W. Skilbeck, Rev. C. Pike, Mr. H. Wright, Mr. H. Cross, Mr. C. Argyle, Mr. H. Pickworth, Mr. C. Kirk, Mr. J. Morgan, Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, Miss Hirst Mrs. Gadsby, Mrs. Yeomans, Mrs. W. Moss, Mrs. Stevens on and Mrs. Bumpus.]

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said they had with them a gentleman who had received the hall mark of the Tory Government as a good man. The Irish members many of them were stamped as good man by "My Nephew," as Mr. Balfour was called. He had sent them to gaol, and Lord Salisbury, his uncle, had given the stamp of a good man to one of their Indian subjects, in allowing himself to cast upon Mr. Naoroji one of his bitter sneers. Such men as Mr. Naoroji who received those compliments had the right to command the good fellow:—

Mr. W. BALDWIN then moved the first resolution, which was as follows :— "That this meeting is of opinion that all solemn pledges made to the Indian nation by the British people and sovereign should be honourably and faithfully fulfilled, and that with that object all reasonable aspirations and demands of the Indian National Congress should be met by Parliament and the Indian authorities with sympathetic and practical consideration." Mr. Baldwin said it was necessary for them to see not only how much they could get out of India but how much they could do for them in return. He had no doubt they would learn a good deal about the subject from the enlightened and accomplished gentleman present. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. R. W. SKILBECK seconded the resolution, and said he was heartily in accord with it. He had not the slightest doubt that the aspirations, and claims of their fellow subjects in India were reasonable and just, and because of that must ultimately be granted. (*Cheers.*)

The Hon. DADABHAI NAOROJI supported the resolution, and at the outset said he wished to thank those present, as he believed they were intensely interested in the welfare of India. (*Cheers.*) With regard to India, of which h

would speak, he would confine himself to the end of the last century, when the treatment of the Indians by the Englishmen of those days was anything but creditable to them. When he mentioned the things of the past he did it in no spirit of complaint, or with the idea of casting any reflection upon the British rule. He touched upon the things of the past in order to learn lessons for the future. (*Cheers.*) With regard to the remark he made as to the conduct of the English of the days before the present century, he would read a few words from a despatch of the Court of Directors, which would give them some idea of the character of those times. It was said that the vast fortunes acquired in Indian trade had been obtained by oppressive conduct. That was quite enough to give them an idea of the sort of beginning the people of England made in India. It was the natural result of the purpose for which they had gone to India. They did not go for a benevolent purpose, but for making money. At the beginning of this century a sort of wave of good spirit passed over India and the English people had since that time more to advance civilisation and humanity of mankind than before. The abolition of slave trade, their own enfranchisement—(*Cheers*)—the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and last, but not least, the emancipation of the Jews. (*Hear, hear.*) Of all the people on the face of the earth the Jews were the most persecuted in Europe and yet the time came when the English people understood the duties of humanity and held out their hand to the Jewish nation. They raised them to their own level, and now they worked as one nation, considering themselves Englishmen first and Jews and Christians afterwards. (*Hear, hear.*) That wave of good spirit passed over India during the year 1833, and they shared in the good fortune. The result was that the monopoly of the East Indian Company was done away with and the question arose, naturally, how was India to be governed in the future? In 1832 the English Government made a solemn pledge to India, and it was agreed that no native irrespective of caste or colour, should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the East Indian Company. When that clause was proposed in the bill of 1833 Lord Macaulay placed it the whole matter as clearly as possible before the British public. He grappled with the whole question, and he went so far as to say that even if the result of that righteous policy was the separation of India from British rule it would be a more glorious result for Britain than by keeping them down as slaves. (*Cheer.*) The British public then laid down without any reservation or qualification what the policy of England should be towards India, but unfortunately for the Indian people, the authorities and the servants to whom the execution of that pledge was entrusted did not come up to the mark. ("Shame.") They wrote splendid despatches, but they did not go a step further. Twenty years passed without the pledge being fulfilled in the slightest way. Then they came to 1853, and the struggle began again. Many states-

men complained of the breach of faith. Then a change was made, and it was agreed that the offices should be thrown open to competition. That was the best change the Government could make, and Lord Salisbury and Mr. Bright saw that unless the Indians were examined in their own country justice would not be done to them, and the fulfillment of the pledge would not be secured. Nothing of the kind was done, however, and then came the mutiny. That was not the rebellion of the people, but it was a great time of trouble to them. The English people triumphed and subdued the mutiny, and the time came again when the question was asked, "What are we going to do with India?" Were they going to support and maintain the previous policy, or were they going turn round? They repeated the old pledge, however, more emphatically and in stronger terms: They would now see the complete justification for the resolution placed before them. They had bound themselves to treat Indian subjects as their fellow citizens and they must do so. They must do their best to raise them to the level of citizenship. (*Cheers.*) In time past they had educated the people, and that had produced its natural results. Still the work for the Hindoos was a great work. They had to work hard and fight, and in a family wherever a child had begun its education the fermentation had commenced. The fermentation was quietly and slowly working, and would produce excellent results. (*Cheers.*) One result was that in 1849 a number of educated men made up their minds that they were bound to make some reform, and that was to introduce female education amongst the Indians. That was now an accomplished fact, and was doing a great deal in the way of social reform. (*Hear, hear.*) They must not discourage that, although he would tell them that some of the Anglo-Indians did so, because the Indians did not become educated all at once. They could not accomplish impossibilities. Then with regard to the political point. The best result of the education, and of which for ever they must be proud, was the forming of Indian National Congress, which was a phenomenon India had not previously, witnessed in her history. (*Hear, hear.*) Subjects from all parts of the empire met in one place and discussed matters of vital importance to the nation and their fellow subjects. That was a great thing, for, as they knew, no doubt, they had in India many different languages and habits. Then, again, they had obtained great facilities for communication, and it was all the work of England's Grand Old man. (*Loud cheers.*) Mr. Gladstone realised the whole thing, and in two or three sentences which he uttered at a meeting in London he gave them the substance of the whole matter. (*Hear, hear.*) He had said that India was never more loyal than at present. The Indians met in Congress and formulated all business, and their aspirations and wishes was the result of the education England had given them, and it was the duty of the English people to cherish those aspirations and to help them on, not to abuse them and create any discouragement. (*Hear, hear.*) The only way in which to obtain that was

that one or two Indian subjects should be sent to Parliament in order to lay their case before the legislature at first hand, with their own feelings and what their heart would prompt them. (*Hear, hear.*) No Englishman, however good they might be with all their benevolence and generosity, could express themselves accompanied by genuine feelings and aspirations. Of course he (Mr. Naoroji) did not undervalue the assistance that Mr. John Bright, Mr. Fawcett, and others had given them. The Indian people would far ever remain grateful to them. The Indians were not asking anything like what Ireland sought to obtain. They were not asking the power of a Parliament. The essential thing in the English Parliament was that they had the power to turn out a Ministry after seven years. They Indians did not ask for anything of the kind. He would tell them what was the kind of Government they asked for. It was extremely reasonable and moderate. They had in existence legislative councils. One was the Viceroy's legislative council, and then there were three provincial legislative bodies. He would take the Viceroy's Council as an illustration. It was provided that in addition to the Cabinet there should be, for the purpose of legislation, a certain number of non-official members. That number was not to be more than twelve, nor less than six. Mr. Naoroji then proceeded to give a description of the work of the Council, and said that the time had come when there should be some natural development of those Councils. (*Hear, hear.*) What the Indians asked was that the number of non-official members should be increased to forty or fifty. Out of that number there would be men experienced on all national subjects. And then again out of that forty or fifty the Indians did not ask for more than twenty or twenty-five elected by themselves and the remainder to be elected by the Viceroy. In addition to that, supposing by some mistake or some cause the Government was defeated, the Indians did not say that they should take the place of the Government, but that the matter should be referred for decision to an independent tribunal composed of a certain number of independent members of the House of Commons. (*Hear, hear.*) Continuing, Mr. Naoroji said the prayer of the Indians was moderate. Those were not, his words, and he asked the British people to give their support and help and instruct the members of Parliament to force the fulfilment of the pledges which had been made. The Indian people wanted a fair field and no favour. They wished the same opportunities to be given them to obtain offices and positions under Government as the English people, and his earnest hope was that the British publice would give the matter proper consideration, for the purpose of humanity, for the fulfilling of their own word of honour, and for the purpose of doing what would be both good for them and for the Indians. He hoped the demands of their fellow-subjects in India would receive due consideration, and if they considered them reasonable to see that they were acceded to. (*Cheers.*)

India neglected in Queen's speech.

Mr. Bradlaugh resumed the debate on the Address in answer to the Speech from the throne, and asked why, if the foreign outlook was so hopeful the War Secretary had uttered such grave words implying that European war was imminent. After the declaration which had been made in various parts of Europe, the House had a right to call upon the Government to give similar assurances and explain why the Secretary for War considered it necessary to sound so grave a note in the face of the nation when the Queen's Speech stated that nothing had taken place to affect the cordial relations which exist between this country and other powers. (*Hear, hear.*) And as to Sikkim it was now said that after the late expedition there was no prospect of further attacks, but that was said before with the result that all men knew. Then how far, he asked, was the Government getting embroiled in "negotiations" with China? Tibet after all was only one part of the vast Indian possessions of the Crown, but he thought the 250,000,000 of population which inhabited them were worthy of some slight mention in the gracious Speech, especially remembering the great Congress which had been held in Allahabad since Parliament was prorogued. He submitted it would have been well if the Government, especially after the publication given in the country to only part of the words of Lord Dufferin, which, if they had been selected with a view to mischief, could not have been more carefully selected for the purpose, had said some kindly word to those 250,000,000 of people, especially when from the floor of the House challenge was given to the Government by one of their own supporters, founded on that speech of Lord Dufferin's to treat that Congress as seditious. He understood that Lord Dufferin had always regarded these congresses with sympathy and respect, and that in 1886, he tendered to them his hospitality. Lord Dufferin would, he thought repudiate the notion that they were other than loyal, sincere, and trustworthy political gatherings, the encouragement of which by the Government must tend to facilitate the reforms which the late Viceroy himself regarded with approval, and which every statesman has regarded with approval. He hoped that the Government would consider how much of the claims which the natives were making in Congress might be conceded without injury to the Empire. It was the duty of the Government, if they would govern by force those who were said to be unfit to govern themselves, to make that force as gentle as they could by calling to their aid the millions of peoples who had been educated, and who had shown that they were quite capable of taking part in the Government of their country. (*Cheers.*) With regard to Ireland, he did not propose, in view of the motion of the right hon. gentleman the member for Newcastle, to say much, but he wished to record his earnest protest against the action which the Government had taken.

Sir J. Gorst assured Mr. Bradlaugh of the desire of the Government to maintain peace. They viewed nothing he said, with more horror than an outbreak of war but, while anxious for peace, they were equally alive to the importance of being adequately prepared for contingency of wars and he believed the country agreed with the Government that the time had arrived for a review of our naval and military expenditure. The Queen's Speech contained no reference to India because, he was happy to say, there was nothing connected with our empire in India which at the present time demanded the attention of that House of Parliament ("Oh !") He said that the prosperity of India was so great, the welfare of the people was advancing so rapidly, and everything in India at the present time was so prosperous that if that House would look nearer home and would endeavour to make some other provinces of the empire as quiet and as orderly as India, perhaps the time of Parliament would be better occupied. (*Hear, hear.*) The hon. member for Northampton appeared to think that some declaration or statement should be made in that House about the Congress which had been held. The newspaper reports of the speech delivered by Lord Dufferin were not altogether complete or accurate. He had never been instructed by his noble friend the Secretary of State to say a word against the aspiration of any native in India to take part in the Government of that country. Moreover, he ventured to say that no responsible official of the Government of India had said anything which could discourage any loyal and proper aspiration on the part of any individuals in India to take part in the Government of India. What had been found fault with, both by Lord Dufferin and other officials in India—notably Sir Auckland Colvin—was not the Congress but the action of some of the people by whom the Congress was supported, the language of some of the newspapers which professed to write in the interests of the Congress and the character of some of the pamphlets published in India under the sanction of some of those who took part in the Congress. That was all that had ever been denounced by any official of the Crown. Lord Dufferin speaking at Calcutta, Nov. 30 last, said. "In the earlier stages of England's connection with India and even after the force of circumstances had transmitted the East India Company of merchants into an Imperial Executive, the ignorance and the disorganisation of the Peninsula, consequent upon the anarchy which followed the collapse of the Mahomedan regime necessitated the maintenance of a strong, uncompromising despotism with a view of bringing order out of chaos and a systematised administration out of the confusion and lawlessness which were then universally prevalent. But such principles of Government, however necessary, have never been congenial to the instincts or habits of the English people. As soon as the circumstances of the case permitted, successive statesmen, both at home and in India itself, employed themselves from time to time in shortening the severity of the system under which our dominion was originally established, and strenuous efforts were re-

peatedly made not only to extend to Her Majesty's subjects in India the same civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by Her Majesty's subjects at home but to admit them as far as was possible to a share in the management of their own affairs. The proof of this is plainly written in our recent history. It is seen in our legal codes, which secure to all Her Majesty's subjects without distinction of race or creed or class, equality before the law. It is found in establishment of local legislative councils a quarter of a century ago, where in a certain number of leading natives were associated with the Government in enacting measures suitable to local wants. It lies at the basis of the great principle of decentralised finance, which has prepared the way for the establishment of increased local responsibility. It received a most important development in the municipal legislation of Lord Northbrook's administration. It took a still fuller and more perfect expression during the administration of my distinguished predecessor in the Municipal and Local Boards, Act, and it has acquired a further illustration in the recommendations of the Public Service Commission recently sent home by the Government of India, in accordance with which more than hundred offices hitherto reserved to the Covenanted Service would be thrown open to the Provincial Service, and thus placed within the reach of our native fellow-subjects in India." Those few words of Lord Dufferin's expressed summarily what he could show in detail. The view was that there was no greater, no falser charge ever brought against the present administration of the Government of India than that of either attempting or desiring, or actually excluding natives from the administration. If the hon. member was aware of the number of municipal bodies, the number of local boards that now existed throughout the empire of India, be astonished that he had addressed to the House the observations which he had made.

Mr. Bradlaugh said he did not quite understand the hon' gentleman as to whether the last words he read meant that the Government were contemplating any extension in the direction indicated.

Sir J. Gorst had not intended to convey the impression that the Government were contemplating such extension, but that the policy of the Government of India for the last thirty years had been in every possible occasion to extend to the natives of India not only a share in the administration of the Government but the right of managing their own affairs as far as it was possible to do so. (*Hear, hear.*)

The "Congress Catechism" in Parliament.

Mr. MACLURE asked the Under-Secretary for India whether the Government was aware that a publication called the "Congress Catechism" had been printed in the 12 languages of India, and circulated by millions among the

Hindoo people by an association calling itself the National Congress ; whether he was aware that, in form of dialogue between a Moulvi and a peasant, that catechism contained the following :—

RAMBAKSH.—But surely you do not want us to joint together and fight with the sirkar ? If we killed all the Europeans, how should we get along ? All would be anarchy (ghader), as I remember when I was young. You cannot mean this Moulvi Farid-ud-din.—God forbid ! This would be sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans ? Many of them are really good men ; most of them mean, at any rate, to do right. They are ignorant, no doubt, of the rights, of most matters concerning us ; they blunder, they cause us misery ; but they do it from ignorance, from an ignorance unavoidable, under the system which they work on, and which, even if they wished it, they could not change without our help. Besides, though we of the new generation are growing up able to assist them and do much for the country, the whole of us put together have not yet sufficient experience and self-reliance to manage the administration entirely without their help. Kill the Europeans ? No, Rambaksh. Let us say, rather, God bless all of them (and there are many such) who feel kindly towards us in their hearts, and according to their lights, mean well towards us, and God forgive those among them (and let us hope they are not many), who dislike and despise us, and care nothing what becomes of us." And whether the Government intended to take steps to puunish the authtrs and distributors of those papers.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked whether the Under-Secretary was aware that the words quoted in the question were not to be found in the "Congress Catechism" at all, but were taken from a distinct and separate publication.

SIR J. GORST.—The Secretary of State is aware that publications have been circulated in India, among which are the "Congress Catechism," and the conversation referred to by the hon. member, which are described by the late Viceroy as " animated by a very questionable spirit, and manifestly intended to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the Crown." But the Secretary of State is disposed to direct the efforts of Government to the better education rather than to the punishment of the authors and distributors of these papers.

In further answer to MR. BRADLAUGH,

SIR J. GORST said that the hon. member for Northampton was quite correct in saying that the dialogue was not in the "Catechism" but in one of two separate pamphlets which the late Viceroy described as being of a very questionable character.

The " Indian National Congress" in Parliament.

MR. KING asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether the attention of the Secretary of State had been called to a certain memorandum, which had been circulated among members of the House, signed " William Digby, Agent in England of the Indian National Congress," calling attention to the reported contents of a despatch which Lord Dufferin, in a speech delivered at Calcutta, announced had been forwarded to the Secretary of State from the Indian Government comparing the recommendations of the despatch, as reported in

certain newspapers, with an abbreviated programme of a body calling itself the Indian National Congress, for the purpose of demonstrating the "moderation and fairness of the Congress;" whether it was true that the despatch in question contained the recommendations set forth in the memorandum; whether the despatch had yet been made public by authority of the Secretary of State or the Indian Government; and whether, in order to remove any doubts as to the true nature of Lord Dufferin's proposals the despatch would be laid upon the table of the House.

SIR J. GROST said the Secretary of State did not propose at present to lay any papers before the House on the subject of the proposal referred to as the matter was still under consideration. The Secretary of State had not examined the memorandum in question and if any such correspondence had been made public, it had been through a breach of official confidence.

A Memo. by Sir William Wedderburn.

1.—In 1883 Mr. John Bright approved the organisation of an informal Indian Committee, having for its object to secure combined Parliamentary action in matters affecting Indian public interests. Some 50 names were obtained of Members of Parliament and others willing to co-operate on the broad ground of a just and sympathetic policy towards India; and it was arranged that out of these, a Working Committee of five or six should be formed. Of this Working Committee Mr. Bright consented to act as Chairman.

2.—This scheme commanded to Mr. Bright as being a revival of a valuable organisation which, under the name of the "India Reform Society" was found in 1853, mainly through the exertions of Mr. John Dickinson, for the purpose of promoting combined and well-directed action among the friends of India, and furnishing them with trustworthy information regarding Indian affairs. From the records of this Society it appears that the movement was initiated on the 12th of March, 1853, when "a meeting of the Friends of India was held in Charles Street, St. James' Square, with a view of binding public opinion to bear on the Imperial Parliament in the case of India, so as to obtain due attention to the complaints and claims of the inhabitants of that vast Empire." At that time the Charter of the East Indian Company was about to expire, *viz.*, on the 30th of April 1853; and the immediate practical object of the Society was to secure that the customary enquiry by Parliament previous to the renewal of the Charter, should be full and impartial; a special declaration being added that this enquiry into grievances would be "altogether unsatisfactory" unless due consideration was given to "the petitions and wishes of the more intelligent of the Natives of India." By its action at this crisis the Society exercised a marked influence on Indian affairs. And it was by means of the facts thus collected, and supplied to him through Mr. John

Dickinson. That Mr. Bright was enabled to make the noble speeches on India which led to the issue of the Queen's Proclamation in 1858, and did so much to determine the wise and humane policy which followed the Indian Mutiny.

3.—Unfortunately, however in one most important particular the position of Indian reformers was very seriously damaged by the legislation of 1858, under which the Crown assumed the direct administration of India. As long as the administration of India was with the East India Company the proceedings of this privileged Corporation were watched in Parliament with great jealousy, and each renewal of the special charter furnished a natural opportunity for a Parliamentary enquiry into complaints and grievances. This recurring opportunity for enquiry came without demand or effort on the part of Indian reformers; and on each occasion, as a condition of renewal, very notable legislative benefits were secured for the people of England, and of India. In this way, at reasonable intervals, the proceedings of the great Indian-official hierarchy were brought under review, and well considered reforms were introduced suited to the gradual development of Indian requirements. But since 1858 when the Crown took over the direct administration, the self-acting provisions for a periodical enquiry into grievances has been lost. There is now no day of reckoning. And Indian reformers find all their efforts exhausted and wasted in the vain attempt to obtain a Parliamentary hearing.

4.—Thus it was in 1858. The statutory arrangements sanctioned in 1858, for the control in England of Indian affairs, were confessedly transitional and imperfect. Since 1858, a period of nearly 30 years had elapsed, and the needs of India were more pressing than ever. Accordingly the informal Committee (organised in 1883) determined to make an effort to bring about a Parliamentary enquiry similar to those which in former times preceded the renewal of the Company's charter. The effort was made, mainly through the exertions of Mr. John Slagg and Colonel Osborn, by appeals to public opinion, both in Parliament and the Press. And in 1885 Mr. Slagg obtained a place for the motion to enquire into the Government of India Act of 1858, a motion which Lord Randolph Churchill agreed to support. But unfortunately, the overthrow of the Government prevented the motion coming on, and another opportunity has never occurred since.

5.—At the present time therefore, the prospects of Indian reform may be summed up as follows:—

I.—More than 30 years have elapsed since the tentative legislation of 1858; the rapid development of India in every direction—political, social and industrial—urgently demands corresponding progress in her administration; but there exists no machinery to bring about the full Parliamentary enquiry requisite in order to learn the true condition of India, and to frame wisely the necessary reforms..

II.—Indian official interests and opinion, strongly represented at the India Office, in the London Press, and in the House of Commons, are naturally altogether opposed to such a Parliamentary enquiry ; while India has within the last few years lost some of her most earnest independent friends, such as Mr. John Bright, Professor Fawcett, Mr. Slagg, Major Evans Bell, Mr. Chesson, and Col. Osborn.

III.—On the other hand, the cause of reform has been enormously strengthened by the political movement in India which, during the last five years, has manifested itself in the annual gatherings of the Indian National Congress. Up to the present time India has been dumb, and her friends in England have been obliged to speak on her behalf at second hand. Now she has found a voice ; and by the mouth of the National Indian Congress has formulated a programme of reforms which are generally admitted to be moderate, practical, and directly tending to the better administration of the country. These reforms are all in strict accordance with the approved British policy, and are prayed for in fulfilment of pledges granted by Parliament and the Crown.

IV.—The Indian National Congress has not only stimulated and focussed public opinion in India, but it has also established an agency in London, under Mr. Digby, C. I. E. This supplied an important link as between client and advocate furnishing the means of communication between the people of India and those of her friends in England who wish to speak on her behalf.

6.—In proposing, therefore, now to reorganise the informal Committee approved by Mr. Bright, it appears that, in addition to the duties previously contemplated there exists in those proposals of the Congress important practical work demanding immediate attention. On all hands it is agreed that the Congress movement is one of great importance, and it seems incumbent upon English public men to do what they can to assist its promoters in guiding the movement in directions the most beneficial both to India and England. The proposed combination among the friends of India in England will not involve any sacrifice of independence on the part of any individual reformer. Nor will any one be committed to the views held by others ; the basis of co-operation being simply the desire that England should discharge her duty to India with justice and sympathy, and the determination that the actual administration shall accord with the principles laid down by Parliament and the Crown.

26th May 1889.

W. W.

Mr. Bradlaugh's good Services for India.

[From the "Northampton Daily Reporter," Monday, June 24th, 1889.]

Mr. William Digby, C. I. E., of the Indian Political Agency in London, has addressed to us a communication which we give below. We publish it with great pleasure, and are satisfied its perusal will much gratify Mr. Bradlaugh's constituents. No one who was present at the great meeting in the Town Hall

in August of last year. In which, as it were, Mr. Bradlaugh was dedicated by his constituents to service for India's unrepresented millions as well as for Northampton's citizens, will forget the enthusiasm and good-will with which this dedication was accompanied. A new departure in English political life was then taken. Electors recognised that they had duties to perform towards the Empire at large as well as to the United Kingdom and Ireland. It will ever stand to the credit of Northampton politically that when such an issue as was put before it in August last by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee was supported by the Mayor of the borough and by the local Liberal leaders of the county as well as the town, and was accepted by Mr. Bradlaugh himself that issue was cordially affirmed. We have reasons to know that Mr. Bradlaugh's earnest, persistent, and unselfish advocacy of Indian affairs is highly appreciated in India. Already there is talk of a large meeting being held in Calcutta Town Hall, when the Session's work is over, to express the thanks of Bengal to Northampton's Member. What is done in Calcutta will be repeated elsewhere until all India has spoken. There are some points in Mr. Digby's statement to which we call our readers particular attention. Does it not elevate, and, to some extent, ennoble, each supporter of Mr. Bradlaugh to feel that the man he has sent to Parliament has been the means of diminishing suffering, of assuring work for the workless, of giving food for the starving? That more in this direction has not been done where so much more is needed is no fault either of Mr. Bradlaugh or of his supporters. It arises from the circumstance that so few constituencies are prepared to take that active interest in Indian affairs which Northampton has taken that so few Members are prepared to labour for India as Mr. Bradlaugh is labouring. The meeting held in the Town Hall has been splendidly justified, and the course it took has been marked with the best of all approbation where the needs of humanity are concerned—that of success.

Mr. Digby's statement is as follows:—

"It may be of some interest to the electors of Northampton to know that the action they took when they designated Mr. Bradlaugh last year to do work for India has already been amply justified. If has been my duty and privilege to become closely associated with Mr. Bradlaugh in the task he has undertaken for India, and I should like to be allowed to bear testimony to the earnestness, the fearlessness, and the unwearied interest he has shown in all matters regarding India, whether they affected princes or people, Anglo-Indians or Indians proper. I want specially to say this, as the 'Standard' of Saturday last sneers at and reproaches Mr. Bradlaugh for taking up the cause of the unfortunate Maharaja of Kushinir, and for concerning himself with unhappy and harshly treated princes. This, so far from being a demerit, is really one of Mr. Bradlaugh's greatest merits. He has only to have it made clear to him that wrong has been done or justice denied, and, whether it be a starving ryot in Ganjam, nepotism on behalf of the son of an Anglo-Indian official to the hurt of Indian subordinates of long and stainless services, injustice to European uncovenanted officials, or wrong done to or injustice perpetrated towards an Indian prince; the junior member for Northampton does all that man can do—and does it, too, as I can testify, with a sincerity and devotion which are beyond all praise.

" I do not wish, however, so dwell on generalities, but to condescend to particulars, and to bring before the electors of Northampton one special instance, the recital of which should give them a glow of pleasure and incite a worthy pride. Without the electors of Northampton behind him, the Member for India could have done nothing. One of the matters to which Mr. Bradlaugh has characteristically and worthily devoted his attention is the famine in Ganjam. Distress began in that district of Madras—a district not quite so large as East Anglia, and containing about as many people—last autumn, the north-east monsoon rains having largely failed. Enquiries were made by the Madras Government in November and December, and certain steps taken. After, finding awhile to see if the result of the enquiries in Ganjam would be presented to the House and finding they were not, Mr. Bradlaugh, on May 3, put a question to the Under-Secretary of State for India regarding the distress, and asked for the production of the reports of M. Garstang, the official who conducted the enquiries. Sir John Gorst promised the reports should be published but denied that there was scarcity amounting to famine in Ganjam. Mr. Bradlaugh referred to the thousands of people on public works and on relief as justifying his description, but, in the usual official manner, where Indian distress is the subject of enquiry, Sir John would not allow there was famine. As soon as the reports were published and time for their perusal had passed, Mr. Bradlaugh again returned to the charge. There was in the Under-Secretary's reply the same tone of scepticism as to actual starvation; but, evidently, the hon. member's interest had aroused the India Office and the Government of Madras, and a weekly telegram was promised, describing the cause of the distress, and the condition of the district generally. These, when they came, showed that from cholera alone fifteen hundred people per week were dying; how many were perishing from ever, diarrhoea, and other special diseases of a time of scarcity, were not stated. There must have been very many. Nearly every one of those declared to have died from cholera in all probability, were brought to the brink of starvation first. They were, doubtless, ready to fall when touched them. In famine times in India nobody is allowed to die of starvation, death is always put down to some disease or other, although really starvation is the cause. I could give many melancholy instances of this paltering with the truth. Mr. Bradlaugh continued persistent. Lord Connemara, in June, left his pleasant mountain home and visited the distressed district. He found things were, not as Sir John Gorst described them to be, but much worse; five per cent. of the people were said to be in a state of emaciation. That is to say one hundred thousand people were brought so low for want of food as to be in the condition from which in previous famines hardly any person recovered—let them be cared for never so tenderly, and there is not much tenderness in a famine camp. Energetic efforts were undertaken by the Government, and some provision made to meet the additional need. In spite of all that will be done, probably the whole hundred thousand will die during the next three months: The result of Lord Connemara's visit will probably be that, owing to the steps taken, hundreds of thousands of Indian men, women, and children will be kept alive who otherwise would have died from want or disease caused by want. Past experience justifies me in saying that if the Governor of Madras had not personally visited Ganjam things would have gone from bad to worse, and, when attention was at last aroused—say in August at the earliest—the most energetic efforts would have been too late, as indeed the efforts now made are too late for a vast multitude. Take a step farther, and it is clear that if Mr. Bradlaugh had not brought this question before the House of Commons no other member would have done so. Had the House not been moved the Governor of Madras would not have visited Ganjam. The consequences of this abstention are too terrible to contemplate. Mr. Bradlaugh forced the attention of the authorities to the need for action, and to him in the first instance the people whose lives will be saved will owe their salvation, and to the electors of Northampton

M.-B.—Bradlaugh writes in the " National Reformer" this week,—“I have to thank the editor of the ' Northampton Reporter ' and Mr. Digby, C. I. E., for the generous notice of what work I have been able to do in the House on Indian matters this session. There is one point which Mr. Digby totally omits, and that is, how much I owe to his thorough acquaintance with Indian questions, and to the care and industry he devotes to the numerous points arising from day to day, and requiring research and verification.”

in the second. As famine is threatening--has indeed already come--in various parts of Bengal, the timely action of Mr Bradlaugh on behalf of Ganjam will be of ameliorative value to the sufferers there and elsewhere also. Officials will be especially on the alert when they feel ~~the eyes~~ of the House of Commons is upon them. Is not this a result which, if it stood alone, should bring gratification to the heart of every supporter of the Liberal members for Northampton, and make him glad because of last August's work? A man who can render to his fellow-subjects and to humanity such service as that I have described is clearly in his right place in Parliament. Long, say I for the good of the people of India, may Mr. Bradlaugh remain there.

"Mr. Bradlaugh, however, has not done this one good deed only. I add here a list of the questions he has asked and the motions he has made or is to make. I take them as I found them on the Order Book of the House of Commons. The list is as follows;— * * * *

"The above particulars are carried only to the 14th of June. Since the House has resumed business, the Whitsuntide holidays being at end, Mr. Bradlaugh has continued his beneficent activity, his questions having relation to Burmah (the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of Friday indignantly and scathingly denounced Sir John Gorst's reply), the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Famine Insurance Fund (in this instance money specially levied to provide food for starving people has been appropriated for the Afghan war and for warlike purposes in Northern India), and other matters.

"I do not think I need add more to this narrative, except to say that while the electors of Northampton may be proud of their representative's good services, the people of India are deeply grateful to him for what he has done, and is doing, and to them for having made it possible for their junior member to devote his great powers and his indomitable energy to poor, neglected, and to often despised, India."

Mr. Bradlaugh at Home.

(BY MRS. ANNIE BESEANT.)

"THE AGGRESSIVE ATHEIST"

London, June 4.—*Special Correspondence.*—Mr. Bradlaugh is very much in evidence just now in consequence of the prominent part he is playing in Parliamentary life; not only is there the general impression made by him as a man of remarkable ability, force and tact, showing qualities which will inevitably land him, ere long, on the ministerial bench; but his frequent successes as a legislator have made him the champion to which every forlorn cause turns when need of succour. He showed so much tactical skill as well as tenacity of purpose in steering his truck bill and his oaths bill through the whirlpool of business and obstruction into the haven of royal assent, that he is now regarded as "a lucky man" in whose hands may prosper efforts that would be foredoomed to failure in those of any one else.

Among the causes he has made specially his own is that of India, the vast empire with its 300,000,000 of inhabitants, whose affairs are discussed to empty benches at the fag ends of Parliamentary sessions. He has been chosen by the representatives of the Natives of India as their Parliamentary champion, the "Member for India," and much of his thoughts are now given to their affairs and to the efforts to redress their wrongs.

But before dealing with this latest aspect of his Parliamentary life, it may be of interest to sketch the Radical leader, as he is seen and known by

those who come in contact with him. Of commanding stature, over six feet "in his stockings," broad in proportion to his height, with an exceptionally large head, the forehead rising high and broad over deep piercing eyes, the hair thinning and showing signs of his 55 years of life, a curiously mobile mouth changing with every change of thought, Charles Bradlaugh is one who stands out in any crowd, one of the most marked personalities in his generation.

GLANCING OVER THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

a few heads arrest the gaze, and no stranger could look at our legislators without stopping as the eye falls on Mr. Bradlaugh, and asking "who is that?"

At home, the dreaded opponent, the keen and forcible debater, is the gentlest of mannered men, easily satisfied and simple in his tastes. Until last November his home was guided by his elder daughter, a woman of considerable scientific attainments, whose sudden and premature death left a gap not easy to fill, both in her home and in the work for others to which she devoted much of her time. Now, the younger daughter, Mrs. Bonner, married some few years ago, has with her husband, gone to live with her father, and has, taken on her shoulders the duties also of his secretary. She may be seen any morning a tall slender figure dark-haired and dark-eyed, bending over a table in her father's room taking down in a note-book his rapidly-dictated answers to the letters that rain upon him by every post, letters presently to be written out in a delicate hand-writing clear as print, and placed in a pile to await the characteristic, and strongly marked signature of Charles Bradlaugh.

The other regular occupant of the room in the morning hours is a pug dog, pure as to breed but vile as to temper, who shows his devotion to his mistress—the one passion which animates his fate little body and curly tail—by a hurricane of barks directed against any one who approaches her. When Mrs. Bonner is out of the room, he is tame enough but in her presence he is a perfect fiend.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S ROOM

is very characteristic of its inhabitant. It is very large, being intended for the show-room belonging to the shop over which it is built, and is lined from floor to ceiling with books. Not of the books confined to the shelves which cover every inch of wall, save that above the mantelpiece; there are several standing book-cases scattered over the room, not grimy crack ornamental stands, but heavy solid affair, carrying double rows of books back and front, and rising three tiers in height. Few private individuals, outside wealthy book collectors, can boast of such a library as has been gathered by this man who has never been rich. Many of these books represent foregone dinner, and clothes worn to shabbiness. They have been earned one by one,

picked up on this bookstall and that truck, and are loved with a strong, tenacious passion woven out of the overcome difficulties they represent. Here may still be found the well-thumbed Greek Testament and Greek and Hebrew lexicons, which sorely puzzled his whilom comrades when he was a raw recruit, and which his fondness for tea, won for him the subriquet of "Leaves" from his fellow soldiers.

In contrast with these relics of a struggling past stand in stately array a complete set of the Journals of the House of Commons, marking the distance between private soldier and successful legislator with a certain piquancy fo antithesis. Here, again, is a fine collection of old Bibles, of various dates and in various tongues; recall in the doughty Iconoclast, the

"AGGRESSIVE ATHEIST,"

While there are to be seen shelf after shelf of massive law-books, speaking of those tremendous legal struggles in which this natural-born lawyer has measured words with and overthrown the ablest Barristers in England.

Few and far between are the decorations other than books. Near one window is a fine life-size bust of Mr. Gladstone, when younger by many years, than he is now, and close by this hangs a large portrait of Annie Besant. Over the mantelpiece are portraits of the present Speaker of the House of Commons, of Ernest Jones, John Stuart Mill, and Charles Sumner. In the centre is one of the many illuminated addresses which have been presented to Mr. Bradlaugh from time to time by devoted friends. Specially prized is this one, given by the Northumberland miners in 1874, and containing a wish that has since been partly fulfilled. "We trust, however, that you will ere long enjoy the reward to which you are so eminently entitled. And the first instalment of that reward, we hope, will be a seat in the House of Commons."

The furniture of the big library is of the simplest. There is a large desk table, at which Mr. Bradlaugh sits, with ample space for writing, pigeon holes rising in front of him, and drawers on either hand. A second large table, unto which overflow Parliamentary blue books and memoranda; a third table for his secretary, a couple of armchairs and half a dozen cane-bottomed ones, complete the furniture of this very un-Sybaritic room.

UPSTAIRS IS HIS BED-ROOM

small and plainly furnished, and down in the basement beside the kitchen, is a gloomy room, below the surface of the ground, in which the meals are taken. Very often, however, breakfast is brought to him on a tray to the library, when he swallows his warm milk, and takes mouthfuls of bread and butter as he struggles with his morning correspondence.

Up to 10 o'clock in the morning Mr. Bradlaugh is "at home" to any one who wants advice, and hither comes many a poor man, victim of legal injustice or other oppression, to tell his story and find sound and wise advice. All Mr.

Bradlaugh's legal knowledge is put at the service of any one who is needy, and counsel that many a rich man would gladly buy at a high price is given freely to the poor. But this is not for sale, and the rich he sends empty away. Many a law-suit is prevented, many a quarrel headed, many a tangle unravelled in these morning hours, and "the poor man's lawyer" is never too busy to listen to his clients' tales.

If Committee of which he is a member is sitting, he has to leave home soon after 11 A. M. not to return 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning; on other days he takes a swift simple meal at 12-30, and then goes off to his Parliamentary duties. A plain, regular life, full of strenuous work and hard thinking is his; and between Parliamentary duties and necessary correspondence are sandwiched in the delivery of lectures and the writing of newspaper and magazine articles by which

HIS EARNINGS HIS LIVING

for Charles Bradlaugh has nothing save what he can earn by pen and tongue, and at times, with the mass of unpaid work he does, it is pretty hard to make both ends meet. Our stupid English fashion of expecting all "Parliament Men" save Ministers to do all their work for nothing comes heavily on those who have naught to depend on save their own earnings,

The Indian work, to which allusion was made above, is likely to improve as time goes on. There is an Indian Political Agency, which has its seat in London, of which the representative here is William Digby, C. I. E., a clever man, full of knowledge of Indian affairs, and heartily devoted to Indian interests. The moving spirit in Hindustan is Allan O. Hume, and among the Natives who are endeavouring to arouse English interests in Indian affairs are men like Dadabhai Nowroji and W. C. Bonnerji, learned, cultured, and eloquent men, able to hold their own in debate on a platform, and already listened to with attention and respect.

Their choice of Mr. Bradlaugh as representative of India in the House of Commons has met with full approval in Hindustan and at the Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad last December, and attended by 1,200 delegates his name was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers, when "his great efforts on our behalf" were mentioned by a leading delegate, and when after expressing unfeigned gratitude for

"HIS MASTERLY AND ABLE ADVOCACY

of our cause," the hope was expressed that he would move in Parliament the resolution carried at the Congress asking for reforms, the vast assembly enthusiastically endorsed the selection.

As soon as Parliament opened Mr. Bradlaugh carried out his mandate by giving notice of a motion;



The motion has,

ALREADY DONE SOMETHING.

There are indications of the willingness of the Viceroy and of the Government home to modify the existing *regime*, and it is quite possible that the Government may accept(s) much of the motion as relates to the Provincial Legislative Councils, but leaving the Governor-General's Council untouched, except so far as allowing the Budget to be discussed, and giving to the members the right of asking questions, this latter right being probably limited to questions of domestic policy. It is urged that the superior Council of the Governor-General's is almost always engaged in the conduct of imperial interests, with regard to which Native interests and Native dispositions might be at variance with official leanings; e.g. it is pretty certain that Natives would be against such an act as the annexation of Burmah, having in view the initial expense and the pecuniary charge for years to come. Indian official circles are showing much hostility to the movement, but its success is fairly well assured, and it must have the widest possible results in our Indian Empire, preparing it, let us hope, for the Self Government without which no nation can develop along the lines best suited to its genius.

It would be a strange revolution of the wheel if Charles Bradlaugh, so essentially Western in his thought and incarnating the aggressive radicalism of our time, should evolve into Secretary of State for our Oriental Empire, with its conservative civilization and its venerable antiquity. But more impossible things than this are written in the book of fate.

Mr. Bradlaugh on the Indian Uncovenanted Service.

On Friday evening Sir Roper Lethbridge, in an exceedingly exhaustive speech, moved:

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the grievances of the members of the Indian Uncovenanted Civil Services, with special reference to their pension and leave rules, and to the effect produced by the fall in the value of silver on their family remittances, and their provision for old age."

Sir George Campbell had given notice of an amendment to Sir Roper Lethbridge's motion:

"To move to leave out all after 'House' in order to insert the Secretary of State for India in Council will fairly consider any reasonable representations of officers, who entered the Indian Service in this country under the prescribed covenants or agreements; but this House declines to entertain any claim of officers appointed in India, and classed as Uncovenanted, to any advantages beyond those accorded to Natives and Europeans alike under Indian rules and Indian currency."

But, according to the Rules of the House, this could not be moved unless Sir R. Lethbridge's amendment to supply had become a substantive motion.

Mr. Bradlaugh, in seconding the motion, said that it did not ask the house to decide whether a sufficient case had been made out, but simply to grant an inquiry into certain specific grievances. It was from this standpoint only that

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he supported the motion. It was the fault of the Government of India alone that there was such a discussion as was now being held. If the Government had done what they officially announced their intention of doing—namely, followed up the Public Service Commission by a general Parliamentary inquiry—the House would have been spared the trouble of this discussion. He did not intend to follow the mover in his careful statement of the grievances which he had laid before the House, except to urge that a *prima facie* case had been clearly stated for investigation. He wondered that some intimation had not already been given by the Government that they would grant this inquiry. He had no means of knowing the views of the noble Lord the Secretary for India. The noble Lord could not desire to evade an inquiry, nor could he say that such an inquiry was premature. It might be urged that the report of the Public Service Commission was still in the hands of the Government. But he would remind the House that this Commission was expressly precluded from examination into the matters into which inquiry was asked; and it was declared by the Government itself that the investigation of the Commissioners was to be followed by a more complete Parliamentary inquiry. He could imagine the Under-Secretary saying that he felt obliged in the interest of the Natives of India to decline this inquiry, and expressing the official surprise which the hon. gentleman knew so well how to affect that the hon. member for Northampton, of all men, should second this motion, because he had taken a different course last year in restraining from voting on the motion of the hon. member for Central Hull. But the motion of last year was very different from this, and asked the house to express a judgment in favor of the justice of the claim, whereas this was simply a motion for inquiry by a Select Committee. The motion last year was that a verdict should be found; this was for the impanelling of a Jury to find a verdict. What was asked was, not that the House should act as a Jury on the *ex parte* statement to-night, but that it should appoint a Jury to hear evidence, by the verdict of which Jury those who appealed to it must be bound. Last year the Under-Secretary pleaded for the impoverished poverty-stricken Indian tax-payer contending that these were opposed to their European brethren of the Uncovenanted Service. The able Under-Secretary was not always so considerate of the poor Natives—as, for example in the matter of the salt-tax. But if these Uncovenanted Civil Servants had no legal or moral claim, there would be no possible charge on the Natives resulting from the inquiry; and if on inquiry, the alleged grievances were made out, then, hard-pressed as the Natives of India were, they desired no injustice to their fellow-subjects. As they had to ask for redress of their own grievances, they were not disposed to refuse inquiry into the grievances of others. Economics might be effected in the expenditure at home, especially on the highly-paid officials of the India Office, and the members of Council.

The whole amount involved here was hardly more than one-fifth of the home charges for the management of Indian affairs. The motion of last year asserted a claim and asked the House to decide upon it at once; but the present motion only asked that a Select Committee might be appointed, and that evidence might be taken as to whether there was a foundation for the alleged grievances. Although he inferred, from the slight motion of the head of the Under-Secretary for India, that the hon. gentleman thought he had no right on this occasion to express any opinion on behalf of the Natives of India, he might tell the hon. gentleman that among the English-speaking Natives of India, there was a growing desire to break down the barriers which had been erected officially between the Europeans and the Natives. They wish to put an end to the system in which Europeans were played off against Natives, and Natives were played off against Europeans, according as the Government of the day might wish to avoid the claims of either. The case of the Uncoincanted Civil Servants had been completely put by the hon. member for North Kensington; but he asked House to determine that an inquiry should be granted to suppliants who came to them for some hearing, and who had no opportunity of having it anywhere else.

Mr. Bradlaugh on the Indian Budget.

In the discussion on 27th August on the Indian Budget Statement.

MR. BRADLAUGH said: Mr. Courtney,—I had placed on the paper notice of my intention to move, that this House expresses its deep regret that the accounts have not been laid before it at a period when effective debate might have been had thereon, but in view of the fact that the number of members now present is so very small, I do not propose to submit this formally to the Committee; but I must most seriously protest against the gross injustice done year to the whole of our fellow-subjects in India by the delay of the presentation of the Indian Financial Statement—an injustice which is aggravated this year, and last by new rules of procedure which require Mr. Speaker to leave the chair without question, and thus prevent any general discussion of Indian policy, or general statement of grievances from inhabitants of India. The yearly discussions on estimates in this House afford opportunity for the presentation of the grievances of every colony, however small its population. India, with 210,000,000 of subjects, and with another 65,000,000 of people more or less influenced, is enforcedly dumb. I most earnestly appeal to the Government to amend the new rule, so that with the Speaker in the chair grave questions of Indian policy may be discussed efficiently. I venture to repeat my warning of raising it by amendment to the address, if this is not done or at least decided upon during the recess, so as to be announced at the opening of the next Session. Any real discussion of the Indian Budget in part of one

evening is impossible, and in an almost empty House all debate must be ineffective ; the few members remaining are wearied out with the work of the Session. Under present conditions many subjects vital to India cannot be now formally raised at risk of being ruled by you out of order. The hon. member has told us that the only proposal of economy had come from the Government, but the hon. gentleman had ignored the fact that the Government, had prevented me from bringing forward proposals which I thought would tend to economy, and had deprived me of the opportunities I had obtained in the ballot. In saying that the Indian Council Act had been delayed by action on the Opposition side, the hon. member had also omitted to mention that when appealed to by the First Lord of the Treasury I had at once withdrawn my amendment rather than wreck the Bill. I cannot say I have quite followed the first figures given by the hon. gentleman. It seems to me they still did not quite agree, but I propose to confine myself to the figures which I have in print, and which are capable of being more clearly examined. The hon. gentleman complained that he was met by ironical cheers when he said that chief increase of the revenue was from salt, and the hon. gentleman said that he was shocked at the statements made by people who ought to know better about the effects of increased revenue on the consumption. The hon. gentleman has shocked me. A book circulated within the last few days by the authority of the hon. gentleman himself expressly stated that the consumption of salt had fallen off, and I propose to show that that falling off was due to the increase of duty. The hon. member also complained that a "famine insurance fund" had been spoken of; but that was how his own Government had described it at a time when they meant it to be a famine insurance fund. The hon. gentleman asked whether those who advocated an increase in the fund advocated increased taxation, which was the only way the fund could be increased. The answer to that was that the Government had increased taxation expressly for that specific purpose and had applied it to other purposes. It had only been applied to its proper purpose by one Viceroy, and that was under circumstances highly creditable to the then Viceroy of India. Before examining the memorandum of the Under-Secretary, which was issued later this year than last, I will very briefly draw the attention of the Committee, in view of the fall in silver, to the impolicy of maintaining even the slightest hindrance to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes. As was most fully pointed out on a debate in this question in another place about a month ago, the duty of 1s. 6d per ounce and the requirement of hall marking were practically prohibitive of the importation for trade purposes of Indian manufactured silver articles and the exportation of English manufactured silver for the Indian market. I appeal specially to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this question, which is of high importance to India, and vitally affects our silver trade with many foreign countries.

I will ask the Committee to turn to "Famine relief and insurance" item on page 50 in the explanatory memorandum of the Under-Secretary, and would more specially refer to the Return moved for, by myself, on June 24th) Parliamentary Paper 231, of this Session. And as the Under-Secretary objects to the use of the words "Famine Relief Fund" I will explain briefly its origin, and refer to the financial statement for 1878-79; to the financial resolution of the Government of India, dated 18th March, 1878; and to a Minute by the Viceroy of India, dated 12th March, 1878, for a detailed explanation of the principles on which it was proposed to make a systematic provision against periodical famines and death from starvation. On Parliamentary Paper 37 (1878), p. 5, the speech of the Finance Minister in the Legislative Council of the Government of India proposes to raise an additional £1,500,000 a year "on account of famine alone", and he says that this is done because of the "recognition by Her Majesty's Government of the duty of making definite provision for the cost of famine". On page 24, he says: "It is the firm intention of the present Government to apply the funds, now to be provided for this special purposes, strictly to the exclusive objects which they were designed to secure"; and he goes on: "The Government of India intends to keep this million and a half as in assurance against famine alone"; and he adds: "We consider that the estimates of every year ought to make provisions for religiously applying the sum I have mentioned to this sole purpose; and I hope that no desire to carry out any administrative improvement however urgent, or any fiscal reform however wise, will tempt the Government to neglect this sacred trust". The "sacred trust" was neglected by Lord Lytton himself to provide money for war. When the noble lord, the member for South Paddington, was Secretary for India the "sacred trust" was abandoned to provide funds for annexation. Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy, used very remarkable words on the 27th December, 1877. They will be found on page 36. He anticipated that objectors might say; "Your good intentions are possibly sincere, but the path to the nethermost pit is already paved with good intentions. Promise is a good dog, but performance is a better; we have often heard the bow-wow of the first; we have yet to see the tail of the second. We have been told over and over again by the highest authorities that India is to be insured against famine in this way, or in that; but when famines come upon us we find that the promised way is still wanting"; and Lord Lytton solemnly declared "We promise nothing which we have not, after long and anxious consideration provided ourselves with the means of performing. I must have very imperfectly explained myself thus far, if I have failed to make it clearly understood that I am not now speaking of what we ought to do, or would do, to insure this country against the worst effects of future famines but we only the means of doing, it out of what we can do, and will do, with the means already provi-

ded for, in the measures now before the Council". In the debate in the Legislative Council of 16th January, 1878 (Parliamentary Paper 118 of 1878, p. 5), an Indian member urges of this famine insurance. "that it should be formed into a separate fund with a separate account," "so that it may satisfy the people that it is what in reality is intended to be a separate famine fund"; and on page 44, Lord Lytton says, "the necessity of a famine insurance fund, and the duty of the Government to provide such a fund, have been generally acknowledged". Yet this Session the Under-Secretary denies that it ought to be called a fund, and admits this duty has never been fulfilled. Of course to raise this £1,500,000 it was necessary to levy increased taxation on the natives of India. The Finance Minister observed in 1878-9 by way of justifying the increased taxation : "I feel confident that I shall be able to satisfy the Council and the public that the resolution which the Government has proclaimed will be faithfully carried out, and that the proceeds of these new taxes will be expended for the purpose of providing what I have called an insurance against famine and for no other purpose whatsoever". If members will refer to the return laid on the table on July 3rd of this year, they will see that this promise has never been kept, although the Viceroy in his Minute, dated 12th March, 1878, wrote : The sole justification for the increased taxation which has just been imposed upon the people of India for the purpose of insuring this Empire, against the worst calamities of future famine, so far as such an insurance can now be practically provided, is the pledge we have given that a sum not less than a million and a half sterling, which exceeds the amount of the additional contributions obtained from the people for this purpose, shall be annually applied to it. We have explained to the people of this country that the additional revenue raised by the new taxes is required, not for the luxuries, but for the necessities of the State, not for general purpose, but for the construction of a particular class of public works ; and we have pledged ourselves not to spend one rupee of the special resources thus created, upon works of a different character." And, when the British Indian Association, latter on, hinted at the possible breach of faith on the part of the Government, Lord Lytton openly rebuked them in these memorable words: " You have entirely failed to recognise the fact that the sole purpose of this additional taxation you complain of was the preservation of the lives of the people from the effect of famine. To insinuate the country is to insinuate a calumny." I proceed to complain of, and to criticise the return. (1) The tax was imposed in 1878, but the return commences with 1879-80; why is 1878-9 omitted? What was the amount applied to prevent famine in that year, so closed to Lord Lytton's solemn promise; (2) I now ask the Committee to take the summary of twelve years given on p. 4. How is the £18,000,000 sterling of those twelve years—[raised by additional taxation for famine relief alone]—how is it accounted for? 9,900,737 tens of rupees

alone or alleged to have been expended, leaving roughly over £8,000,000 sterling misappropriated. The only years in which Lord Lytton's promises were kept were those years in which Lord Ripon was Viceroy. Recalling Lord Lytton's specific declaration that "the sole purpose" of the additional taxation "was the preservation of the lives of the people from the effects of famine", I ask the House to refer to page 2 of the Return. Since October last year it was known that famine was certainly approaching in Madras and Bengal, and threatening in Bombay. As is pointed out in the native press, there had been a partial failure of the south west monsoon of 1883, due in the months of June and July. The effect of this had been aggravated by the almost complete failure of the north east—monsoon, due in the month of October. The usual results would be failure of crops, possible famine. What is the estimate provision made by the Government out of the earmarked £1,500,000 for the year? The veriest mockery of £20,500, of which £500 "charitable relief" Madras, and £20,000 "charitable relief," Bengal. No provision was made by the Government for the relief works which have been so sorely needed at Ganjam, and which the Government ought to have foreseen. But it is true that in 1883-9 the Government wrote off as unrecoverable £200 due by some wretched Madras agriculturalists whose lands had produce no crops. In eleven years real famine relief has been given to the extent of 2,631,750 tons of rupees only, the amount raised by taxation "for this purpose and none other" being £16,500,000. And yet on p. 5 of the Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India, 1887-8 there is the statement that "no surplus was available as a reserve against famine outlay in future years". If, in 1887-8 the Government found itself unable to make provision against famine, it at least did something to promote starvation. On the 19th January, 1888, the salt duty was raised 25 per cent., that is, from 2 rupees per maund of 82 lbs., to 2½ rupees, and the Government statement p. 9, says: the enhancement of the duty had an effect in reducing the consumption of salt", but less salt means less food, and the official declaration is, that in 1888 "the consumption fell off markedly in the district of Ganjam". P. 75 of the statement shows that the consumption of salt in Ganjam fell from 12·31 pounds per head to 8·27 lbs. per head, owing, as the Government say "partly to high prices", or as I should say, almost wholly to the high prices resulting from the increased duty. No wonder there has been famine at Ganjam. I will ask the Committee to note on page 4 of the explanatory memorandum, the enormous difference between gross and net revenue and expenditure, the gross being swollen by matters of account; and clearly, in some instances creating a false impression. For example railway receipts go to make up gross totals. From p. 12 it will be seen that in the three years 1887-90, railway impose a burden on the taxpayer of 7,502,780 tens of rupees, though the hon. bart.,

the member for Hytha, urges the Government to spend £100,000,000 on more railways. «In the official statement, page 14, it is admitted that " though the dividend on the total railway capital is apparently more than 5 per cent. and though the Government is not liable for more than 5 per cent. on any guaranteed capital, or more than 4 per cent. on State Railway capital, still the Indian Treasury lost on its current railway transactions Rx. 2,267,800 in 1887-8, and estimated to lose Rx. 2,115,000 in 1888-9" The actual loss turned out to be more than half a million rupees larger than this estimate. I am sure the Under-Secretary did not purposely omit it; but I should have liked an explanation of this fact.

Sir E. WATKIN asked whether the hon. member was not aware that it had been proved that the advantage to the people of India was greater than the total value of the railways.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I do not see how that is to the point. I regret that the Secretary of State for India has not, in the memorandum under the head of railways, given any information as to the change of policy with reference to the projected railway from Chittagong, as to which a concession of 3,000 square miles of waste land with the right to prospect for coal and petroleum, has either been actually granted or is under consideration. I do not suggest that such a concession would be bad or good. But the House is entitled to know what were the views of the department and of the Viceroy. What was the reason of this entire change of policy; on what conditions were these rights of prospecting to be conceded? If this be a wise policy there is no necessity for concealment. Nor ought members of this House to be driven to obtain information from private sources. Referring to irrigation works on page 13, I wish to ask on table 2—which in col. 1 states the total cost to 1886-7 as 23,770,346 tens of rupees—from what date the commencement of cost is taken? and whether the two tables mean that a total expenditure to the present date of Rx. 25,332,935 shows an estimated loss for the year of Rx. 725, 400, and whether as a higher loss still is shown in the two other years given, he will state the deficit for the preceding years. I also ask the Under-Secretary, as he states the total capital outlay to date on the irrigation works, 1st, to state the total deficit of all the years covered by the capital outlay; whether the Rx 620,400 mentioned in col. 3, table I, p. 13, as the portion of land revenue due to irrigation, is the net addition to land revenue from new works only, or does it include receipts from old works? 2nd, whether to give the Committee an opportunity of comparing, he can state the amount credited to land revenue from irrigation in 1858? and, further, if he will state the net addition to the food production of the empire which has accrued from the total expenditure of £25,000,000? In the statement of assets and liabilities on page 20. I would ask, are the railways and irrigation works set down at their full cost? Is any allowance made for deprecia-

tion? Is any sinking fund provided? Referring to page 10 on Burma, I would ask the Committee to note that while the cost of annexation was originally estimated in November, 1885, at some £270,000, it has already cost some £8,000,000, and it is impossible to limit the further expenditure required to pacify the country, I note that in relation to the Burmese Ruby Mines, Parliament has never had submitted to it the particulars with names and amounts of the various tenders. I would ask the Under-Secretary to state the cost of, and incidental to, the sending out Mr. Barrington Browne as Government expert? what kind of valuation he made, and the general nature of his report? and how many higher tenders, and to what amounts, were received than the tender accepted, and the names of the persons tendering?

Sir J. GORST: I will answer at once. None.

Mr. BRADLAUGH asked whether the hon. gentleman attached any subtle meaning to the word "tender," and whether there were not offers in writing within the knowledge of the Viceroy of India?

Sir J. GORST said the tender for the Burmese Ruby Mines was settled in this country by public advertisement in the newspapers. Tenders were received at the India Office, and they were opened in his presence. He could vouch for the fact that those tenders were received.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I do not think that the hon. gentleman and myself mean the same thing in the words we are using. I should be glad, however, if the hon. gentleman would oblige the Committee with the names and particulars of the various tenders, together with the replies, so that the Committee might be enabled to form a judgment as to higher or lower tenders. I ask why it is stated on page 17 of the Government Statement for 1878, that "a lease for working the Burmese Ruby Mines has been granted to a British Company for a term of seven years; the Company will pay a rental of Rx. 40,000 plus one sixth their profits," when in the House in 1878 the Under-Secretary repeatedly stated that no lease had been granted; and even now in the estimated receipts for 1888-90 or 1889-90 nothing is credited as from these Ruby Mines? That I fear, undue length at which I have troubled the Committee will, I hope, at least shew the absolute need for an effective financial control by Parliament, and if it is replied that this is impossible, as perhaps it is, the need is demonstrated for a continuous control in India by improved and enlarged Councils, with extensive powers, strengthened by a standing Parliamentary Committee at home—possibly a joint Committee of both Houses—to which questions might be referred by such enlarged Indian Councils. I appeal to this Committee, and through them to the English Parliament, and still more I appeal to the English people, for reasonable attention to the wants of India, especially as its grievances are now finding constitutional expression in the great Congress movement, of which Lord Dufferin said that he regarded with feelings "of approval and good will their natural ambition to be more extensively associated with their English

rulers in the administration of their own domestic affairs." Though only at present the expression of a small portion of the vast population, I ask the Committee to note its rapid growth. The promoters of the Allahabad Congress point out that "fully three millions of men (more men than voted at the elections for the present imperial House of Commons) took a direct part in the elections for the delegates of the 1888 Congress, either at the final meetings at the divisional head-quarters, or at the minor local meetings, to select representatives to attend these." The demands of the Congress party are constitutionally made and reasonably worded, and it is right and just that the Natives of India should have other opportunity of being heard here than is afforded by an array of empty benches at the close of a wearying Session.

The Liverpool demonstration.

[On the 14th October afternoon, Mr. George Yule, president of the Indian National Congress, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, ex-president, were entertained to luncheon at the Reform Club, Dale-street, on the occasion of their visit to Liverpool. Mr. Edward Evans, jun., chairman of the club, presided, and the company included, besides the guests, Mr. W. J. Caine, M. P., the Rev. J. Ewen, of Benares, India; Messrs. James Samuelson, R. D. Holt, C. R. Aldrich, A. Aruncur, J. P. Brunner, W. B. Bowring, J. G. Brown, J. P. Bourne, A. R. Banks, E. S. Burgess, G. Boott, Rev. J. A. Becke, A. D. F. Culbard, G. Chamberlain, J. Cripps, W. Darby, W. Dransfield, J. Davies, S. Davies, J. M. Darbshire, H. Durand, E. Evans, J. J. Evans, J. Henderson, T. Holder, L. Hughes, J. Hodgson, J. Japp, H. Jones, J. Johnstone, J. S. Kay, T. Lee, J. H. Livesey, H. W. Meade-King, J. Miles, J. M'Connal, W. M'Connal, T. Matheson, W. Oulton, P. Owen, T. A. Patterson, M. Pratt, L. Rayner, J. W. Scholefield, E. Samuelson, jun., J. H. Springmann, J. R. R. Scott, W. N. Turner, O. J. Van Wart, C. Williner, J. Young, A. Zicaliotti, and E. H. Springmann, and Col. Whitney. The menu card, which was designed by Mr. George H. Barker, secretary and manager of the club, had on the face of it an appropriate representation of an Englishman and an Indian clasping each other by the hand, with a dove bearing an olive branch flying overhead. It was tied with red, green, and white ribbons, these being the colours of the Indian National Congress.]

The loyal toasts having been suitably honoured, The Chairman read a letter of apology for absence from Mr. E. R. Russell, who wrote:—

"I hope you will have not only a pleasant but a very useful meeting. The people of India cannot be drawn into too close communion with us at home" (applause.)

The Chairman, in proposing the health of the guests, said when his friend Mr. James Samuelson mentioned to him that Mr. Yule and Mr. Bonnerjee were coming to Liverpool, and having previously taken some little interest in the matter, he at once thought it was not only his duty as chairman, but also his privilege, to invite two such distinguished gentlemen to meet the members of the club. He wished to state that he believed these gentlemen were very desirous that anything they did in regard to the reform of India should not be necessarily associated with any of the political parties in this country (hear,

Hear.) He believed there were present several who differed from them in reference to politics, and he need hardly say they were welcome (*applause.*) At the same time, it was peculiarly appropriate that the Reform Club of Liverpool should show what attention could to gentlemen like Mr. Yule and Mr. Bonnerjee, who were themselves reformers. Several gentlemen had expressed an opinion to him that they hardly knew what the Indian Congress really was, and perhaps it might be of interest if he gave them a few statistics regarding it. The international Congress was founded in 1885, to improve the material and political condition of the natives of India by constitutional means, and a great deal of its success was due to the first president, Mr. Bonnerjee, who occupied at the Indian Bar pretty much the same position as that held by Sir Charles Russell at the English Bar (*applause.*) At the first meeting, which was held in Bombay in 1885, there were only seventy-two delegates present, whereas last year there were no fewer than 1,218 delegates at the assembly presided over by Mr. Yule, who was a Scotchman carrying on a large mercantile business in India and this country (*applause.*) In connection with the International Congress there was a social Congress, which met with the approval of all parties in India, and among the objects of which were to prevent infant marriages, to break down the objectionable caste customs, and to facilitate the remarriage of widows, whose lives were at present full of great hardship (*applause.*) He was sure these were objects which would meet, after consideration and discussion, with the favor of all present, and of a great many more. He did not know whether people were really aware of what great interest this country had in India, which was by far the best customer they had from a commercial point of view. In 1888 the imports to India amounted to no less than £62,500,000 sterling, of which £32,500,000 was British commerce (*applause.*)

The toast was very heartily received.

Mr. Yule, in reply, said :—My first duty is to thank the president of your club for asking us to your hospitable board, and for the kind words of welcome he has spoken. I say for myself, and I think I may say on behalf of the two other guests, that we most heartily reciprocate the good feelings that have been expressed. I take it we are here to-day because of the part we have played in a movement in India—a movement which though young in years, has a robustness and vigour of constitution about it that has its voice to be heard in this far off island of the Gentiles. That voice has been heard with varying, even opposite feelings. We believe it has been heard by large numbers with a sentiment akin to that which a parent feels on hearing the call of his child—heard with interest and satisfaction, because it betokens a growth, physical and intellectual, which he has been working watching and longing for. We are told we are everything that is bad. We are not only ungrateful, but we are seditious, and we have the will—though they thank their stars we have not

the power—to be actively rebellious. I need not say to you that all this sort of talk is pure, unadulterated nonsense. To my mind, it is as natural result a result of good governmental nursing that the subject of it should grow into fuller freedom as that a well-caressed boy should gradually develop into manhood. More or less earnestly, more or less intelligently, have we been at this nursing for the last 150 years, and especially since 1858. It was felt that the India Company had not done its duty to the people sufficiently well. It had been too self-seeking, and had neglected to adopt measures to educate and otherwise uplift the people to take their due share in the management of the affairs of their own country. To remedy this was the pretence, and, I trully believe, was the lofty object, of our statesmen and Parliament, thirty years ago, in taking of the government of India into their own hands. Since then all kinds knowledge have been sedulously imparted. The arts, philosophy, literature, and the sciences have been diligently taught. We have instilled into the minds of students the best methods of government, and we have not been slow to boast of the old and young glories of the British Constitution. We have told them the manner of its growth, and they are bidden to admire it. Now, is it very wonderful that a desire should be awakened in these apt pupils to follow in the footsteps of their masters; to grow as they have grown; to become useful and great in the world as they have, become? It say it is not only a natural, but it is also a commendable wish to cherish, and it is one that should be encouraged rather than repressed. Of one thing I am sure, and that is if such aspirations be fairly met, we will draw the teeming millions of India into closer relations with us, and by ties that can't be broken (hear, hear). If they be resisted unduly we will most assuredly nourish a spirit of discontent

which will be to our and their disadvantage at all times, and which may become especially manifest in periods of adversity and conflict (hear, hear). And now, gentlemen, let me state very briefly what the Indian National Congress aims at on what may be called its political side. Its views are stated in the first resolution of the last meeting of the congress. I may, however, first say the Government as present constituted consists of provincial councils and the supreme councils are composed of officials and a few non-official gentlemen, who are, however, nominated and appointed by the Government. We would have a similar state of things in this country if its Government consisted solely of a Cabinet, whose members were all drawn from the different services of the Crown, and were selected by the Queen, and of six or seven gentlemen not in the public service, but who were also selected by the Queen or by the official members of the Cabinet. That would be a counterpart in England of the form of Government we have in India, but not altogether so. To complete the picture, we would have to imagine that the Queen of England and her Cabinet were born and resided in an island in the far-off Pacific and that the

Secretary of State to whom control was given in all matters relating to England knew nothing of the country up to the date of his appointment except what he may have gleaned from its history by some Pacific Islander—some James Mill—who himself had never been in the country. I leave it to your imagination to conceive what the condition of England would be with all its affairs, in its army, in its taxation, in its police, in its laws and in its education, directed and controlled by such a council. Now I am far from saying that such a rudimentary form of Government was not the best possible in the circumstances of 1858. Indeed, I think it was; but it is no less clear to me that so embryotic a state cannot and ought not to go on for ever. There must surely be some limit to its period of gestation, and some hope that it will chip away at its own enclosing shell till it finds deliverance into a fuller and freer life. Now, all the change we want is the enlargement of the councils to thirty or forty members, and that half of the members be elected, and also that the members should have the right of interpellation. It is extremely unlikely that whole of the elected members would on any occasion be opposed to the Government, and we may reasonably assume that the Government would always have a majority of votes to carry any measure it pleased; but in case such an event—I mean a defeat—were to occur, we are willing that the Governor-General should have the right to veto all adverse votes, and that his veto should continue until the House of Commons determined otherwise. We are sensible that for a long time the power of making and changing laws must lie with the Government. The real and only mission of the reformed councils we propose is one of independent criticism. We are desirous of helping to make good laws by subjecting the proposals of Government to the criticism of those who would be affected by their operation. "A good law is a law for which good reasons can be given" is a dictum of Bentham, and if it be true as I think it is, we would hope that the Government would not pass laws which were demonstrated to be bad. Now, as I have said, the change, humble as it is, has been strongly objected to, especially by the old type of Indian officials. Their idea of government finds expression in the remark, "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword." Concession to the smallest extent is objectionable. Even the presence of nominated non-official members in the councils is regarded as the thin edge of the wedge. The municipal bill of Lord Ripon, which gives the people a partial control of their own dust bins, is railed at. The employment of Indians, except in the humbllest posts, is opposed by them; and, recognising that the higher education now imparted encourages the people to look for some privileges and some power, they desire to suppress higher education, and to limit our efforts in that direction to the three R's. They say we are in India for one purpose, for our own material good. To pretend anything else is hypocrisy, and any conflict

between the interests of the people of India and our own must be settled in only one way—their interests must go to the wall. All demands and all agitations for alterations in the laws which the Council is pleased to pass should, in their opinion, be suppressed, and all agitators—Indian or English—should be deported from the country. It is a stiff bill of despotic fare on which the country is to be fed, and for evermore. I ought, however, to say that, although I have heard such views frequently expressed, it has been by officials in subordinate positions, and by the Hotspurs of private life. Neither our Queen, nor Parliament, nor Viceroy, nor any of the officials of the first rank, has given utterance to such thoughts, and I am happy in the belief that the upholders of what they are pleased to call a benevolent despotism are diminishing in number and influence. Then we have objectors on other grounds. One set ask us what guarantee we have that any influence given to the people of India may not be used, say, to further Russian objects in the conquest of the country? The guarantee we have is that human nature will have first to be upset and reconstructed on totally different lines. Once more it is asserted that our object is to get hold of the public purse strings, and thereby to bring the Government into subjection to our wills. Well, I am not prepared to admit that that would be an ignoble desire. If it be good to hold our private purse strings, I see no baseness in the public desiring to hold the public purse strings. That objection proceeds mostly from those who participate in the £6,000,000 paid under the head of "non effective service." I may say, however, that we do not ask to hold the purse strings, but only that those who do so shall be under the obligation to tell us what is put in, and what is taken out, and their reasons for doing so, and to give us the opportunity of discussing these reasons with them. Then another set tells us that we in India have no experiences in working representative institutions, and therefore we are not qualified to work them. Supposing the statement to be true, which it is not, it amounts to this—you are not qualified because you have no experience, and you shall have no experience, so that you cannot become qualified (*hear, hear*). Again we are told that we have not the men capable of doing any efficient work in the councils. I will not attempt myself to answer that objection, but I will let another do it. Here is a sentence from Lord Dufferin's Jubilee speech which does it for me :—" Education has done its work, and we are surrounded on all sides by native gentlemen of great attainments from whom hearty, loyal, and effective co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit. The only fault I have to the answer is its limitation to native gentlemen. There are many Englishmen in the country to chose from whose services could also be usefully availed of. Lastly, it is said that we ought to be satisfied with and proud of the fact that we are members of an empire on which the sun never sets. We are thus invited to look upon the Indian Government as if it were some

magnificent natural phenomenon, like the Falls of Niagra, in the presence of which all our grievances and all kindred considerations are to be hushed, and so are left simply to wonder and admire. Length and breadth are all important factors in geometry, but they are not everything in the affairs of mankind. Quality counts for something, and proud and satisfied should we in India be if we could add our voices to those in other parts of her Majesty's dominions, and say that we are members of an empire on which not only the sun never sets, but also of an empire on which the Sun of Righteousness and growing freedom for ever shines (*applause*).

MR. BONNERJEE, who was received with applause, thanked them from the bottom of his heart for the extremely kind reception which they had given him. Liverpool had been so intimately connected with India for many years, he might almost say from the first connection between Great Britain and India, that he could not consider the kindness which they had shown him as being in any degree due to him personally, but that it was the kindness which they wished to show to his countrymen in India whose good they by that gathering showed they had at heart (*applause*). Occupied as they were all with their individual affairs, it was almost impossible for them to make themselves intimately and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of India. And to a great extent when the Indian question was presented to the people of Great Britain, they said to themselves, "These questions are very intricate; we have responsible officers looking after the affairs of India, and we would leave the affairs of India to them." One of the objects of the Indian National Congress was to disabuse the minds of the English gentlemen in this country of that idea. The questions relating to India were no more intricate than those relating to other parts of the empire, and they wanted the English people to study with intelligence and with carefulness the actions of officers sent out. He thought it would be a great gain both to Great Britain and India if gentlemen in the position of Mr. Samuelson and Mr. Caine were sent out and saw how India was being governed. Up to the present time India had derived a vast amount of good since it became connected with this country; it had progressed by leaps and bounds. The India of to-day was very different from the India of 1858, when her Imperial Majesty took over the government of the country. The people prior to that date were kept back to a very considerable extent, but education had now been introduced among them, and they saw that by education they could raise themselves. The result was that whereas in 1858, there were not more than fifteen or twenty English schools in the country they were now to be found in the remotest villages of the country. That being so, it was ridiculous for people to suppose that India would remain content with the constitution that was given her in 1858. She must necessarily want more, and he ventured to think it was true statesmanship to take

the present demands as they had been given out by the Indian National Congress consider the justice of them, and if the connection between this country and India might be strengthened by the granting of these demands the two countries will be knit much more intimately and affectionately together, and they would be able to point to India as a country where by their statesmanship they had kept a people differing from them in manners, religion, and everything bound to them not by the fear of the sword, but by respect and gratitude.

MR. W. S. CAINE, M. P. proposed—"The Chairman." He did so with peculiar pleasure because Mr. Evans was one of the oldest friends he had in the world. He had known him since they were boys together, and Mr. Evans's father was his (Mr. Caine's) father's oldest friend. He was very pleased to see Mr. Evans in the distinguished position of president of the club (*applause*). Living as he had done for many years past away from Liverpool, it would be impertinent in him to say anything to the active members of the club as to the way in which Mr. Evans discharged his duties, but they were all grateful to him for the interest he took in its affairs. He had that day eminently proved it by gathering them together to hear the speeches that had fallen from his friends Mr. Yule and Mr. Bonnerjee. He did not know whether in busy Liverpool, at that hour of the day, he dared venture to say a word or two about what had brought them together. Occupying as he did the honourable position, as he took it, of one of the managing committee on English education, and having been present at the Indian Congress, he might, perhaps, pretend to know something regarding that most important movement. He had spent the last two winters in India, and had devoted much attention to the subject. Referring to Mr. Bonnerjee, he said he was not a phenomenon, there being a great number of persons like him in India, though he was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished Indian citizens. He had twice over refused a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court in Calcutta—the most important position that could be offered to anyone in India, whether Englishman or Indian. There were throughout India hundred of thousands of well-educated men, and yet they had no share in the Government of their own country. While in India he addressed some forty meetings on the temperance question in forty different schools, the attendances varying from 800 to 4,000, and they understood English just as well as any of those present on that occasion, and the speakers spoke English very much better than the average member of Parliament or platform speaker in this country. At college they were educated precisely the same as English students in Oxford and Cambridge, or of the Scottish universities. From that they went to fill various positions of life, such as those of lawyers, doctors, and barristers. Having been trained in western politics and ideas, it was only natural that they should claim at the

hands of the Imperial Government some share in the government of their own country. Mr. Bonnerjee, while resident in this country, had a vote, and could assist in returning a member to the British Parliament; but when he returned to India he was a mere political cypher. This was an anomaly that could not last. If we had intended to give Indians no share in the Government of their own country, we were bound to keep them in ignorance; but we had kept them ignorant, and were therefore bound to give them a share in it. These gentlemen were knocking at the door of their own legislative council, and knocking for admission. Their claims were moderate, and they were more anxious for the stability of the Government and of the empire than any civil servant in the country. What they wanted was its stability along with progress, and they wanted to have a hand in that progress, believing that they could use it to the advantage of all. Their claim was extremely moderate. It was that they should be allowed to elect by some franchise one-half of the members sent to the legislative councils, and he ventured to say that if the Government acceded to their request, they would find it greatly to the advantage of the empire. At present the Indian civil servant was strongly opposed to all congress movements, and if one asked, he would be sure to tell him that these movements were seditious. Sedition in India meant any one disagreeing with the Government (*greater laughter and applause*), and yet they often found themselves at home precisely in the same position (*renewed laughter*). When one asked for proof of the sedition of the congress he was pointed to the vernacular Press. He had been told over and over again that he had no conception of the villainies in the native Press, but our own English Press was not altogether free from it. Instead of forcing the Indian people to vent their grievances through the vernacular press it would be well if they could do so on the floors of their council-chambers, with their own reporters present, and all this dread of sedition might well be expected to disappear. Freedom of speech was wanted in India, and the freedom of the Press perhaps more than anything; but all that freedom was of little practical use unless they could send representatives to their chambers. After four months experience, he had no hesitation in casting in his lot with them, and advocating Congress claims and demands. The Congress itself was a remarkable sight. Mr. Samuelson and he had sat through the whole session, and they did not hear a seditious expression, or anything of a disloyal nature, spoken during the whole time either in English or vernacular. He took care to have sitting beside him one of the greatest opponents to Congress, who interpreted to him anything said in the vernacular that was considered seditious, and it did not frighten him (Mr. Caine) in the least. The final arbitrator in the destinies of India was not the legislative councils, but the British House of Commons, and if they talked to Mr. Bonnerjee, he would tell them that he looked to the

British House of Commons to put the matter right for them. A resolution carried in the British House of Commons had far greater weight than anything in India. He had proved that himself. His friend Mr. Bonnerjee, had come over from India to see his family, who were being educated here, and he (Mr. Caine) was very glad that his friend was not reluctant to come into the country to meet parties such as those gathered together that day, and to put his views before them. Every liberal ought to study this Indian question with very great care indeed, and do every thing that lay in his power to inform of the demands of the Indian people (*applause*).

The Chairman having briefly responded, expressing thanks for such a numerous attendance in response to the circular, the proceedings terminated.

Mr. W. S. B. McLaren at Crewe.

[Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, the popular Parliamentary representative of the Crewe Division, addressed a crowded meeting of his constituents in the Town Hall, Crewe, on 21st October. The invitation to the meeting was addressed to "the electors," without regard to political creed; and the audience was thoroughly representative one, the numbers being limited only by the capacity of the building. Every part of the hall was filled many, unable to obtain sitting room, squeezing themselves into positions under the window sills, on the ledge of the platform and under the balcony, and other uncomfortable places. A building holding twice as many would have been packed. The chairman was Mr. Joseph Jones, a representative working man, who made a clear, sensible, logical introductory speech which at once gave a good tone to the meeting. Mr. McLaren, M. P., on rising to speak was greeted with an ovation, the heartiness and enthusiasm of his reception exceeding if possible anything which the hon. member had received at former gatherings. Commencing his speech at about 8-10, he spoke for fully one hour and twenty-five minutes, his address dealing with the whole range of political subjects, and being remarkable for its lucidity, energy, and power. Mr. McLaren is not a truckling politician, bent only on gaining the popular applause. His manner of delivery, the energy with which he applies himself to the elucidation of the truth, and the pointed arguments with which he enforces the lessons he desires to impress upon his auditory produce the feeling at once that he takes a very serious view of his public responsibilities, and is earnestly anxious to do his duty to his constituents and advance the best interests of the country.]

After dealing with British topics Mr. McLaren proceeded to enter.

A PLEA FOR INDIA.

Now, gentlemen, I want to impress upon you the necessity of taking a greater interest in the affairs of our great dependency of India. This is a subject which has not hitherto offered any attraction to the British public, and it does not offer many attractions to the House of Commons. When an Indian debate comes on in the House the attendance generally is very small; but the question of India is coming more and more to the front. It is already of very great importance. We have some 200 millions of people there under our sway, and we have control over a great many states and principalities to whom we are more or less responsible, and it is the duty of the people of this country to

interest themselves in the affairs of that great dependency which we have conquered, but in times past by methods which will not bear examination now-a-days, and which we should all feel very sorry to see repeated. There have been several debates on India during this session, and one very interesting one on the licensing laws of India known as the Abkari system, and in that debate we inflicted a defeat on the Government, and carried a resolution for the suppression of the inequalities of the system under which licenses are granted and controlled in favour of the Indian Government, which has been devoting itself—the lower officials, at any rate, have been devoting themselves—to increase the sale of drink in order to increase the revenue of India, and the Hindoos and Mahomedans, whose religious creeds make them abstain from intoxicating drinks, are learning from us to drink more than they ought to do, for the consumption of drink was increasing at a very alarming rate throughout India. When the Indian Budget, which is always discussed in the House of Commons, came on, I also took part on the financial grievances of India, but to show how little interest there is felt in that Indian Budget debate, I may say that during the greater part of it, there were not more 20 members in the House of Commons. I think the English people should take more interest in India, and have their members take more, and it should be the duty of the English people to stir up their members by making them ask questions in the House concerning it. There is a very great awakening amongst the people of India, an awakening such as Englishmen have no idea of. For the last four years remarkable meetings have been held there during Christmas time, called the Indian National Congress. As you are aware.

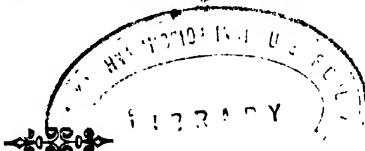
INDIA HAS NO REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

The Government of India consists of the Governor-General and his Supreme Council and Provincial Councils sitting at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and the North-West Provinces. These councils are composed of Governors, European officials and native gentlemen who are nominated by the governors, and, who are supposed, but only supposed, to represent native opinion. You can imagine the governors, English officials, don't want native criticism of their acts, and when they nominate Indian gentlemen to serve on the council, they take care to nominate gentlemen who will not make themselves troublesome. The Indian people are not satisfied with that sort of thing. We have been devoting large sums of money in building schools to teach the people English and various branches of education. We have opened to them a considerable portion of the India Civil Service, but they don't want to be governed by despotism such as only exists in India and Russia, though we hope our despotism is wise and benevolent. There can be little doubt but that the natives of India are practically of the same race as ourselves—they came from the same stock, have great ability and great intellectual acuteness, many being much more acute than the average Englishman. They say "the time is now come when we shall have a voice in governing ourselves." The Indian National Congress movement is exciting the warmest interest amongst all creeds and races. Mahomedans, Hindoos, Parsees were all interested in it to a greater or less degree. They come together, these men, of every tribe and of every race, as citizens of one great Indian Empire, and in their speeches, for I have read them all, they show the greatest loyalty to the British ~~tar~~ one and the greatest desire that the British Government should always continue to rule in India. There should be in every council, supreme and provincial, a certain number of native elected members. (*Cheers.*) They don't desire to take the whole control into their own hands: very far from it. They say they ask only for the right of

examination of the Budget; they do not ask the right to reject it. They ask the right of questioning ministers, which is a most valuable privilege, and which they don't possess. They ask the right to vote and appeal to the Supreme Legislative Council, being perfectly willing to give the Governor General the power to veto their deliberations, with power on their part, however, to appeal to the English Parliament. These were moderate proposals and reasonable in themselves, and if conceded, would probably conduce to the greater benefit of India. They would let the English Government know what the people of India really desired. I suppose before very long some of these proposals will be adopted, but meantime there is, on the part of the English officials, a bitter outcry against the Congress party, and in the House of Commons the matter is strongly opposed by Sir John Grost, who sneers at the Radicals and even abuses the leading men of the Indian Congress. But I think the natives are in the right, I think they have put forward their grievances with moderation. This constitutional grievance is not the only one. They desire that the whole civil service shall be thrown open to them by examination. If a native of India wants to enter any certain branch of the Civil Service, he has to come over to this country to pass his examination. They want the examinations to be thrown open to the people of India in India, and held simultaneously with the examinations held here. (*Cheers.*) They have other grievances of that sort which I need not detail to you at the present moment. But there is this great and supreme danger, if we neglect them, that which we have had by neglecting the wants of Ireland. We have systematically refused, for the last 89 years, the strong wants of Ireland until they have been forced upon us either by threatened civil war or by outrages of the very worst description, and it is now, during the last three years, for the first time in the history of the country that the slightest heed has been paid to what she wanted, and the Liberal party have decided to legislate in accordance with the real wishes of the Irish people.

AN IRELAND IN INDIA : A NOTE OF WARNING.

And if a similar policy is not adopted in India, we shall have a second Ireland in India, of a very much greater extent and of a graver charter. We shall have disaffection amongst the people of India, and instead of legislation being given with a good will and granting the people of India those constitutional reforms which they have perfect right in demanding, we shall go on resisting them until we grant them in a panic, to avoid a second mutiny. I should be sorry to see that happen. I believe if the English people interest themselves in the matter and bring some public opinion to bear upon the Government—perhaps not this present Government, for it is singularly obtuse to public opinion—(*laughter*)—but upon the next Liberal Government. I think they will take in hand the grievances of India and will pass a bill to remedy them. But the essence of the things is that it should be done soon and thoroughly, that the people should get what they wish for in a rational way, and not let them feel that we are giving what they which in any niggardly or grudging spirit. (*Cheers.*)





7.11.58.